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## CONTENTS OF No. 275.

	Page
ART. I.—The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian. Newly translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B. 2 volumes 8vo. London: 1871, . . .	1
II.—1. A History of Lace. By Mrs. Bury Palliser. 2nd edition. London: 1870.	
2. Catalogue of a Collection of Lace and Needlework; with a list of books on the same subject, both formed by and in the possession of Mrs. Hailstone, of Horton Hall, and exhibited at Leeds. Privately printed: 1868.	
3. Designs for Lace-making. By S. H. Lilla Hailstone. London: 1870. Printed for private distribution.	
4. Origine ed uso delle Trine a filo di refe. Genova: 1864. Privately printed for the Costabili-Caselli nuptials . . . . .	37
[And other Works.]	
III.—1. The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists. By the Rev. L. Tyerman, Author of 'The Life and Times of the Rev. S. Wesley, M.A.' Three vols. London: 1870-71.	
2. John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. By Julia Wedgwood. One vol. London: 1870, . . . . .	56
IV.—1. Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom. By Edward B. Tylor. 2 vols. 1871.	
2. Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation. By Edward B. Tylor. 1865, . . . . .	88
V.—1. A New History of Painting in Italy, from the Second to the Sixteenth Century. With Illustrations. By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, Authors of 'The Early Flemish Painters.' 8vo. Two vols. London: 1864.	
2. A Continuation of the Same. Vol. III. London: 1866.	
3. A History of Painting in North Italy, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century. With Illustrations. By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. In two vols. London: 1871, . . . . .	122

- VI.—1. *Der Krieg in Jahre 1870.* Von M. Annenkoff. Berlin: 1871.
2. *Das Train-Communications und Verpflegswesen, vom operativen Standpunkte.* Von H. Obauer und E. R. Von Guttenberg. Wien: 1871.
3. *La deuxième Armée de la Loire.* Par le Général Chanzy. Paris: 1871.
4. *La Guerre en Province pendant le Siège de Paris, 1870–71.* Par Charles de Freycinet, ancien délégué du Ministre de la Guerre à Tours et à Bordeaux. Paris: 1871, . . . . . 149
- VII.—1. *The Pastoral of the Irish Hierarchy on Education.* Dublin: 1871.
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland.* Presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty: 1870, . . . . . 166
- VIII.—1. *A Memoir on the Indian Survey.* By Clements R. Markham. Published by order of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. London: 1871.
2. *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India.* Edited by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Nâgpur: 1870, . . . . . 196
- IX.—*Balaustion's Adventure: including a transcript from Euripides.* By Robert Browning. London: 1871, . 221
- X.—1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Local Taxation.* 1870.
2. *Report of the Right Honourable George J. Goschen, M.P., President of the Poor Law Board, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the Progressive Increase of Local Taxation, with especial reference to the Proportion of Local and Imperial Burdens borne by the different Classes of Real Property in the United Kingdom, as compared with the Burdens imposed upon the same Classes of Property in other European Countries.* March 1871.
3. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Malt Tax.* 1867, 1868.
4. *Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue on the Duties under their Management, for the years 1856 to 1869 inclusive; with some retrospective History, and complete Tables of Accounts of the Duties from their first Imposition.* 1870.
5. *The Local Taxation of Great Britain and Ireland.* By R. H. J. Palgrave. London: 1871, . . . . . 250

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JANUARY, 1872.

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No. CCLXXV.

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ART. I.—*The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian.* Newly translated and edited, with notes, by Colonel HENRY YULE, C.B. Two volumes 8vo. London: 1871.

THE publication of Colonel Yule's 'Marco Polo' is an epoch in geographical literature. Never before, perhaps, did a book of travels appear under such exceptionally favourable auspices; an editor of a fine taste and ripe experience, and possessed with a passion for curious medieval research, having found a publisher willing to gratify that passion without stint on the score of expenditure; and the result being the production of a work which, in so far as it combines beauty of typography and wealth of illustration with a rich variety of recondite learning, may be regarded as a phenomenon in these days of thrifty and remunerative book-making. Nor is it a slight praise thus to pronounce Colonel Yule's edition to be a great success; for never, perhaps, has there been a more difficult book of the class to expound than Marco Polo's travels, since his great prototype, Herodotus, recited his history at Athens. Every page is a puzzle; every chapter contains strange names which it is hard to recognise, strange stories which it is harder still either to believe or to explain. And, indeed, when we remember Marco Polo's personal character, and the peculiar circumstances under which his very extraordinary experiences were reduced to writing, our wonder must be, not that there is so much requiring illustration in this account of his Eastern travels, but rather that the narrative should be in any degree intelligible—and especially that a commentator should have been found with the knowledge, the ingenuity, and the perse-

verance requisite to place the book in a really attractive form before the reading public of the nineteenth century.

The attempt has often been made before to bring Marco Polo into notice. According to a list, indeed, compiled by Colonel Yule, and given in the appendix to his work, twenty-seven different editions of these travels have been published in various European languages during the last four centuries; and although the majority of such editions have been mere reproductions or translations of a faulty text without any serious effort at emendation or explanation, still in some instances—as in the Italian editions of Baldello-Boni, of Lazari, and of Adolfo Bartoli—sound and able criticism has been exerted, by which Colonel Yule has duly profited; and moreover, in two particular instances—the English edition of Marsden, published in 1818, and the French edition of Pauthier, published in 1865—illustration has been added of a comprehensive, if not a very scholarly, character. Marsden's edition of 'Marco Polo,' an honest and unpretentious work, represents the knowledge, or rather the want of knowledge, of 'Sixty Years since.' Pauthier's edition, with very much more of pretension, is hardly an improvement on Marsden in regard to the historical or geographical illustration of Western and Central Asia; though it must be admitted that his Chinese learning stands him in good stead, and has enabled him to furnish many valuable extracts from original sources, relating to Eastern Asia, in support or explanation of Marco Polo's own notices. At any rate, we think the general impression will be, on comparing the baldness and inaccuracy of previous editors with the stores of solid, as well as curious, information poured forth by Colonel Yule with an unsparing hand, that the edition we are now considering was imperatively called for.

The story of Marco Polo's book is told with much liveliness and effect in Colonel Yule's introduction. This introduction, indeed, which extends to 160 pages, and is of a very miscellaneous character, forms, we think, in a literary point of view, the most important, as it certainly forms the most interesting, portion of Colonel Yule's two portly volumes. Besides ample dissertations on such general topics as the state of the East in the thirteenth century, the jealousies and wars of Genoa and Venice, a digression on the war-galleys of the Middle Ages, &c. &c., it comprises all that can be recovered of the personal history of the Polo family, of the individual travellers, of their appearance, their character, and their objects; their singular reception at Venice on their return from the East after twenty-four years' absence, which reads, as has been said, like a

chapter from the Arabian Nights; their subsequent adventures; Marco's participation in the great defeat of the Venetians at Curzola; his captivity at Genoa, and dictation of his memoirs to a fellow-prisoner, Rustician of Pisa; and finally, it suggests how Rustician's notes, jotted down in the 'Lingua franca' in which they were probably communicated, were enlarged, and amended, and annotated, either by Marco himself, or possibly by his uncle Maffeo, who had been his companion throughout his travels; and how from these original notes the various texts were formed which are now extant in seventy-five different manuscript copies of a more or less authentic character.

It is clear that Marco Polo, with little or no preliminary education, must still have possessed considerable natural abilities, since on his arrival at the Mongol court he acquired without difficulty the current languages of the country together with four different modes of writing (probably Mongolian, Ouigour, Persian, and Thibetan\*), and further ingratiated himself with the Emperor, so as to be employed by him on confidential affairs of state in preference to the officers of his own household; but it is equally clear that he fully shared in the credulity and superstition of the age; and although Colonel Yule does not scruple to avow his 'entire confidence in the man's veracity,' no one can doubt but that Marco was disposed to exaggeration in his phraseology, and indulged in a very high colouring in all his descriptions. He seems, indeed, mainly to have risen into favour with the Emperor from his skill in bringing back sensational reports of the wonders which he saw when employed on deputation in strange countries—such reports contrasting agreeably with the dry matter-of-fact relations of the ordinary commissioners; and

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\* This is Colonel Yule's proposed identification of the four 'written characters' which were learnt by Marco; but instead of Thibetan it is likely enough that he learnt the Baspa alphabet, which was established, by orders of Kublai in 1269, as the official Mongolian character, in contradistinction to the old writing which, like the Ouigour and the Manchu, was of Nestorian origin. At first sight it may seem hazardous to include Persian in this series, as it has no etymological or geographical connexion with Mongolian or Chinese, but Colonel Yule has shown good reason for suspecting that Persian must have been the common tongue of foreigners at the court of the Mongols (vol. i. p. cxxxv). In addition to the examples cited by Colonel Yule of such pure Persian names as *Pul-i-sangin*, *Zar-dandin*, &c. used by Marco Polo, it may be of interest to remark that in the famous *Kitáb-el-Fihrist*, recently published, we find the Chinese commander-in-chief in the ninth century to have been named *Sir-qspah*, which is Persian for 'head of the army.'



we may well understand that it was this proneness to extravagant talk, this habitual indulgence in 'travellers' tales,' which gave him the nickname of 'Master Millions' among his countrymen, and which in fact discredited his general authority. The process of dictation, it may also be suggested, is of itself unfavourable to a very rigid accuracy of description. In telling his stories *vivâ voce* to Rustician, as he paced the floor of his prison cell at Genoa, he may be forgiven if he occasionally warmed up his flagging memory by a few free touches of lively rodomontade.\* That he did not designedly invent or falsify is all, we presume, that Colonel Yule contends for; and for this qualified acquittal there is ample authority in the contemporary evidence that 'when Marco was asked by his friends 'on his death-bed to correct the book by removing everything 'that went beyond the facts, he replied, that he had not told 'one-half of what he had really seen.'

Colonel Yule has allowed himself the fullest latitude in his adoption of a text. He calls his text 'eclectic,' which means that he has selected from several types the readings and expressions of which he approves, and has omitted those of which he disapproves. The basis of his translation is the same text which was used by Mons. Pauthier, and which is supposed to represent the version made from Rustician's barbarous 'patois'

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\* The following are a few instances of Marco Polo's proneness to exaggeration in reporting what he heard as well as what he saw :- — A *ruc's* feather brought from Madagascar measured, he was told, 90 spans, while the quill part was 2 palms in circumference; and two boars' tusks from the same place weighed more than 14 lbs. a-piece, the boars themselves being as big as buffalos (ii. 347). In Thibet the bamboos were 3 palms in girth and 15 paces in length, and in burning made a report that could be heard 10 miles off (ii. 26). The Thibet mastiffs, again, were as big as donkeys (ii. 32). The serpents (i.e. alligators) of Carajan were 10 paces in length and 10 palms in girth, with eyes bigger than a great loaf of bread, and a mouth large enough to swallow a man whole (ii. 45). The elephants of Birma carried from twelve to sixteen well-armed fighting men (ii. 63); and the oxen of the same province were as tall as elephants (ii. 78). For 'travellers' tales' we may quote the story of the unicorn (or rhinoceros) of Sumatra which licked its victim to death with its prickly tongue (ii. 227); the tailed men of Lambri, on the same island (ii. 243); the dog-headed men of the Andamans (ii. 251); the famous Ceylon ruby, which was a palm in length and as thick as a man's arm (ii. 254); and especially the *couvade* of the *Zar-dandîn* or 'golden teeth' (ii. 52), which gave rise to the famous lines in Butler's 'Hudibras':—

'. . . . . Chinceses go to bed  
And lie in in the irladies' stead.'

into French of the period, during Marco Polo's life, and subject to his own curtailment, correction, and revision; but he has not slavishly followed this version, of which there are exemplars at Paris, at Berne, and at Oxford. He has admitted variant readings of names, and many 'expressions of special interest and character' from Rustician's original notes, published by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1824; and also in some instances he has borrowed from other versions that were made from that text (apparently during Marco Polo's lifetime), first into Italian, and then into Latin—Pipino's Latin text, under date A.D. 1320, being the type of this class of MSS.;\* and finally, he has introduced between brackets, as indicative of their supplementary character, a very large number of additional paragraphs, some of the highest interest and importance, which bear internal marks of emanating either from Marco Polo or his uncle, but which are only known at present from their being included, without comment or explanation, in Ramusio's famous posthumous translation in Italian, which was published in A.D. 1559, nearly 240 years after Marco Polo's decease. It is hardly perhaps consistent with the strict canons of criticism thus to blend several texts into one, culling the best passages of each, and correcting false readings or tedious repetitions *à discrétion*; but the result is certainly to the advantage of the general reader; and if a thorough dependence can be placed on the knowledge and judgment of the editor, there will be also felt an assurance that the 'eclectic' text presents what the author said, or would have desired to say. This, at any rate, is what Colonel Yule has aimed at, and we are bound to say that we think on the whole he has been successful.

Incidentally at the outset of Marco Polo's narrative, a geographical question arises which well deserves a little careful consideration, since it involves the existence, or non-existence, at that period of history of one of the great inland seas of Central Asia. The elder Poli, in their first journey to the East, in A.D. 1260, are said to have passed directly from the Volga to Bokhárá by a route which, according to the present physical configuration of the country, must have led them along the northern, or the southern, border of the Sea of Aral; yet neither in Marco's brief notice of this journey, nor in any other part of his work, is there the slightest allusion to the sea

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\* Colonel Yule mentions as a literary curiosity of some interest an Irish version which was made 'with an astounding freedom' from this Latin text, and which is included in the famous Book of Lismore, written about A.D. 1450.

in question; and a doubt therefore naturally arises in the reader's mind as to whether the Aral could have been in existence in the thirteenth century. Colonel Yule does not enter on the discussion of this curious question in either of his great works, 'Marco Polo' or 'Cathay;' but in another place he has casually considered it, and the result of his investigation is that he supports the opinion of his distinguished relation, Sir Roderick Murchison, to the effect that—notwithstanding certain admitted temporary deviations of the Oxus, and notwithstanding much ambiguity both of nomenclature and description, which is due, they think, to the carelessness or ignorance of the early geographers—the relative condition of the Caspian and Aral has in reality never materially varied during the historic period. A strong array of authorities, including the honoured names of Saint Martin, Malte Brun, Hugh Murray, Baillie Fraser, and Burnes, are even more positive in their opinions, maintaining that any such variation has been simply impossible, since the Oxus and Jaxartes have never changed their course, but from time immemorial have disembogued into the Aral Sea, precisely as is the case at the present day.

On the other hand, it has been roundly asserted by geographers of almost equal weight, that the Aral has fluctuated at different periods of history between the condition of a great inland sea and that of a reedy marsh, according to the varying course of its two feeders, the Oxus and Jaxartes; and has sometimes even, when the supply of water from those feeders has been entirely cut off for a lengthened period, disappeared altogether from the map of Asia. We have reason to believe that this curious question of physical hydrography, which has been already partially ventilated before the Geographical Society of London,\* will, in the course of their ensuing session, be subjected to further rigid inquiry, and will receive probably a definite solution; but, in the meantime, a brief recapitulation of the changes which the Aral is said to have undergone, and of the evidence on which those asserted changes depend, may not perhaps be out of place as an introduction to Marco Polo's own view of the geography of Central Asia.

Among the ancients, then, Herodotus and Strabo are the only authors who can be supposed from their writings to have had any cognisance of the existence of the Aral; and their description applies, not to a large independent sea, but rather

\* See 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xi. no. iii. p. 114; and 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xxxvii. President's Address, p. 140.

to a series of reedy swamps, fed by the overflow of the Jaxartes, the main arm of which river, however, found its way to the Caspian. All other writers simply bring the Oxus and Jaxartes into the Caspian without any allusion to the deflexion or bifurcation of either stream, estimating the distance between the mouths of the two rivers at about eighty parasangs; and when we consider the extent of information at the disposal of the Greek and Roman geographers, when we remember that Greek princes ruled for some centuries in the countries between Persia and the Indian Caucasus, that Greek admirals navigated the Caspian, and Greek commanders penetrated beyond the Jaxartes, while the merchants who followed the caravan routes from India to the Mediterranean brought their journals and road-books to Rome,—it seems impossible to doubt but that we have in such standard works as those of Strabo and Pliny and Ptolemy, a representation of the true hydrography of Eastern Persia for about 500 years before and after the Christian era. As late, indeed, as A.D. 570, when Zemarchus returned from his mission to the Turkish Khagan, then encamped in the Ak-Tagh, north of Samarcand, and crossed the Occh (or '*Vakh*,' probably the right arm of the Oxus), near the city of Urganj, he found the Aral, not yet developed to the condition of an inland sea, but still bearing the character of a large reedy morass;\* and it was not probably till thirty or forty years later, during the reign of Khusrú Parvîz, that the great change took place which cut off the water of the Oxus entirely from the Caspian, and turned the full stream into the Aral—the sea of Kardar, which was the south-western portion of the present Abugir Lake, and which had been probably fed, up to that date, by the Urganj branch of the river, being at the same time desiccated, and a treasure-city (the modern

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\* The geography of the expedition of Zemarchus has, we think, been quite misunderstood by Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, vol. i. p. clxiii). The camp of Dizabulus was in the country of the Sogdians, and certainly, therefore, *not* beyond the Jaxartes. The name of *Tulas*, indeed, which has led Colonel Yule astray, did not apply in the seventh century to the town and river which bore that title in later times. The Choliatæ (or *Khalajût*?) probably dwelt on the left bank of the old bed of the Jaxartes. At any rate the Roman party must have struck the Aral marshes at their south-eastern corner, and thus skirted round their southern edge, the short desert-track which was followed by George and his party on their return to Byzantium being the direct line from Urganj to Asterabad, and so on by the north of Persia to Asia Minor. This short cut, indeed, is quite inexplicable if we suppose Zemarchus to have passed to the north of the Aral marshes.

*Berrasin Gelmaz*?) being thus exposed, which had been submerged in remote antiquity, and which, according to Persian tradition, required twelve years of unremitting labour to excavate and rifle of its riches.\*

From this period till the rise of the Mongol power the Aral continued to absorb the entire stream of the two great rivers; and, if we may form an opinion from the consentient testimony of the Arab geographers, it must have exhibited for six consecutive centuries very much the same appearance as at present. There were many changes, no doubt, in the 'delta' of the Oxus. The successive capitals of Fíl, of Mansúreh, and of Kát, which were all in the same vicinity, at the southern apex of the delta, were destroyed by inundations of the river, between the ninth and twelfth centuries,† and there was also much shifting of stream between the various irrigation canals, which extended 100 miles into the desert to the west; but no drop of water, either from the Oxus or Jaxartes, seems during all this period to have reached the Caspian. It was in A.D. 1221 that Octái Khán, the son of Jenghiz, at the siege of Urganj, first broke the Oxus dam which regulated the influx of water for irrigation purposes into the old channel, and thus bringing the whole force of the current against the city walls,

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\* This tradition is cited by Yacút in his great Dictionary under the head of Kardar. The ruins of the enchanted castle of *Berrasin Gelmaz* ('from which there is no return') are described by Abbott (vol. i. p. 211), who supposed them to occupy an island in the Sea of Aral, but in the map accompanying Boutakoff's Survey ('Royal Geographical Society's Journal,' vol. xxiii. p. 94), the same place 'famous for the 'rich treasures deposited in its vaults,' is laid down under the name of *Barsa Kilmesh* in the salt marsh immediately adjoining the Abugír Lake.

† A very curious account of the castle of 'Ir, the residence of the kings of Kharism, was quoted from Abú Rihán, in the 'Quarterly Review,' no. 240, p. 491. There can be little doubt but that this is the same castle belonging to the royal city of Kát, which is described by the Arab geographers, and which was destroyed by the river between the visit of Istakhrí in A.D. 951 and the visit of the Ibn Haukal in about 970 (see Goëje's 'Vie Regnorum,' p. 301). Abu Rihan's date of A.S. 1305 (which cannot be earlier than A.D. 982), however, requires explanation, and his use of the Hebrew synonym of 'Ir (עיר), 'the city,' for the vernacular Kát, or Arabic *Medíneh*, is equally remarkable. The old Kharismian name of Fíl had probably the same meaning, being altered from *Vird*, 'a city,' according to the same orthographical law which has formed *Sál* 'a year,' from *Sard*; *Gul* 'a rose,' from *Ward*; *Dil* 'the heart,' from *Hrid*; *Pul*-ang 'a leopard,' from *Pard*; &c. &c.

undermined them, and levelled them with the earth. We are not told what was the full effect of this removal of the dam, or if the operation was assisted by the construction of a barrier across the Aral branch above the point of deviation; but a few years afterwards, in A.D. 1224, we find the first notice (in Yacút's description of *Mangashlágh*) of the Oxus having again forced its way to the Caspian; and we are warranted therefore in ascribing the great change in physical geography which set in from this time, and which ended in the desiccation of the Aral, to Octái's artificial disruption of the Urganj dyke; the more certainly as Hamdullah Mustowfí—the Persian Eratosthenes, as he is called by Jaubert—in describing in the following century (about A.D. 1330) the alteration of the course of the Oxus from the Aral to the Caspian, specifically says that the diversion took place about the time of the rise of the Mongol power. There must have been, however, almost simultaneously with the destruction of Urganj, a second crisis on the Oxus, which opened the upper or southern arm of the river; for the channel described by Hamdullah, in his account of the Oxus, is not the northern or Urganj branch, but that which flowed from Hazarasp by the pass of Muslim and Kurláwá to Akrícheh on the Caspian, the point of embouchure being probably at the modern position of Akteppéh, a short distance north of the mouth of the Atrek. The traces of this southern arm were observed by Abbott near the point of deviation at Hazarasp. Vambéry gives the name of Döden to a station two stages farther on to the WSW., thus marking the course of the old bed, which is always so called by the Turcomans; and Arthur Conolly carefully examined the lower part of the same channel near the Kuran hills, through which no doubt passed the defile of Muslim.\* There is further abundant evidence of the course of this southern arm in the local records; and in fact in all probability it represents the original Oxus of the Greek geographers, which passed in the neighbourhood of the Barcani (*T'ehrhán* or *Gurgán*), and disembogued to the north of the Socanda (or Atrek), a trace of which name remains in the *Ab-oskún* of the Arabs—the northern arm which passed by old Urganj and discharged itself into the Bay of Balkán, and the dry bed of which has been observed by Muravief and Vambéry, and by all the Russian surveyors, being probably the original channel by which the

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\* See 'Abbott's Travels,' vol. i. p. 60, and 'Conolly's Travels,' vol. i. p. 51, sqq. Compare also Vambéry's Map, attached to his 'Travels,' and his notice of the Turcoman name of Döden, p. 106.

Jaxartes reached the sea, after throwing off a portion of its waters into the Aral marshes. There is also a very curious passage in Hamdullah Mustowfi's account of the Caspian Sea, in which he says that, owing to the influx of the Oxus waters for the preceding century, the level of the sea had so risen in his day (A.D. 1330) as to submerge the famous port of *Aboskun* and the adjacent parts, and he further speculates that this increment will continue until the incoming and outgoing are brought to an equilibrium, that is, until the absorption by evaporation exactly equals the volume of water thrown into the sea through the various rivers which feed it.

Passing over the lapse of another century, during which the Oxus continued to pour its entire volume into the Caspian Sea, while the Jaxartes was either lost in the desert or struggled painfully to join the Oxus along the line of lakes to the S.E. of the present Aral,\* we come to a very important notice, recorded by a thoroughly competent authority in A.D. 1417, upon which, indeed, the present controversy mainly hinges. This anonymous author, who seems to have been Shah-rokh's minister, and whose admirable book on the history and geography of Khorassân furnished materials for all the subsequent writers of that literary age,† distinctly states in two passages that the Aral, owing to the long-continued draining of the waters of the Oxus and Jaxartes into the Caspian, had in his time become, not merely shrunken in size or broken into marshes and lagoons, but had in fact ceased to exist; and any impartial geographer who looks into the maps and travels of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, must, we think, come to the conclusion that this statement is substan-

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\* The following extract from the 'Memoirs of Baber' is decisive as to the condition of the Jaxartes as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century: 'The Seihun runs on the north of Khojend and south of Finâkat, which is now better known as Shahrokhîa, and thence inclining to the north, flows down towards Tûrkestân, and, meeting with no other river in its course, is wholly swallowed up in the sandy desert considerably below Turkestan, and disappears.' (*Leyden's Baber*, p. 1).

† As the authority of this anonymous writer has been discredited by some of our best geographers (see 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xxvii. p. cxxxv.), it seems important to state that a very large portion of the famous work of Abdorrazzak, which was translated and annotated by Quatremère in the fourteenth volume of the 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits,' was copied word for word from the earlier Herat history, Quatremère adding of the copy, 'L'ouvrage est, sans contredit, un des plus curieux et des plus véridiques qui aient été écrits dans les langues de l'Orient.'

tially correct; for not only is there no single notice of the Aral, as an independent sea, in any of the numerous medieval itineraries through Central Asia, but there is much powerful evidence against its possible existence. For instance, the monk Rubruquis, in A.D. 1253, coming down from the north upon the Lower Jaxartes, says that the river did not flow into any sea, but lost itself in the desert after making extensive swamps. Again, that the basin of the Aral could not have been filled with water when the elder Poli made their journey in A.D. 1260, from the Volga to Bokhara, is rendered more than probable by Marco's silence regarding it; and this argument is further strengthened by Pegoletti's notice to travellers bound for Tartary (written in about A.D. 1340), that if they had merchandise to dispose of, they might advantageously make the detour of Urganj, but that otherwise they would save five or ten days by passing direct from Saraichik on the Yaik to Otrar on the Jaxartes, a line that would conduct exactly across the present bed of the Sea of Aral. It is inconceivable, indeed, that the Catalan map which was drawn up in A.D. 1375, mainly to illustrate the route of the caravans which passed from Sarai on the Volga by Urganj to China, should have omitted any notice of the Aral, which lay directly upon the line of march, had that remarkable natural feature been then in existence.

The gradual reshifting of the waters of the Oxus and the refilling of the Aral bed, subsequent to the year A.D. 1500, is somewhat more obscure, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between the various channels by which the river drained off into the Caspian, and which became closed at different epochs; but it seems certain that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Russia first sought, through the expeditions of Prince Beckevitch, to gain a footing in Khiva with a view of obtaining access to the reported auriferous waters of the *Kizil-sú*, or 'red river,' the desiccation of the Turcoman steppe was complete, and not a drop of the Oxus water at that time reached to the Caspian. It has been reserved for Russian enterprise at the present day to revive the scheme of Peter the Great for reopening the northernmost channel of the river, which is still known to the Persians as the *Kizil-sú*, by breaking down the Sarkrauk dam; and no one who looks into the history of the past, can doubt for a moment but that the scheme, as far as physical geography is concerned, is perfectly practicable, and that the living generation will behold its realisation.\*

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\* It is this avowed desire on the part of Russia to divert for purposes of trade a navigable branch of the Urganj river into the Caspian,



We may now briefly consider a portion of Marco Polo's own geography. In A.D. 1271, young Marco Polo, then a boy of seventeen years old, and belonging to a noble family of Venice, set out on his travels; not for instruction or amusement, but simply to make his fortune. He accompanied his father Nicolo and his uncle, Maffeo Polo, on their return to the court of Kublai Khán, where the elder Poli had already spent some years engaged in commerce, and from whence they had recently been deputed by the Mongol Emperor to open negotiations with the Pope, with a view to his delegation of a band of missionaries to the far East, ostensibly for the purpose of teaching the Mongols the tenets of Latin Christianity, but in reality, it is suggested, in order to supply that higher education which this enlightened sovereign desired to introduce, but which it was in vain to expect at the hands of the illiterate and degraded Nestorian priests then resident in Mongolia. As the Papal chair happened to be vacant when the elder Poli visited Europe, and, owing to dissensions in the conclave, no successor to Clement IV. was appointed for the next two years, the invitation of Kublai, which being well suited to the Propagandist views of Rome might otherwise have led to important results, proved infructuous. The Poli family returned alone, and occupied nearly four years in working their weary way from the Mediterranean to the Great Khán's summer residence at Kaiping-fu, to the north of the great wall of China. There is considerable uncertainty as to the route which the travellers followed in their journey; and if Colonel Yule be right in taking them, firstly into Asia Minor, then through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, and finally by Kirman and Yezd, and across the desert to the Oxus, we can only say that they selected the most devious and the most inhospitable of all the many lines leading into Eastern Asia. The real interest of the route, however, commences at the Oxus; and here, therefore, we propose to consider the movements of the travellers in more detail.

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and the important political results that may accrue from a continuous water communication being thus opened up between St. Petersburg and the foot of the Indian Caucasus, which invest the ancient history of the Oxus with so much interest at the present time. There is some diversity of opinion among Russian engineers as to the practicability of the scheme, but, on the whole, the reports are favourable, and, but for the quasi-hostile attitude of Khiva, preparations for the work would probably have already commenced. Since the establishment, however, of a strong Russian post at Krasnovodsk, and the virtual extinction of Bokhara, the days of Khivan independence may be held to be numbered.

The Oxus has in all ages played an important part in the history of the East, taking its place as a great line of ethnic or territorial demarcation. In Persian romance it formed the boundary between Iran and Turan. Under the Mahommedans it divided the great province of *Maver-en-nahr* ('beyond the River') from the rest of Persia. At the present day it has been proposed as a frontier between the Russian and British Indian dependencies, and will ultimately, no doubt, be the Rubicon between the Empires. The Oxus valley, indeed, possessing for the most part a temperate climate and a luxuriant soil, has been ever held up to the admiration of the world, as one of the spots most favoured by nature in the East. It was the birthplace of Aryan civilisation. The valley itself appears under four different names in the famous list of the primitive Oromasodian creations in the *Vendidad*, the upper plateau being called 'the region of the seven rivers,' a name which it retained as long as there were Zoroastrians in the country; *Badakhshán* being represented by '*Rangha*' (or *Rúgh*), the mountain district immediately bordering the river; the middle valley being described as '*Vackeret*' (or *Beikend*), and the rich alluvial portion of the lower delta having the title of '*Urwan*' or *Urganj*.\* The great city of Bactria or Balkh, which was visited by Marco Polo, was probably the earliest capital in Central Asia. Under the primitive Aryan Empire it rejoiced in the epithet of 'the bannered,' and strange to say,

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\* As these identifications are all new and contravene the criticism of the last hundred years, it may be necessary to cite some authority in their support. First then, for the application of the name *Hapta Hindu*, or 'the seven rivers,' to the Upper Oxus, there is the direct authority of Abu Rihán. See Elliot's '*Historians of India*,' Edit. Dowson, i. p. 49. India, or the Panjab, had been previously understood by the critics. Secondly, *Rangha*, which is next to *Hapta Hindu* in the list, was famous for its 'untamed horsemen;' and *Ragh*, the northernmost district of *Badakhshán*, is still notorious for the wild and warlike character of its inhabitants. Thirdly, *Vackeret*, which occurs in the list between Herat and Kharism, exactly answers to the position of *Beikend*, which was traditionally the oldest city of *Sughd*. The names too are equivalent, meaning 'the abode of the *Vae* or *Bei*;' and the epithet, 'the seat of hell,' which is attached to *Vackeret*, may be explained by the great 'swallow' in the desert near *Beikend*, which engulfs and absorbs the beneficent waters of the *Polytimetus*, or *Zarafshán*. Lastly, *Urwan*, 'famous for its meadows,' corresponds with the description of Kharism, or *Urganj*, which otherwise would not be mentioned in the list. The names too of *Urwan* and *Urganj* are identical, the modern *g* always replacing the old *v*, and the addition of a terminal *j* being a well-known peculiarity of the Kharismian dialect.

when Zoroastrianism had given way to Buddhism and the original Pyræum had been replaced by a Buddhist temple, this same characteristic of 'the flaunting banners' still remained the distinctive feature of the place. The Arab geographers, indeed, describe with much curious detail this famous Buddhist temple, the appanage of the Barmecide family, which, when the city fell before the arms of Islam in A.D. 655, was found to be decorated with silken pennons a hundred yards in length, and it is especially worthy of remark that through all subsequent history the building retained the same Sanscrit name of *Nava-vihāra* (corrupted into *Now-behūr*, and signifying 'the new monastery'), which had been given to it by its Buddhist founders, and by which it is designated in the 'Travels of 'Hwen-Tsang,' the famous Chinese pilgrim, who visited Balkh in A.D. 630.

Until recently our only trustworthy authorities on the geography of the Upper Oxus were Marco Polo and Benedict Goes,—we say trustworthy advisedly, because a large amount of inaccurate or spurious information regarding this part of Central Asia has been for some time past circulating, greatly to the confusion of geographers and the disturbance of sound inquiry; and because we think it only proper in the interests of science that the mystification which has been thus caused, should be now publicly denounced and exposed. About ten years ago, then, it was announced to the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, by one of its most distinguished members, the late Mons. Veniukoff, that a manuscript had been discovered in the archives of the 'État Major,' which professed to give a minute account of all the country intervening between Cashmere and the Kirghiz Steppes. The author was said to be a German (George Ludwig von ———), an agent of the East India Company, who was despatched at the beginning of this, or the end of the last, century, to purchase horses in Central Asia, and who, having on his return from his mission, quarrelled with the Calcutta Government on the subject of his accounts, transferred his MSS. to St. Petersburg, where they had remained for over fifty years unnoticed in deposit. The chapters which Mons. Veniukoff published from this work, and which were certainly very curious, were received at St. Petersburg with the most absolute confidence, as extracts from official documents, and were cordially welcomed even in Paris; but in England they were viewed with suspicion from the commencement; and no sooner were the details brought forward than they were pronounced impossible, and the whole story of the horse-agent and his journal were accordingly declared to be an impudent

fiction. Thereupon arose a controversy of some warmth, in which the late Lord Strangford and Sir H. Rawlinson attacked, and Messrs. Khanikoff and Veniukoff defended, the genuineness of the German MS. In the course of this controversy allusion was made to two other kindred works; one being a so-called Chinese Itinerary, translated by Klaproth in 1824, and a copy of which was also deposited in the archives of the Russian *État Major*, and the other being the confidential report of a Russian agent, who was said to have been sent by the Emperor Paul at the beginning of the century to survey Central Asia up to the Indian frontier, and whose manuscript notes, having been placed in Klaproth's hands for official purposes, were asserted to have been copied by him and sold to the British Foreign Office for 1,000 guineas. The Russians, on the one hand, vindicated the genuineness of the George Ludwig MS., by referring to the corroborative and independent authority of certain portions of the Chinese Itinerary. The English, on the other hand, comparing the Chinese Itinerary, as summarised by Veniukoff, with the Foreign Office Report, to which access was kindly given by Lord Stanley, and finding the spurious geographical descriptions and nomenclature of the two documents to be almost identical, came to the conclusion that the three manuscripts under consideration, with their accompanying illustrations, had been all severally forged by Klaproth—possibly from a mere love of mystification, but more probably from mercenary motives, since it could hardly have been by accident that the English report found its way to St. Petersburg, while the Russian report was transferred to London, where they would each respectively command the highest money value. On one point only could there be any doubt. There was nothing, as far as the texts were concerned, immediately to connect the German and the Russian Reports; but indirectly, nevertheless, the two documents were found to be very closely linked; for upon a map in Klaproth's own handwriting, which was bound up with the Russian report in our Foreign Office, and which was intended partly to illustrate it, a fictitious route was observed to be laid down from Srinagar, the capital of Cashmere, to the Indus, which was also given in detail in the George Ludwig Journal, positive proof being thereby afforded that the compiler of the one document must have had access to the other. It may be well understood that these forgeries, as far as regards local descriptions, etymology of names, and historical synchronisms, are executed with considerable skill; for otherwise they would hardly have imposed on such experienced critics as the Geographical Societies of Paris and St.

Petersburg. In reference to one particular point, indeed, the English investigators were, for a time, fairly bewildered. Ten years ago, it must be remembered, we had little positive information regarding the Oxus and its affluents, beyond the immediate range of Lieut. Wood's journey to the sources of the river; and when it was found, therefore, that a certain Colonel Gardner, who was known to have personally visited and surveyed the country between the Indus and the Pamír plateau, some forty years ago, coincided in his delineation of the Badakhshán and Bolor rivers with the Klaproth geographies, which he could never possibly have seen, rather than with Lieut. Wood's map, which was our standard authority, there did seem some ground for hesitation.\* On a closer examination, however, it appeared that Colonel Gardner, in describing the course of the Oxus and its affluents, had not in reality relied on his own independent reminiscences, which were probably hazy in the extreme, but had merely followed a map drawn up by Arrowsmith in 1834, to illustrate Burnes's Bokhara Travels; and this map, it was further ascertained, embodied a large portion of the spurious information contained in the Russian MS., Klaproth's precious report having been placed by the Foreign Office at our great cartographer's disposal, as the latest official authority on Central Asian geography.

The mystification, moreover, did not end here. Veniukoff and his friends being entirely ignorant that there was a third

\* The travels and adventures of Colonel Gardner are of such an extraordinary character that, had they ever been placed in a readable form before the public, he would long ago have enjoyed a world-wide reputation. The garbled and slovenly extracts from his journals, which were published in the 'Bengal Asiatic Journal' for 1853, and which Colonel Yule not inaptly compares to the 'memoranda of a dyspeptic dream,' by no means do him justice. According to the sketch of his career which was published in the 'Friend of India' for September, 1870, he must be one of the most remarkable 'soldiers of fortune' of the present century. For seven years (1830-1837) he continued to perambulate every district of Central Asia between the Caspian and Cashmere. Kafferistán and Badakhshán seem to have been his favourite haunts, and he is certainly the only Englishman who has ever traversed the famous *Dereh Darwáz*, and passed a season on the Pamír Steppes. It was understood some years back that Mr. Cooper, our Commissioner at Lahore, had brought Colonel Gardner's journals to England, with a view to their publication, and much geographical interest was excited in consequence; but the work has never appeared; and since Mr. Cooper's death it is uncertain what has become of the MSS. Colonel Gardner, in a ripe old age, still retains his military command in Cashmere.

Klaproth forgery in England, cited the supposed independent authority of Arrowsmith's map in support of the genuineness of the German and Chinese Itineraries; the truth however being—which they were very slow to recognise—that the map in question merely followed another branch of the fiction, and that the argument thus proceeded in a vicious circle. It would not have been worth while, perhaps, to have dwelt at such length on this piece of literary forgery, had it not been for the extraordinary publicity which the forgery has attained; a publicity which has caused the spurious delineation of the hydrography of the Upper Oxus to be introduced into almost every Russian and German map of Central Asia that has been recently published, and has thus hitherto vitiated all our geographical knowledge and produced universal confusion. Fortunately, though continental geographers have not yet thought fit to do penance for their credulity, we are now in a position in England to pronounce authoritatively on the question. During the last ten years, indeed, a flood of light has been poured in on us with regard to the geography of the region in dispute. On one side, Messrs. Shaw and Hayward have pushed forward from Ladakh to Yarkend, and from Yarkend to Kashgár, touching at that point the limit of discovery reached by the Russian explorers, Capts. Valikhanoff and Reinthal, and uniting—with a break of only twenty miles between Artush and the town of Kashgár—their survey from a southern base with the operations of Osten-Sacken and his party from the north; while Hayward has further exhausted the geography of the mountain range between the Indus and the Oxus, mapping the remote valleys, never before visited by a European,—unless by the ubiquitous Gardner,—of Hanza-Nagar, of Yassín, of Upper Gilgít, of Delaíl, and dying, foully murdered by a greedy brigand chief, just as he was on the point of crossing the last pass, and thus escaping from the region of danger.\* On the other side, the employment of

\* The fate of Lieutenant Hayward is one of the saddest stories in the annals of the 'Martyrs of Science.' Young, accomplished, brave, and enthusiastic, he had devoted himself to Asiatic discovery with an ardour which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. Commencing his career with a daring, but most successful journey to Yarkend and Kashgár, of which a full and graphic report was published in the 'Royal Geographical Society's Journal' for 1870, he increased his reputation by the subsequent exploration and delineation of the mountain ranges to the west of the Upper Indus. Ultimately in June of last year he started from Cashmere on his great expedition to study the hydrography of the Oxus, intending to cross the Pamír

educated native explorers—a system inaugurated by Major Montgomerie, and brought by him to its present state of efficiency—has obtained for us a rich harvest of information which it would be ungrateful not to acknowledge. The names of Mahomed Amín, of Pundit Munphool, of Abdul Mejíd, of the Mírza, of Feiz Bakhsh, and of Ibrahim Khán, may not convey much significance to English readers, but it is nevertheless on such authority that we can now determinately reject the Klaproth forgeries—the travellers in question having furnished a series of routes and itineraries and topographical reports, on the countries intervening between India and Russia, many of which supply the most important geographical information, and which from their accuracy would do credit to the first scientific establishments of Europe. The Mírza, indeed, who is an accomplished surveyor, and whose report was read at a late meeting of the Geographical Society of London, is the first modern explorer who has followed in the steps of Marco Polo, having passed from Vakhán direct to

Steppes from South to North, until he reached the Russian outposts on the Jaxartes; but when he had gained the extreme frontier of the Indian (or quasi-Indian) territory, in the immediate vicinity of the Darkút Pass, which leads into the valley of the Upper Oxus, he was overtaken by a band of assassins, despatched in pursuit of him by the Chief of Yassín, and barbarously murdered with all his attendants. According to the statement of a villager who witnessed the scene, Hayward was dragged from his tent at early dawn, just as he had sunk to sleep, overpowered with the fatigue of watching, revolver in hand, during the long cheerless night—for he knew that danger was near—and despatched with his own sword by the hired ruffians who surrounded him. Some mystery still hangs over the perpetration of this horrid deed. As Hayward had been previously compromised with the Cashmere authorities by the indiscreet publication in India of a letter incriminating the conduct of the Maharája, suspicion naturally pointed to Srinagar as the source from which the fatal order had gone forth; but nothing has been since elicited confirmatory of this suspicion. On the contrary, the investigations set on foot in India—and they have been searching and exhaustive—lead to the conclusion that if, in addition to the greed of plunder which is the ruling passion of these Highland brigands, any foreign influence were employed to instigate the Yassín Chief to commit the murder, that influence must have proceeded from the ruler of the neighbouring district of Chitrál, whose power is paramount in the mountains, and whose jealousy may have been excited by the presence of an Englishman in apparently friendly intercourse with the Seikh officials. At any rate the murderer has been harboured in Chitrál ever since the deed of death was done, and in the fastnesses of that remote region he still defies all efforts to bring him to justice.

Kashgár, and having thence returned to Yarkend, while Abdul Mejid's routes are still the only lines of march we possess across the Pamír steppe from north to south, or through Káratégín and Darwázeh, the latter rugged district containing the site of the old frontier post of Ráshit, or El Báb ('the Gate'), which was constructed by Fadhl, the famous Barmecide Vizier, to control the entry of the Turkish nomades into Maver-en-nahr, and being quite distinct from the better known Dereh Darwáz on the Upper Oxus.

Marco Polo was detained for a year in the province of Badakhshán—an accident which probably suggested a similar detention for Klaproth's mythical horse-agent—and the enthusiasm with which he speaks of the natural beauties and the invigorating climate of what Colonel Yule very appropriately calls 'these glorious table lands,' furnishes one of the most agreeable passages in his book. It is singular, then, that in connexion with this country, where Marco Polo must have felt himself completely at home, and where accordingly he cannot have erred from an imperfect recollection, two of the most exasperating puzzles of nomenclature occur which ever tried a commentator's patience. On one side of Badakhshán, the country between Balkh and Talikán, to which an extent is given of twelve days' journey, is named Dugana, or in some MSS. simply Gana; and the question arises, What is this title? Pauthier offers as the representative of Gana the modern town of Khan-abad, which is simply absurd; Yule suggests Juzagán, which however is a mountain district at some distance to the south, and, moreover, does not at all answer to Marco Polo's description. The district alluded to is certainly that which contains the towns of Khulum and Qundúz, and in the latter name may possibly be found an explanation of Marco Polo's expression. *Qundúz*, indeed, represents the original form of *Deh-kohna* (or Dugana?), 'the old town,' precisely as *Naudúz* is given in Wood's map for the 'pendant' settlement across the river which is better known as *Deh-nou*, or 'the new town.' A preferable solution to the difficulty is perhaps, however, offered by the discovery that the indigenous peasantry—the Aryans in opposition to the Turks—have been always distinguished in Bactria by the name of *Dehgán*, or 'villagers' (pronounced *Degán*), instead of being called Tájiks and Táts, as they are in other parts of Khorassán. We are thus told in the histories of the first Mahomedan invasion (see Beladhori and his copyists) that the *Dehgáns* of Balkh met the Arab General Koteibeh at *Talikán*, and assisted him to cross the river in pursuit of further conquests; and many other passages might be quoted



in confirmation of this nomenclature. It seems probable, therefore, that in the time of Marco Polo the district to the East of Balkh may have been popularly called after these *Dehgúns* or Persian-speaking villagers, though no such territorial title is recognised in Oriental geography.

The other puzzle is the name of None, given by Marco Polo to the subordinate ruler of Vakhán, immediately east of Badakhshán. Colonel Yule suggests that this may be the Thibetan title of 'Nono,' assigned to a deputy or younger brother; and it is certain that the Arab geographers included Vakhán in Thibet, the frontier being apparently at the pass of Ish-keshem; so that it is possible the peculiar language attributed to the people by Marco may have been Thibetan, though at the present day the Vakhánis speak a very old dialect of Persian, and have all the physical characteristics of a pure Aryan descent.

All the other names mentioned by Marco Polo in this quarter are perfectly intelligible. He describes the ruby mines in Syghinan or Shignán, which Wood was unable to reach; he then crosses the southern edge of the Pamír plain, by the famous lake out of which the Oxus flows, and finally passes through the Bolor country to Kashgár, leaving to his right the remarkable position of Tash-kurghán, which answers probably to the Kopanto of Hwen-Tsang and the 'Stone Tower' of Ptolemy, and following the exact line laid down by Major Montgomerie's Mirza in his report already alluded to.

The country north of Thibet which contains the great towns of Kashgár, Yarkend, and Khoten, and which is usually named by geographers Eastern Turkestan, though only known to the inhabitants as Yedi-sheher, or 'the seven cities,' is at present attracting a good deal of our attention. The geographical position of this region, intermediate between the Russian settlements recently established on the Upper Jaxartes, or Naryn, and the Thibetan provinces of our ally, the Maharája of Cashmere, first brought it prominently to notice; but its own political history, freeing itself as it has by a sudden effort from the torpor of Chinese vassalage, and waking up to the strong vigorous life of an independent Mussulman state, has also largely helped to fix our observation upon it. Mr. Forsyth also by his persevering efforts to point out the importance of the trade, especially in tea, goat-wool, &c., which might be developed between this part of Central Asia and Northern India, has been further instrumental in exciting public interest regarding it—an interest which has recently culminated in the mission sent by the Governor-General to open friendly relations with

the ruler of the country. This mission, it is true, has not led to any immediate result, either politically or commercially, owing to the absence of the Ataligh Ghází, as Yakúb Bey now styles himself, on the extreme eastern frontier of his dominions, where he has been long engaged in war with the Tungáns, that strange race, the relics apparently of the ancient Ouigours; but Mr. Forsyth has brought back much information of general interest, and his assistants, Messrs. Shaw and Henderson, who were respectively charged with the geographical and natural history departments of the mission, have also contributed very valuable reports. At the same time, much disappointment has been felt that the opportunity was lost of adding on this occasion another 700 miles of survey to our map of Central Asia. The celebrated Pundit, so well known for his Thibetan explorations, and his discovery of the gold-fields of Thók Jalong, was sent by Major Montgomerie to the camp, in the hope that some opportunity might occur of employing him to the eastward, as, for instance, in communicating with the Ataligh at Ooroomchi, or at Turfán; but the Pundit's character was so well known, and his attendance on the mission was so likely to give umbrage to a suspicious Government, that Mr. Forsyth, to quote his own Report, 'was reluctantly obliged to abandon his hopes of solving many interesting problems put before us by Marco Polo, and to postpone the Pundit's visit to a more convenient season.'

What may be the future in store for the 'Country of the Seven Cities' it is very difficult to conjecture. That the great Mahommedan population, including Tungáns, Taránchis, and Kashgáris, which extends from Hamil to Kokan, should ever again come under the yoke of China, an empire which is itself hovering on the verge of dissolution, may well be regarded as impossible; but, on the other hand, there is nothing to indicate dynastic permanence in the rule of the Ataligh; nor, considering the precarious condition of the Russian power in Turkestán, and the inveterate animosity with which she is viewed by the fanatical inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, does it seem in any way probable that, during this generation at least, she will venture to place a garrison in Kashgár or Yarkend; so that the discussions are certainly premature of which Indian politicians are so fond, as to the probable effect of the contact of Russia with the British frontier in this quarter. At the same time, whatever may be the character of the policy which Russia at the present moment considers it for her interest to pursue in regard to Eastern Turkestán—and we honestly believe it to be the reverse of acquisitive—it would be unwise

to forget that at one period of her history she had certainly formed a most exaggerated estimate of the value of the country as a region of auriferous deposits, and had even formed the preposterous design of annexing it to her own dominions. It is on record, indeed, that at the commencement of the eighteenth century, owing to rumours brought from Siberia by Prince Gagarin of the vast amount of the precious metals pouring into Eastern Turkestan from the gold-fields of Thibet, Peter the Great had ordered Colonel Bucholtz to lead an expedition up the Irtysh, and, after building a fort near the frontier, to march on and occupy Yarkend; and there is reason to believe that, although this insane scheme naturally and necessarily proved abortive, the Emperor by no means abandoned the general view of aggressive policy which had dictated it; for the ukase is still extant, issued in 1717, in which Prince Beckevitch is directed, after the occupation of Khiva, to send one party of explorers up the Oxus, furnished with credentials to the Great Moghul, and commissioned to ascertain the best and shortest line of communication between India and the Caspian, while another party, with the co-operation of the local authorities, was to ascend the Jaxartes into Eastern Turkestan, and pursue the search for gold up to the city of Yarkend,—an officer of the navy, Lieut. Koyin by name, whose insubordinate conduct afterwards gave Beckevitch much trouble, being even detailed for these duties, and a small detachment of seamen being placed at his disposal. Beckevitch's expeditionary force was exterminated by the Uzbeks, as is well known, at the south-west corner of the Aral, under circumstances which, in so far as regarded the treachery of the Oriental, and the blind infatuation of the European, commanders, very closely resembled the crisis of our own disastrous expedition to Cabool. Otherwise, Russia would have been brought into proximity with the Himálayan frontier, whilst our trade establishments were confined to the sea-board of Bengal, and might have thus anticipated our own wonderful career of conquest and annexation in Upper India.

Colonel Yule's analysis of the route which must have been followed by Marco Polo beyond Yarkend and Khoten, is both novel and important. It is most extraordinary that there should not be a single notice of Pein and Charchan, the two districts intervening between Khoten and Lop-nur, in any single author of the Jenghizian period, either Chinese, Mongolian, or Persian; but, in spite of this negative difficulty, we are content to believe that Marco Polo must have travelled by the southern route, along the skirts of the Kuen Luen range,

the only jade-producing district in that part of Asia; and we thus accept without hesitation Colonel Yule's identification of the one position with the Pimo of Hwen-Tsang, and of the other with the modern Charchand or Chachan.\* Mr. Forsyth's pretended explanation of Pein and Bolor as Persian '*Páin*' and '*Bálá*,' the 'Lower' and 'Upper' country which Colonel Yule notices without approving, hardly deserves serious refutation.

The evidence of a flourishing Christian community as far East as the great wall of China, which is afforded by Marco Polo's travels, together with the indications derived from the same source of some acquaintance with the arts and institutions of Europe at the Court of the Great Khán as early as the thirteenth century, may occasion surprise to those who have not made a special study of the social and religious condition of Central Asia during the Middle Ages, and who not unnaturally judge of the former condition of the country from its present aspect. It may be as well therefore to explain that, under the Mongol dynasty, which commenced with Jenghiz Khán in about A.D. 1200, the Christianity and civilisation of the far East had advanced much further than at any subsequent period of history. We need not pin our faith to the reported preaching of the Apostles in India, in China, and in Persia, but it is certain that Christianity penetrated at a very early period to the eastward. There were bishops at Susa and Persepolis in the fourth century, and the bloody persecutions which are recorded under Sapor, Kobád, and Firoz attest the rapid spread of the new religion. As time went on, ecclesiastical establishments multiplied, and by the end of the sixth century, or shortly before the rise of Islam, there were large Christian congregations in every considerable city of Central Asia as far east as Kashgár and Yarkend. The Mahommedans, when they occupied Samarcand in the seventh century, found an old Christian church in the mountains south of the city, probably at the modern Russian settlement of Urgut, and early in the eighth century a Metropolitan was consecrated for China. The famous Singanfu inscription, indeed, which is itself dated in A.D. 781, fixes the arrival

\* Colonel Yule does not seem to have noticed that in the Turkish map of Central Asia printed in the *Jehán Namá*, the town of *Pim* is placed a short distance to the North of Khoten. The *Jehán Namá* usually follows the *Heft Akhlám* in its Geography of Central Asia, and the *Heft Akhlám* again is a mere reproduction of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, but in neither of the two latter works is there any mention of *Pim* or of Charchan.

of the first Christian missionaries in China from the West in A.D. 635, immediately after the era of the Hegira; \* so that Mahommedanism and Christianity in that empire have, in respect to priority of introduction, been almost on an equal footing. The Nestorian seems to have been the most persevering and the most successful of the several Christian Churches which sought to obtain converts in the far East; but they did not by any means monopolise the missionary field, for there were Jacobite bishops, at a very early period, at Herat and in Seistán; and the Catalan map bears witness to the establishment of a monastery of Armenians near Lake Issi-kul to the north of Kashgár. To what extent the Christian Churches of the remote East preserved their purity of doctrine or of practice, we cannot positively ascertain, but we may infer that there was considerable laxity—a laxity, indeed, which caused Buddhism in China to be not unfrequently confounded with Christianity. It is especially worthy of remark that in the synopsis of Christian doctrine enunciated in the Singanfu proclamation, there is no allusion to the Crucifixion; and Rubruquis, moreover, has left it on record that in his time both the Armenian and the Nestorian priests at the Court of the Great Khan had dispensed with the use of the crucifix, being unwilling to offend the sensibility of the Mongols, who,

\* This important document is not as well known as it ought to be. The slab bearing the inscription was excavated in a suburb of Singanfu in A.D. 1625, and the discovery caused as great a sensation among the learned of that day as the recent finding of the Moabite stone. The monument seems to have been erected in order to commemorate the introduction of Christianity into China in A.D. 635, and to record the history of the spread of the new religion in that country up to the year 781. The abstract, however, which it contains of the Christian doctrine is, as Colonel Yule observes, 'of a very vague and 'figurative kind.' Notwithstanding the positive evidence of authenticity afforded by the monument itself, which, although written in Chinese, bears the names in Syriac of sixty-seven witnesses,—it was regarded at the time by many European 'savans' as an impudent forgery of the Jesuits, and even in our own day such able critics as Renan and Julien, and even Neumann, have impugned its genuineness. Pauthier and Remusat have, however, fully vindicated its authenticity, and Colonel Yule (in *Cathay*, vol. i. p. xciii.) has well observed that 'the utter impossibility of the forgery of such a monument at the time 'and place of its discovery is an invulnerable argument in its favour.' Colonel Yule's reduced facsimile of this famous inscription (*Marco Polo*, ii. 16) is one of the most interesting embellishments of his work, and his dissertation on the whole subject in the preliminary essay to '*Cathay*' is also well worthy of perusal.

although indifferent in general to religious questions, and reverential in their behaviour to the Christian priests, could not tolerate the public exhibition of the Passion on the Cross. Several large tribes of Mongols, such as the Naimáns, the Kerait, and the Merkits, had embraced Nestorian Christianity long anterior to the accession of Jenghiz, and to the chief of one or other of these tribes must be referred the stories of Prester John, if it be possible to fix on any single individual as the representative of that shadowy personage. Colonel Yule, however, has satisfactorily shown that the Prester John of Rubruquis and the Prester John of Marco Polo are certainly two different chiefs, one being Kushluk, the Naimán, and the other Ung Khán, the Kerait, both of whom were contemporary with Jenghiz Khán; while the original Prester John, whose fame reached Europe half a century earlier, through the report of the Syrian Bishop of Gabala, must have been Gur-Khán, the Kara-Khitayan, who, however, was no Christian, but whose name, softened into Yur-Khan, has been conjectured by Dr. Oppert to have been confounded by the Syrian priests with Juchanan, or Johannes.

It is remarkable that Marco Polo says little or nothing of the Christians whom he met with at the court of Kublai Khán. Probably he kept studiously aloof from them, as, on the one hand, they interfered with the trading operations of his party, while, on the other, it was obviously his aim to divest himself as much as possible of his European nationality, in order the more easily to identify himself with the feelings and interests of the country of his adoption. To realise the true position of the Christians at the Mongol Court, we must refer to the report of the French friar Rubruquis, who was sent by St. Louis in A.D. 1253, to incite Mangu Khán, Kublai's elder brother, to assist the failing fortunes of the Crusaders by an attack from the eastward upon their common foe, the Saracen. Nothing can be more grotesque than the description which the good friar gives of the journey of his party across the steppes. They travelled in the fashion which is still called 'Tartar,' the journey being performed on horseback and with constant relays of animals, without any regard to the endurance of the riders. The poor friar was corpulent and in very indifferent training. His horse sometimes could not be urged out of a trot: at other times it knocked up before the stage was half completed; occasionally he was obliged to take up a companion behind. The miseries, indeed, which he describes recall many similar 'Tartar' rides to the present writer, and one in particular, when he was accompanied by a Greek servant very much of the same

'physique' as Rubruquis. At the expiration of the third day, the well-seasoned Kaváss in attendance, whose whole life had been passed in the saddle, came in with a smile to report that 'Gurgis' was *hors de combat*, unable to proceed from abrasion, as the doctors call it, of the epidermis. 'He can't be left behind, Sir, in the desert,' added old Beirákdár; 'so with your leave we will give him the Tartar bath.' A tub of the strongest brine was accordingly prepared, in which the unfortunate Gurgis was forthwith immersed, uttering the most appalling howls at the first plunge, but subsiding shortly afterwards, and eventually, after half an hour's tanning, coming out so effectually case-hardened that he rode a further thousand miles to the Black Sea in the course of the next week without showing a symptom of distress! If Rubruquis had but been subjected to the same 'kindly cruel' treatment, how jauntily would he have ridden from the Volga to Karakoram!

Rubruquis found Greeks and Armenians, Jacobites and Nestorians, all congregated at the Mongol Court. He inveighs bitterly against their ignorance, their corruption, their falseness, and, above all, against their addiction to the Pagan superstitions. A weaver of Jerusalem, who called himself an Armenian priest, and was in high repute as a doctor, especially moved his ire, though it is pretty clear that in their joint treatment of the Princess Cotta, one of Mangu's wives, Brother Sergius, as he was called, showed the most sense of the two; for while Rubruquis insisted that 'holy water,' being infallible against evil spirits, was the true medicine to be administered, the Armenian preferred a decoction of rhubarb; and a compromise was with difficulty at last effected by a mixture of the two ingredients, a crucifix by mutual consent being further soaked in the potion during the night. The lady recovered; but whether it was owing to the rhubarb, or the holy water, or to the reading of St. John's gospel, or to certain mummeries with a cross in which both the doctors acquiesced, Rubruquis could not feel entirely satisfied. It appears that there was at this time a considerable gathering of Europeans at Karakoram. Rubruquis mentions a goldsmith of Paris taken prisoner at Belgrade who was in great request; a Norman bishop, a French lady from Metz, with her Russian husband, and many others, Hungarians, Greeks, Russians, Georgians, and Armenians, who acted as interpreters and hangers-on at the Mongol Court, and whom for the most part he denounces as impostors and adventurers. He had also passed at the Jaxartes a colony of Germans, who had been carried off by the Tartars, probably in their Hungarian war, and who were now employed as miners;

but he was not able to communicate with them. Rubruquis, who was thoroughly honest and single-minded, refused positively to lend himself to the lying and flattery with which the Levantines and native Nestorians, *more suo*, sought to conciliate the Khán's good will. He paid due honour to Mangu and his wives, and would willingly have assisted in their baptism, but was not to be persuaded into calling them Christians merely because they showed favour to the priests and attended the ceremonies of the Church. It appears, indeed, that although many of the Mongol emperors married wives from the Christian tribes of Naimán and Kerait, and employed native Christians as their ministers of state, yet no single sovereign of the house of Jenghiz (unless Baidu be perhaps an exception) openly professed Christianity. The brothers Mangu and Kublai, at any rate, as they are represented by Rubruquis and Marco Polo, treated all sects, Christians, Mohammedans, Jews, and Buddhists, with the most provoking impartiality. Religion was to them simply an instrument for guiding mankind, and thus strengthening the temporal power; and even the wise and politic Kublai, though he fully appreciated the general abilities of the Latin monks, and their superior acquirements as compared with the degenerate Nestorian clergy, and would thus have inaugurated probably a great movement of education among the Mongols under Christian auspices, had his requisition for 100 missionary instructors from Rome been complied with, yet in discussing the question with Marco Polo—if we may accept as genuine a peculiar paragraph which appears in Ramusio's translation—he was content to place his preference on the low ground that the Latins would control the Buddhist idolaters, expose their sorceries, and rebuke the evil spirits who supported them, to which tasks the native Christians were unequal.

On the subject of conjurations, whether performed by Thibetan priests as serious sorceries, or by professed jugglers without any claim to a religious character, Colonel Yule expatiates at some length; and some of the most curious and attractive passages in his work refer to the evidence, which is altogether above suspicion, of these extraordinary performances. There has been a general belief throughout Central Asia at all times in the efficacy of the Yedeh, or 'rain-stone,' to control the weather; and the moving of wine-cups, or heavy silver goblets, along the table at the Mongol feasts, for the convenience of the guests, and without visible means, was an ordinary exhibition of supposed sorcery which no one doubted. These feats, however, and a hundred others of a similar cha-



racter, which Colonel Yule compares with the marvellous legends of Simon Magus and Apollonius of Tyana, shrink into insignificance beside the crowning exploit of the endless rope and mutilated boy. The narrative, indeed, of this piece of avowed jugglery is really so extraordinary, proceeding as it does from independent witnesses of undoubted good faith, that we must invite particular attention to the following extracts from a note to Colonel Yule's book i. chap. lxi.:—

'Our first witness is Ibn Batuta, and it will be necessary to quote him in full. . . . The Arab traveller was present at a great entertainment at the court of the Viceroy of Khansa (Kinsay of Polo, or Hangehaufu). "That same night a juggler, who was one of the Kán's slaves, made his appearance, and the Amír said to him, 'Come, and show us some of your marvels!' Upon this he took a wooden ball, with several holes in it through which long thongs were passed, and (laying hold of one of these) slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. (It was the hottest season of the year, and we were outside in the middle of the palace court.) There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to lay hold of it and mount. He did so, climbing by the thong, and we lost sight of him also! The conjuror then called to him three times, but getting no answer he snatched up a knife, as if in a great rage, laid hold of the thong, and disappeared also! Bye and bye, he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand, and then the other foot, then the trunk, and, last of all, the head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting, and, with his clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amír, and said something to him in Chinese. The Amír gave some order in reply, and our friend then took the lad's limbs, laid them together in their places, and gave a kick, when, presto! there was the boy, who got up and stood before us! All this astonished me beyond measure, and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial, however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, 'Wallah! 'tis my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down; neither marring nor mending; 'tis all hocus pocus!'"

'Now let us compare with this, which Ibn Batuta, the Moor, says he saw in China about the year 1348, the account which is given us by Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller, of the performances of a Chinese gang of conjurors, which he witnessed at Batavia in about the year 1670. After describing very vividly the *basket-murder* trick, which is well known in India, and now also in Europe, and some feats of bamboo-balancing, similar to those which were recently shown by Japanese performers in England, only more wonderful, he proceeds:—

"But now I am going to relate a thing which surpasses all belief, and which I should scarcely venture to insert here, had it not been witnessed by thousands before my own eyes. One of the same gang took

"a ball of cord, and, grasping one end of the cord in his hand, slung the other up into the air with such force that its extremity was beyond reach of our sight. He then immediately climbed up the cord with indescribable swiftness, and got so high that we could no longer see him. I stood full of astonishment, not conceiving what was to come of this, when, lo! a leg came tumbling down out of the air. One of the conjuring company instantly snatched it up, and threw it into the basket whereof I have formerly spoken. A moment later a hand came down, and immediately on that another leg. And, in short, all the members of the body came thus successively tumbling from the air, and were cast together into the basket. The last fragment of all that we saw tumble down was the head, and no sooner had that touched the ground than he who had snatched up all the limbs and put them in the basket turned them all out again topsy-turvy. Then straightway we saw with these eyes all those limbs creep together again, and, in short, form a whole man, who at once could stand and go just as before, without showing the least damage! Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance; and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil. For it seems to me totally impossible that such things should be accomplished by natural means."

The Emperor Jehángir also is quoted by Colonel Yule for the account of a similar wonderful performance which he himself witnessed:—

"They produced," he says, "a chain of fifty cubits in length, and in my presence threw one end of it towards the sky, *where it remained as if fastened to something in the air*. A dog was then brought forward, and, being placed at the lower end of the chain, immediately ran up, and reaching the other end *immediately disappeared in the air*. In the same manner a hog, a panther, a lion, and a tiger, were successively sent up the chain, and all equally disappeared at the upper end of the chain. At last they took down the chain, and put it in a bag, no one ever discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish into the air in the mysterious manner above described."

Now the only explanation we can conceive of this superb piece of jugglery, which seems to have equally imposed on Europeans and Orientals, would be that it was accomplished by means of a skilful adjustment of mirrors, somewhat on the same principle as Professor Pepper's Ghost; but it is doubtful if machinery of so elaborate a character could have been available in the East at that early period. By far the best exhibition of the sort in modern times is the pretended growth of a mango tree, within the space of one hour from the first deposit of the stone in the earth to the production of a fruit-bearing tree. The successful accomplishment of this trick depends, we believe, on a number of subordinate arrangements, but it is very effective when skilfully performed. Indeed, we have

heard the late Lord Macaulay say, that it was the only piece of jugglery he ever witnessed, either in the East or West, which gave him at the moment an impression of supernatural agency.

A considerable portion of Colonel Yule's book is taken up in explaining the mediæval legends, especially those relating to Alexander the Great, with which Marco Polo seems to have been pretty well saturated, and to which he constantly alludes in describing the countries where the various incidents of the romance are supposed to have occurred. In most cases he would have found the local tradition identical with his own reminiscence; but in respect to the 'Arbre Sol,' or 'oracular tree of the Sun,' which foretold Alexander's death, and which by the strangest jumble he has confounded with the 'Arbre Sec,' or 'dry-tree' of Christian romance, there is no corresponding Persian legend, as far as we know, which indicates the province of Khorassán as the scene of the fable; and the only explanation, therefore, that we can possibly offer of Marco's uniform substitution of the 'Arbre Sol' for the name of Khorassán is, that the title in question is often supposed to be a corruption of *Khur-astán*, or 'the region of the Sun,' an etymology which may have suggested to his mind the familiar Alexandrian legend. The story of the 'old man of the mountains' Marco had no doubt first learnt of the Crusaders, for it was the Ismaeli chief of Syria who alone bore that title (*Sheikh-el-Jebel*), though Marco applies the name to the descendants of Hassan Sabáh, in Persia, those Eastern 'assassin' chiefs who held the castles of Alamút and Girdakúh. Colonel Yule has collected many interesting particulars of this famous sect, who by their deliberate and unrelenting system of murder acquired such a terrible reputation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but he does not seem to be aware that the real secret of the influence which the chief exerted over his followers was the belief that the Deity was incarnate in his person.\* The Ismaelí heretics, indeed, in common with

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\* There can be no doubt that Colonel Yule is right in interpreting the name of *Mulahet*, which Marco Polo applies to the country of the Ismaelís, as a corruption of *Muláhíleh*, which was the conventional title of the sect; but his remarks on Marco's rendering of the name are not equally free from objection. Marco Polo translates *Mulahet* by a phrase which in some MSS. is read as *Desuram*, in others as *Diex Terrien*. Yule adopts the former reading, and explains *Des-Aram* as 'place of the Aram,' i.e. 'of the *Harámis*,' or 'impious;' but the use of *Harámi* in this sense, though common enough in Turkish, is very unusual in Persian; and the other reading, therefore, of *Diex Terrien*, or 'God on earth,' would seem to be preferable, the more especially as this

the great body of the mountain tribes of Persia, believe that there must be always a visible manifestation of the Godhead upon earth, and the writer of this article has personally witnessed the adoration which is thus paid by his ignorant followers to the present Caliph, the well-known Agha Khán Mahaláti, who after a chequered career of fifty years, sometimes as an outlaw flying for his life, sometimes as a partisan commander of horse fighting bravely side by side with the British troops in the Afghan war, sometimes litigating in an Indian court to prove his right to a tithe of the income of everyone among his disciples, has now settled down at Bombay as the head of the Bohrah sect, and the great patron of horse-racing in the western presidency.\*

Colonel Yule has disarmed criticism by his candid acknowledgment of his own moderate qualifications as an Oriental scholar; and if therefore we now venture to offer a very few remarks in correction of some of his Arabic and Persian etymologies, we must be understood to do so, not in any captious or fault-finding spirit, but merely to enhance the value of a work which is so good that we should desire it to be without blemish. The first identification, then, to which we take objection is that of Marco's '*Ondanique*' with an assumed *Hundwáníy* for 'Indian steel' (vol. i. p. 87 sqq.). No such term as *Hundwáníy* is ever used that we are aware of, either in colloquial Persian or in books; Indian blades, moreover, are not, as Colonel Yule supposes, in great request at present in Persia, being considered, indeed, far inferior to the fine Khorassan steel. Whence the '*Andena*' of the Middle Ages was immediately derived it is very difficult to say, but taking into account the interchangeability of the *h* and *d* in several Aryan tongues, and the frequent development of a nasal before a dental, it seems quite possible that *Anden* and

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heresy of 'God upon earth' was the special characteristic of the Ismaeli doctrine; and moreover, as the equivalent phrases of '*Dieu en terre*,' and '*Dei Terrein*,' were used in reference to the sect by contemporary writers.

\* The devotee, on approaching 'the presence,' throws himself prostrate on the ground, and crawls up, like a snake, to touch the hem of the holy garment. Agha Khán, who was a rough-and-ready chief of a tribe, fond of fighting and good living and all manly sports, and who hated priest-craft and courtly life, objected strongly to be hampered either with the obligations or the privileges of the divine character; but the superstition of his followers was too strong for him, and during his sojourn in Candahar and Sinde, he thus lived in a very painful condition of restraint.

*Ahen*—the ordinary Persian word for 'iron'—may be in their origin identical; the more so indeed that, as Colonel Yule observes, there are cognate terms for iron in Ossetish and Wotiak, *Andun* and *Andan*, which all point to a common root. We have never met, however, with the Persian or Arabic original of 'Andena,' and we are curious to know what exact term was used by Avicenna in the passage extracted by Colonel Yule from Roger Bacon's translation.\* Again, in the *Safators* of the Great Khán, to whom the Chinese viceroys rendered their accounts, we have probably the Arabic plural *Dafátir*, from *Daftar*, 'the public register' (vol. i. p. cx). Certainly the word is not *Hisáb-dár*, as Colonel Yule conjectures, for such a compound, though possible, is never used in practice. Colonel Yule's explanation of Reobarles as *Rúdbár-i-lass*, is even more objectionable (vol. i. p. 107). The junction of Arabic and Persian in the same name is very rare, and if the Arabic term *Lass* for 'a robber' were used at all, it would be in the plural *Lussús*, as in *Kasr-el-Lussús*, 'the Robber-castle,' a name for the town of *Kangewer*; *Akuba-el-Lussús*, 'the Robber-pass,' &c.; but in truth Marco's rendering of the name was nearly right, for the district in question between *Jiruft* and *Hornúz* was named *Rúdbál* as often as *Rúdbár*, the former being the orthography used by the Herat geographer, and both forms occurring in Istakhrí. There are still a few more minor criticisms that we desire to offer. The title of *Amber-i-Rasúl*, 'the Prophet's bouquet,' for a Persian wine (vol. i. p. 108), is out of the question. Lieut. Kemphorne's compound epithet of *amber-rosolli* is possibly *amber-asali*, 'Honey bouquet.' *Rúh-i-Tútiya*, again, translated 'spirit of tutty,' should be simply 'zinc tutty,' *Rúh* being the specific name for zinc in Persian (vol. i. p. 118). The connexion also of the Turkish *Yedeh*, 'the rain-stone,' with the Hindústani *Jádú*, 'enchantment,' which Colonel Yule takes for granted, is more than doubtful (vol. i. p. 273). *Jadu* is generally compared with the Sanskrit *Yánu*, 'a goblin or demon.' At any rate, the Persian is probably older than the Turkish term. The dissertation on the 'Argons,' or 'half-breeds' of Marco Polo, is curious if not convincing

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\* It is quite possible that the metal described by Marco Polo under the name of *Ondanique* may be the Indian steel, but that does not by any means prove that this term, which is usually written *Andena*, and which was common in Europe in the Middle Ages, is a corruption of *Hundwáníy*. All the Arab and Persian geographers describe the iron and steel mines of Kerman and Kohistan, but nowhere do they use a name at all approaching in sound to 'Andena,' or 'Ondanique.' The term uniformly employed for steel is *Foulád*.

(vol. i. p. 254). It surpasses, we think, the bounds of true criticism to connect the Semitic *argavan*, 'purple' (Hebrew, ארגון, and the same word occurs in Assyrian), with Turkí and Thibetan forms; but there are, we admit, strong grounds for regarding the modern *Tungúns* as the descendants of the Mongolian Argons. As far as historical traditions can be trusted, everything points to the deportation in the eighth and ninth centuries from the neighbourhood of Kashgár of the large 'Tagazgaz' tribe of Ouigours, who at that time were partly Manichæans and partly Christians, to the Chinese frontier, as the origin of the *Tungán* race; but with respect to the name, among the many derivations that have been given, the most plausible would seem to be the compound Chinese term *Tun-jen* or 'military people,' which was applied to these Mohammedan colonists, settled on the *Tun-tien* or 'military lands' of the western frontier. The only other criticism that we venture to make is that the Organa of Nearchus, contiguous to Oaracta or Vract (modern Kishim), is not the *Jirún* of the Arabs, as Colonel Yule suggests (vol. i. p. 108), but more probably the Island of *Angan*, formerly *Argan*, our present chief telegraph station in the Per-ian Gulf, although Dr. Vincent, in his *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, prefers to identify Organa with *Larrak*, an island in the immediate vicinity.

It will be observed that we have only attempted as yet to pursue the travels of Marco Polo as far as the Chinese frontier. Each book of each volume of Colonel Yule's work requires in reality an article to itself. There is not the same high interest, perhaps, in tracing Marco's steps among the unfamiliar Mongolian provinces, or through the populous districts of China itself, which had but recently come under Kublai's rule, as in tracking him across the better-known regions of Central Asia; but Colonel Yule claims a special credit for his explanation of the geography of the route from Sindafu to Carajan upon the Burmese frontier, which Marco followed in one of his official tours, and the details, moreover, of the return voyage from the port of Zayton through the Eastern Archipelago and along the shores of India, are replete with interest; so that it is with real reluctance we find ourselves compelled by want of space to pass over these curious topics. It is not very easy to realise the position of the Poli at the Court of the Great Khán, for although Marco gossips at considerable length regarding the wonders of the various countries and cities which he visited, he is strangely reticent as to his own personal history and adventures. Colonel Yule, however, has been

able to trace his steps through the districts of Shansi, Shensi, and Szechuen to the remote province of Yun-nan, on the Burmese frontier, whither he was sent as Commissioner by the Emperor shortly after his arrival at Court. Somewhat later he is found in the Government of Yanzu, near the sea-coast, 'one of the oldest and most famous of the great cities of 'China;' and there are also incidental notices of his being employed on missions in Tangut, and in Champa or Southern Cochin China, and perhaps also in the Indian Seas. When we remember, indeed, that Kublai Khán, besides being Lord Paramount of the whole empire of the Mongols as far west as Persia and the Volga, ruled with direct authority over all Central Asia, from Kashgár to the China Sea, and further claimed allegiance from Borneo, and Java, and Sumatra—his political relations even extending as far as Madagascar—we can understand what an unlimited field was open to the career of a young and ambitious politician like Marco Polo, who had won his way completely into the Emperor's confidence, thereby exciting to an almost dangerous degree the jealousy of the native courtiers. Marco must have enjoyed unusual facilities for amassing wealth, and no doubt he turned his opportunities to good account; for although nowhere in his notes dictated to Rustician does he make any boast of his riches, Ramusio has preserved a tradition of his return to Venice, which describes his exhibition to his astonished fellow-citizens of such a vast treasure of jewels and precious stones as had never before been seen even in that emporium of wealth; and the house moreover in which the family resided, was long known by the name of the '*Cortè del Millionè.*'

Nothing in all Marco Polo's autobiography is of a more romantic character than the account he gives of the manner in which he ultimately succeeded in obtaining his dismissal from Kublai's Court. The Great Khán, like Theodore of Abyssinia, had become so attached to his Italian friends, and found their services, no doubt, of so much use to him, that he could not be persuaded to part with them. The Poli, on the other hand, having acquired great wealth in gold and jewels, desired, as Colonel Yule says, 'to carry their gear 'and their own grey heads safe home to the Lagoons.' They were aware that under ordinary circumstances travelling between the Volga and Cathay was as safe as, or even safer than, travelling in Europe; but in the event of the Khán's death—and he was now of a great age, having nearly reached his eightieth year—troubles were sure to arise, which for a time would put a stop to traffic altogether. While they were

anxiously considering their position, an embassy of three barons arrived from Kublai's great nephew, Arghun, who then ruled in Persia, representing that their master's favourite Mongolian wife having recently died, had desired to be succeeded by a lady of her own tribe and family from her native land of Cathay. A very beautiful and charming person, a maiden of seventeen, of the Bayaut tribe, who rejoiced in the name of Cocachin, was accordingly selected and handed over to the embassy to be escorted to Persia. And now Marco Polo's reputation stood him in good stead, for as the land journey through Central Asia was blocked in consequence of wars that had broken out among certain Tartar princes, and the ambassadors were thus obliged to return by sea, they decided to make a special application to the Emperor for the escort of the Poli family, knowing that 'all three had great knowledge and 'experience of the Indian Sea and of the countries by which 'they would have to pass, and especially Messer Marco.' Reluctantly the Great Khán consented, and accordingly, after seventeen years of continued sojourn in Mongolia, the Italians left for the West. So tardy was navigation in those days that the embassy consumed apparently twenty-six months in reaching the Persian Gulf from Zayton, a short distance to the north of Canton, the ships having remained in port for several months during two successive years—once at Sumatra and again on the Malabar coast—in order to avoid the perils of the monsoon. Ultimately, however, the party landed at Hurmuz, and as Arghun was now dead and his brother, Kaikhatu, reigned in his stead, it was arranged that the heir-presumptive, the young Prince Ghazan, should succeed to the lady's hand. Two of Arghun's ambassadors had died during the voyage, and a large proportion of the suite, but the Mongolian princess and her companion, the daughter of the King of Manzi, arrived safely in the Persian camp. There is something touching—almost solemn—in the few words with which Marco closes his account of this singular drama.

'And those two great ladies who were thus entrusted to them they watched over and guarded as if they had been daughters of their own, until they had transferred them to the hands of their lord, whilst the ladies, young and fair as they were, looked on each of those three as a father, and obeyed them accordingly. Indeed, both Ghazan, who is now the reigning prince, and the queen, Cocachin, his wife, have such a regard for the envoys that there is nothing that they would not do for them. And when the three ambassadors took leave of that lady to return to their own country, she wept for sorrow at the parting.'

And now in bringing to a close our very inadequate notice



of Marco Polo and his remarkable career, we cannot do better than quote at length the full and nervous peroration in which Colonel Yule proudly summarises the achievements of his hero and claims for him a high place in the roll of fame.

‘He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the deserts of Persia, the flowering plateau and wild gorges of Badakhshan; the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan; the Mongolian Steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom; the new and brilliant court that had been established at Cambaluc: the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders, with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of Thibet, with its sordid devotees; of Burma, with its golden pagodas, and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that museum of beauty and wonder still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized, and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the pearl of islands; of Sumatra, with its many kings, its strange costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the isle of gems, with its sacred mountain and its tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dreamland of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmins, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds, and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea beds of pearls, and its powerful sun; the first in medieval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian empire of Abyssinia, and the semi-Christian island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar, with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar, bordering on the dark ocean of the South, with its Rue and other monstrosities; and in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and rein-deer-riding Tunguses.’

- ART. II.—1. *A History of Lace.* By Mrs. BURY PALLISER. 2nd edition. London: 1870.
2. *Catalogue of a Collection of Lace and Needlework, with a list of books on the same subject, both formed by and in the possession of Mrs. Hailstone, of Horton Hall, and exhibited at Leeds.* Privately printed: 1868.
3. *Designs for Lace-making.* By S. H. LILLA HAILSTONE. London: 1870. Printed for private distribution.
4. *Origine ed uso delle Trine a filo di refe.* Genova: 1864. Privately printed for the Costabili-Caselli nuptials.
5. *Handbook of Greek Lace-making.* By J. H. 2nd edition. Printed for private circulation. London: 1870.
6. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Lace and Embroidery in the South Kensington Museum.* By Mrs. BURY PALLISER. London: 1870.
7. *Textile Fabrics: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Church Vestments, Silks, Stuffs, Needlework, and Tapestries, forming that section of the South Kensington Museum.* By the Very Rev. DANIEL ROCK, D.D.: 1870.
8. *Official Reports of the Various Sections of the Exhibition: Fine Arts Division.* Part IV. London: 1871.
9. *Report on Educational Works and Appliances in the Indian Department of the London International Exhibition, 1871.* By GEORGE SMITH, Esq., LL.D. Edinburgh. London: 1871.
10. *The Lace-makers.* By Mrs. MEREDITH. London: 1865.
11. *Les Guipures d'Art.* Par Mme. GOUBAUD. London: 1869.
12. *Pillow Lace.* By Mde. GOUBAUD. London: 1871.
13. *A History of Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures.* By WILLIAM FELKIN. London: 1867.
14. *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen Gewebe und Stickereien, Nadelarbeiten und Spitzen, aus alterer Zeit.* Nürnberg: 1869.

THERE used to be an old saying, that ‘of the smallest matters the law does not take care,’ but to the art of lace-making that axiom certainly can no longer be applied, since every year now gives us one or more works on the history, or on the reproduction of Lace.

Books on both these topics stand at the head of our article;

books, some of which might, with great propriety, have been treated of separately under their respective heads, did they not all bear on Lace-making as one of the Fine Arts. By a Fine Art is meant one of those methods by which men of taste, intellect, and originality have been able first to express themselves, and then to appeal to the taste and intelligence of their own and of future generations. It matters not what be the material, whether it be marble, bronze, canvas, or but a linen thread, fine as that which Arachne span: whether the tool be the chisel, the pencil, or the needle, so that the hand of the artist be but present: and it is from the presence in Lace-making both of harmonious design and of suitable execution that we claim for it a place as one of the Fine Arts.

Its object is ornamentation; it belongs to that Beautiful which it is so good to have about us after the Needful is already there, not only on account of the pleasure which it gives, but because its very presence indicates leisure, refinement, and a cultivation of the artistic sense. The title of Lace-making to rank among the Arts is a valid one, and it is one which would be more commonly recognised had not the history of Lace passed into the province of the antiquarian, in the same way that its reproduction by hand and loom has become one of the charitable and industrial interests of the day. The artist has been too much driven from the field, or only appears as a collector of old and curious specimens, so that an absence of artistic feeling characterises too many of the modern works on the subject, yet it is our intention to show that as this was not the case in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so neither ought it to be so in our own.

As a book full of antiquarian research, or of curious statistics, Mrs. Bury Palliser's volume merits its place at the head of our list. Nowhere perhaps would it be possible to find under the head of Lace a greater number of historical and archaeological facts than she has collected in this book, which forms a real history of Lace, illustrative of the manners of past generations and of distant countries, while it is illustrated by many beautiful and well-rendered designs. In this way Mrs. Bury Palliser has supplied a want, and she has managed to make her subject popular by much of the gossip of history. If her modern statistics are not valuable, it is because all questions of wages and labour, demand and supply, depend on fluctuating causes which are sometimes obscure and often unexpected, since, we have just seen, a national struggle and an internecine war can, in the space of a few months, revolutionise many local manufactures, and render former tables of figures out of date,

and worthless. There is, however, one respect in which this History of Lace has not answered expectation: we mean with regard to the classification and nomenclature of Lace. Some of the curious errors which occurred in its first edition have been removed from the present one, but not the less must a collector, wishing to identify his specimens, and to learn *how* they were made, *where* they were made, and *when* they were made, rise from the perusal of this book more puzzled than informed, particularly when he sees the name *point* applied to fabrics which never were made, and never could be made, with the needle. This is a dealer's error, really out of place in the book of a connoisseur, a term often ignorantly used in shops, but which it would be unpardonable to misapply in a museum, and no amount of antiquarian notes will avail to distinguish between laces if those broad distinctions are lost sight of by which alone Lace can be correctly classified.

With regard to laces, ancient and modern, it is a pity that no 'natural system' of classification has ever been laid down. The collection exhibited at Leeds, by Mrs. Hailstone, in 1868, was indeed so classified, and it is only to be regretted that its owner did not in her beautiful catalogue more fully explain the reasons which had actuated her when she named her specimens on the best and simplest of all plans, namely, in right of their *nature* only. Were this plan once introduced we are persuaded that it would never go out of fashion, for it is exceedingly simple. It is true that a great scholar is reported to have once (when extremely drunk) made use of a very improper expression with regard to the 'nature of things;' and yet, in spite of the annoyance which it may have once caused Porson, it is 'the nature of things,' and nothing but 'the nature of things,' that can stand the collector in good stead in his search after knowledge.

Lace is then of three kinds: needle-made or *point*, cushion-made, or bobbin-lace, and machine-wrought; and these three kinds are so distinct as never to be confounded, and to have their separate standards of merit. A fourth place might perhaps be found for that composite class of *application* laces, in which all the three methods are mixed, as when pillow-made sprigs of Brussels, or Honiton, are applied by hand to a ground of machine-made net.

In order to be able to give the more undivided attention to the two first, we will at once dismiss this hybrid class, while for all details as to the third species of Lace, we content ourselves by referring the reader to Mr. Felkin's volume. The invention and progress of the Lace-making loom is there well traced and

recorded by him, from the time that this miracle of ingenuity was first thought of in 1760, down to its latest development, and we think that machine-wrought lace has a future before it in the increasing luxury of our dwelling-houses, and in the improved teaching of our schools of design.

We now propose to speak of needle-made or *point-lace*, which is first in order of value, and also of antiquity, being derived from the practice of needlework among the Eastern nations, and which in parts of Italy and Spain is still known by its Eastern name of *recami* or *reccamata*. This is the rarest, the most artistic, and, in many of its kinds, the most lasting of laces, while by means of its varied stitches numbers of objects can be well represented; thus flowers, fruits, figures, coats of arms, sacred emblems, and the best geometrical designs are to be seen among the trophies of the patient needle.

This *point-lace* is divisible into many sub-classes. Of these are *rose*, or raised point, called in France *dentelle à fleurs volantes*. *Point-coupé*, or cutwork; *guipure*,\* or *whipped*; i.e. over-headed work, sewed over a rolled stuffing of parchment or cotton. *Punti a maglia*, work darned in upon the meshes of a netted (*reticella*) ground, and called in France *point-compté*, because these meshes are counted for the design. *Punti posati* is our *laid-work*. *Punti tirati* is *drawn-work*, where, as in hemstitch, all the warp threads are drawn out, and the woof ones are drawn together, and oversewed on a pattern. *Punti a stuora*, is work on a coarse *mat-like* foundation: *punti in gassi*, on the contrary, was probably on a *réseau* ground, as a Spanish dictionary says it is '*muy delgada y trasparente*.' *Punti reali* is, like *satin-stitch*, worked on a close material previously existing, and therefore belonging to a class of the true *recami*. This is the *plumetis* of the French *brodeuse*, and we have seen the robe of a West African savage elaborately covered with designs in this stitch, which were supposed to have a heraldic signification, and which were certainly admirably executed. Chain-stitch, the *tambour* of France and Scotland, is sparingly used in these old designs, where the stitch preferred to all others was that button-hole stitch by which the exquisite Venetian *punt in ære* was formed on the foundation of a single thread.

The grounds of these true *point laces* are of distinct kinds: the

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\* The derivation of this word is much disputed. Bescherelle says it comes from '*guipoire—un instrument pour faire la frange torse*.' The Venetians, judging from their own habit of transposing letters, aver that it is but a corruption of '*punt in ære*.'

best is the *réseau*, when the pattern lies on a net ground, as in the laces of Burano, Alençon, Argentan, and in the other needle *points* of Angletorre and Brussels. When parts of the design are connected with what look like small knotted cords, these are termed the *brides*, and the knots, or thorns, called the *picots*, are the test of a good worker.\*

The second kind of Lace is the pillow, or bobbin-made. This also is hand-wrought, and in it, by an ingenious association of threads, a wandering plait, more or less intricate, forms an agreeable design. As the root of all *point-lace* is to be found in needlework, so the root of all bobbin-made lace is to be found in a braid (*lacet*), or plait, made by weaving and plaiting threads together on a precise pattern or plan. The threads, fastened to small bobbins of bone, lead, or wood,† are thrown across the pillow, and plaited round a number of pins; each pin represents a mesh, and in the work the threads, traversing as they do from left to right, and right to left, often weave at once the pattern and the ground. The work is far more laborious than could be imagined by anyone who had not tried it, though, by the position of the pillow, its fatigue can be greatly diminished or increased. The English worker lays the pillow on her lap, the Bohemian places it on a small stand in front of her, but the peasant of the Vosges sits on a very low stool, and takes what she calls her *tambour* between her knees, while she reproduces with astonishing rapidity those small medallions and sprigs, for every one of which perhaps many dozen bobbins have to be kept in motion.

Yet work done in this way, being as it were semi-mechanical, and admitting of a greater division of labour, must be in a measure inferior to true needle-made laces: being less deliberate, less finished, and less purely under the worker's own control, it is by so much a less perfect expression of any man's mind. It is less artistic, less spontaneous, it is more quickly made, and is therefore rather less costly. Not the less, however, do some of the fine cushion-laces, such as the coral-pattern of Naples and Lombardy, the *schlangenmuster* of Germany, and the sprigs of Brussels and Honiton, deserve the

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\* With regard to the best, the Italian method of making these *picots* or thorns, we refer our readers to Mrs. Hailstone's volume of 'Designs for Lace-making.'

† These materials have in different countries given different names to the bobbins, which in France are simply called '*les fuseaux*,' but in Spain '*palillos*,' in Venice '*mazoché*,' in Genoa '*ossi*,' in Tuscany '*piombini*,' in Bohemia '*klopeln*,' while Shakspeare called them '*the bones*.'

greatest admiration, while in the modern fabric to which the nickname of ' *Cluny* ' is given, we have copies on the pillow of some of the best *point* designs of the sixteenth century.

From the causes we have mentioned cushion-lace must of course be less fitted than is *point* for rendering the forms of natural objects: thus scrolls, arabesques, coral patterns, vandyke borders, and flowers of a conventional type have ever formed the staple of its designs, both in past centuries and in its present fashionable phase of reproduction by tape. One of its most homely forms is the coarse\* *torchon* lace to be found in France, Portugal, Galicia, Bohemia, Madeira, Dalecarlia, and the Tyrol, and which, now with one ground and now with another, may be seen edging altar-cloths in small and poor churches.

Pillow-laces, especially when they have network grounds, should be judged entirely from these *fonds* or grounds. The old ones, such as Mechlin, have generally a hexagonal mesh; but the *fond* of modern Valenciennes differs from that of the old school, as do the various *fonds* called of ' Mirecourt ' (wire-ground) ' trolly,' and ' Ave Maria; ' and all these are technicalities which have to be mastered before one is able to judge of Lace, since the local schools sometimes adopted each other's patterns, but never exchanged their methods of working the ground.†

Some pillow-laces have *brides* and *picots* executed with wonderful success, so as to produce the effect of the *brides* and *picots* made by the needle; sometimes, as in Brussels laces, bobbin-made sprigs are joined by needle-work, and *points* are added, which made a composite fabric; and sometimes, as in the Calvados, the women use a peculiar stitch for fastening together scrolls made on the pillow; yet, notwithstanding the presence of these and other composite varieties, such as Limerick lace, and the *Halbe-Spitzen* of Germany, we hope that we have succeeded in proposing such a simple ' natural system ' as will always answer the question, ' how was this piece of lace ' made? ' All the sub-classes will have to be learnt by experience, by the use of the magnifying glass, and by the study of old books, as well as of the volumes which we have enumerated at the head of this article.

\* *Torchon*, literally, a *duster*, a coarse cloth.

† The mesh of Lille was diamond-shaped; that of Mechlin was six-sided, but made with three threads; that of Valenciennes hexagonal, with two threads, which are sometimes twisted, and sometimes plaited. Old Honiton has two sides plaited, and two twisted.

Having ascertained what any specimen of lace is—that is to say, *how* it was made—we take it for granted that the collector will go on to inquire *when* was it made?

To appreciate correctly the age of any piece of lace is no easy task. It is a great matter to be conversant with the best books of design, for these will at least give an approximate idea as to the date *before* which any piece of lace was not very likely to have been executed. But this is not all. Some manufactures, (sub-classes of point-lace,) such as the Alençon of the Colbert period, had but a brief duration, and others again, like the *dentelles à fleurs volantes* imported from Venice, had one term of life in Italy, and another in France, and he would be a bold man who should undertake to say of any kind of lace that it was never made in England. We believe that every lace made on the continent has been known and worked here, though it may be but in small quantities, and at dates differing from the time when they formed an actual school in Italy, France, or Germany. This point must be borne in mind whenever the archaeological question is put, and the date of the *work*, as recognised from the style, material and collateral evidences, and distinct from that of the *design*, must be ascertained before answering the question, if the specimen is of English manufacture.

Observation, study, and great experience are required to enable anyone to judge correctly of the age of Lace, and even with all these it is much easier to guess, or to dogmatise, than to *know*. Without such qualifications a collector is most certain to be cheated, and what is more to cheat himself, since fancied resemblances, wear and tear, clever imitations, and clever mending all conspire to puzzle and to deceive him. If he listens to an ordinary dealer he will be struck by one curious fact, namely, that laces have a number of geographical names which prove a great addition to his difficulties. Yet we take it for granted that having settled *how* a specimen was made, and tried to settle *when* it was made, our collector is ready to ask, in the third place, *where* was it made? Now though some laces, like the *copanaki* (cotton) and *bi-beli* (silk lace) of Smyrna, are distinctively local, nothing can in nine cases out of ten be less certain than the *habitat* of laces, and yet, oddly enough, it has been (in the absence of the 'natural system' of classification) on the geography of Lace that its nomenclature has hitherto been mainly allowed to depend.

The result has been the most admired confusion in our minds and in our cabinets, where laces are called 'Greek' if



they came last from Malta or Corfu (one piece possibly being *point coupé*, made with the needle, and another a border made on the pillow), and where we have specimens called Venetian, because they were bought in Verona, though they happen perhaps to be scraps of pillow-made Flemish, of a date prior to 1750. In the same way any lace bought in the Ghetto is set down as Roman, or perhaps as Milanese if 'four *braccia*' exactly like it 'were seen last month in a shop near the 'Duomo!' And so it goes on, and if at length the collector becomes gradually wise enough to suspect that his last Milanese investment may be genuine 'Point d'Angleterre,' his dismay is complete, and he is ready to give up in despair the task of naming his favourites according to any trustworthy plan. And yet, as there is such a thing as a geographical distribution of lace, there must be some clue to this labyrinth, and there is; in the history of the lace-schools, and in the literature of Lace. These added to a minute investigation into the 'nature of things,' in the face of the best attested legends, will help us to a just decision.

Let no pedigree ever drive out of our minds the broad distinctions of fact; let us be fully convinced of this, that whatever have been the wanderings of a flounce in the three hundred years that have elapsed since 'point de Venise' was in its perfection, no amount of time or space can change needle-made into bobbin-made, convert wandering braids into Guipure, or 'fond de Mirecourt' into a *réseau* of Alençon.

The adventures of the flounce have given rise to its many *aliases*, and these adventures would be amusing enough if we could trace them. Let us say that the border in question was worked in some convent in the Euganean Hills for a prelate, who wore it above his purple, and gave it a fine mixed flavour of incense and candle-smoke, and of the close oak-chests of his sacristy. After his death a princess bought it—her thoughtless heirs sold it—a dishonest servant stole it—a prince's favourite flaunted in it—a needy mender pieced it, a Jew priced it, and sent it abroad, to be rebought, resold, reworn, return, remended, and so on till it reached the pawnbroker's shop in Paris, where the English lady bargained for it, who now laments that her 'Spanish guipure' was so sadly torn at her last ball. If the poor lady's 'Spanish 'guipure,' besides having been torn is challenged, she asks plaintively how *is* she to know what her lace is?

She never will know, unless she will learn to distinguish point-lace from pillow-lace, studies the sub-classes of these two

great divisions, and abandons the geographical idea, except as far as the schools of lace can be made to serve her purpose.

The schools had a geographical distribution. The beautiful geometrical designs of *point coupé* are of Eastern origin—Venice and Zante were their congenial homes. The *réseau*-ground laces of Alençon and Argentan, so well fitted for a courtier's ruffles, grew up round the court of the *Grand Monarque*. Cushion-laces, again, are a fashion of the more northern nations, existing often in poor and mountainous regions, such as Bohemia, the Tyrol, Dalecarlia, and the Vosges. In fact the girl who plies what Shakspeare called 'the bones,' will generally be found speaking a *patois*, and living remote from the great centres of industry.

Of all Lace-schools the school *par excellence* was that of Venice; and there, more than in any other place, lace took its place among the Fine Arts during the last half of the sixteenth and the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Many causes contributed to this effect. The period of the Renaissance was one of luxury: tired of a creed which contemned the body, the Italians of that day were learning from the revival of Greek literature to worship beauty and fitness. This age, that laughed with Pietro Aretino, and smiled with La Gioconda, sang and supped, studied and doubted, and whether as princes, prelates or merchants, we see that the Medici, Sforzas, and della Roveres required for their pleasure all the services of all the arts. Miniatures for their books, cups for their tables, pictures for their walls, and domes for their churches—they asked all that art could make, and they were ready to reward it. And of all Italian cities none had then a richer or a gayer life than Venice. Those senators painted by Tintoret, those warriors of Giorgione's, were not anchorets, and those fair-haired beauties whom Titian drew were possibly not saints, nay, they were so extravagant in their expenditure and attire, that the rulers of the Republic passed sumptuary laws to restrain them. Every ornament that Venice could produce there fair ladies had already adapted to their dress; and not content with these, the manufactures of other countries were sought out and purchased by them in such quantities that the factories of the Republic were said to suffer. Her Inquisitors then took the matter in hand. Here is one of their sumptuary laws with regard to laces and braids given in the Senate, March 11th, 1653, and ordered to be published on the stairs of San Marco, and on the bridge of the Rialto, for the edification of the lieges:—

'In the matter of the wearing apparel of the women so also of the men, it is ordered that ladies shall not wear garments with gold, be

these vestures, boddices, petticoats, or any other kind of clothing. . . . On black clothes it shall be permitted for them to make use of one lace or *passament*, also black, and not exceeding two fingers in depth; *the same to be fabricated in this city*. On coloured clothes a lace or *passament* of gold or silver lace two fingers deep. . . . On the head it shall be permitted to wear a cord of gold or silver, but no *argheroni* (*roque-laures*, a loose cape thrown on like a mantilla), real or false, of any sort. Their sleeves, veils, bibs, and tippets, or by whatsoever names they call them, shall be of any sort of cloth or gauze, at their good pleasure, provided they wear no laces, cords, or other adornments, neither made in needle-point, Flemish point, or made in France, Flanders, or Lorraine, and that the intention of imitating these works is by all and for all prohibited, and that for any purpose whatsoever.'

So spoke the *Magistrato delle Pompe*; and truly the products of Venice might have satisfied the most luxurious of her daughters. When these laws were affixed to the Rialto by the Commendatore Marroni, the artists of the Republic had long vied with each other in the production of beautiful designs for lace. We can only mention a few of the best known classics of the art of lace-making.

Perhaps the earliest volume known to collectors is the 'Esemplario di Lavori,' by Niccolò di Aristotele, called il Zopino: Venice, 1530; of which Merli does not hesitate to say, that the designs are so complex and beautiful 'as to prove 'that the art was even at the commencement of the sixteenth 'century at the apex of perfection.' Next in point of date we have the 'Convivio delle Belle Donne,' 1532; and the 'Giardinetto nuovo,' 1542; but if priority were to be accorded on account of excellence, the first place must be assigned to the 'Corona' of Cesare Vecellio, a Venetian whom tradition long persisted in calling the brother of Titian. The work is not extremely rare, but it is exceedingly beautiful. Its editions are of 1591-2, 1600, and 1608. The well-known works of Federigo Vinciolo have also gone through many editions, and were translated into French and German about 1599. Then we have a curious little volume, belonging to the collection of the late M. Yemenez, called 'Serena Opera nuova di 'Ricami,' 1564; a fine work by Mathio Pagan, 1548; a 'Lucidario di Ricami,' by Toretto, 1556; and many more works by Fabriani, Ciotti, Rossi, Pasini, Nardi, Folli, and Florini, generally called by such fanciful titles as the 'Specchio,' the 'Tesoro,' the 'Trionfo,' and the like. In 1558, appeared a book of gold braids, entitled 'Lo Splendore delle Virtuose 'Donne,' sold at the Call' dell' Acqua San Zulian, where it is to be feared that it may have acted as a corrective to the sumptuary laws of the Inquisitors of State. In fact the magis-

trates must have had their time fully occupied if they read, censured, or licensed all the books and patterns which, in this prolific half-century, were offered to the ladies of Venice. Good artists took up the subject: for example, the two books of Calepino (1564) were illustrated by Zoan Andrea Vavasore, 'detto il Guadagnino,' or 'the usurer, a pupil of Mantegna's, who lived to a great age, turned his talents to various purposes, and was known as a copyist of every style then in repute, including that of Albert Dürer. He was probably well paid for his lace plates, and he is by no means the only painter whom we see so employing his pencil. In those days Art may have been, as Mr. Longfellow says it was, 'still religion,' but it was also bread-winning. Thus, when Geoffroi de Bourges would draw designs for tapestry, and Raffaellini del Garbo for church embroideries, when Sansovino and Donatello modelled door-panels, and Raibolini engraved letters for the Aldine printers, what wonder then if the artist's hand is to be seen in books of lace; that when Raphael made cartoons for tapestry hangings, a Dürer should furnish six plates of *lacet* patterns, and il Guadagnino fill a volume with designs for *Cutworke* of Venice.

In referring, however, in this place to Venetian lace books and their compilers we do not wish to be supposed to have exhausted the subject of the ancient literature of Lace. Say rather that we have never entered on it, because our space forbids. A French book on Lace (1605), called 'Discours du 'Lacis,' says of the subject—

'Et jamais ce discours ne se verront finy.  
Non plus que le lacis qui serront intiny;'

and we find the same danger ahead of ourselves in this paper. There is so much that might be said of French, German, English, and Flemish books: of the fact that we have never yet met with a Spanish one: of the extraordinary collection that once belonged to M. Yemenez: of the collection exhibited by Mrs. Hailstone, so peculiarly rich in rare English volumes: of the libraries of Venice and Bologna: in short, the field is too large, and we prefer to refer our readers to a very exhaustive paper on the subject once published by M. d'Adda in the 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,'\* and to the many beautiful volumes which, in the British Museum and in the 'Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,' in Paris, may be seen in unwontedly fine preservation. They will well repay inspection. In the

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\* Paris, 1863-4.

meantime we have restricted ourselves to those, or to a few of those which are illustrative of the great Lace-school of Venice.

Their authors were not always laymen; for instance, there is one well-known book by Fra Hieronimo, an Observantine monk of Friuli, and dedicated by him to a lady of the great Veronese house of Canossa. The clergy decidedly approved of books which rejoiced in such names as 'Devoir des Filles,' 'Pompe di Minerva,' or 'Mirror of Virtuous Ladies;' in fact, their titles with hardly any exception harp on the duty of women to keep at home and employ their fingers; and, really, when one has seen a few of the sites in Italy made tragic by the loves and hates of fair ladies, one cannot wonder that in such an age of violence and of unbridled passions an exhortation about 'domum mansit, lanam fecit' should be frequently offered to the sex by their best friends. If one meeting at the masque served to inflame Romeo with love for the beautiful Capulet, if the real tragedy of Buondelmonte, and the intended tragedy of the Ricciardi bride are average specimens of the mischief which in those days a woman's face could cause and a woman's heart compass, small wonder, then, that an Observantine praised the needle, and that the sign of the tortoise, the emblem of a home-keeping woman, might be often seen as the vignette of these books about Lace.

The Church, however, apart from any educational prestige which lace-making might possess, fostered the art for its own sake. Look at Cardinal Bentivoglio's portrait by Vandyck; how superbly the lace lies over his robes. Such churchmen were not likely to be easily satisfied; and there was always the altar, deserving the best work that pious fingers could execute. The very mysteries of the Sacrament were covered with veils of lace; and when both religion and common life had had their share of such decoration, death claimed a due, and demanded lace for the shroud and the sheet!

Such, then, was the lace school of Venice in its palmy days, when cunning fingers sewed it, artistic pencils designed it, and when there were not wanting willing and able pens to describe the varied beauties of *trine*, *ricami*, and *merletti*.\*

\* The derivations of these names are interesting and suggestive. '*Trine*,' from the Spanish verb to interlace by plaiting, and *trena*, a plait. '*Ricami*,' from a Hebrew term, to design, and to work upon a ground already existing. '*Merletti*,' from '*merlo*,' a battlement, denoting thus a pointed, toothed border. In the same way Calabrian pillow-lace is called '*pezzili*,' or little pieces, i.e. tags, or *puntani*, a form of *punti*, *points*, or stitches, and of the Venetian verb, *ponteggiare*,

The Venetian patterns of this period are simply the best that ever existed. Gothic, Saracenic, and Renaissance designs were all adapted for their use. On one page we see the trefoil, quatrefoil, the cinquefoil and the circle, with all possible combinations of the vertical and the horizontal line: on another the Cross with all its accessories and emblems, while the sacred monograms, and the Lily of the Annunciation, furnish a second store of patterns. Then come heraldic devices, perhaps the arms of the della Roveres worked in with those of another noble Italian house for some bride's trousseau: to be followed by scrolls of the finest *cinquecento* design, or by more realistic wreaths and vases, 'bells and pomegranates,' and finally by delicate arabesques, and those careful geometric patterns of which the derivation is truly Oriental. There is a copy of the Koran, now in the Royal Library of Windsor, of which the borders forcibly recall the lace patterns of Cesare Vecelli, and there can be no doubt but that Venice did draw much of her inspiration from Oriental sources. The whole art of Venice, like much of that of Spain and of Sicily, has this strongly Eastern tinge. The Moorish-looking windows that look down into the canals: the wall-veil decorations of a hundred tints that incrust the façades of her palaces: the passion for splendid colours which her artists have perpetuated in the robes of the people they painted: the strange greens and yellows, and the striped draperies so dear to Paul Veronese: the general use of gold thread and embroidery on clothes; \*—all these are things reminding us of the East, of that East which sent into the port of Venice the arts, the raiment, the barbaric pearl and gold, the apes and peacock, the spices and sweet wines of the Levant.

In industrial design, in the elaboration and repetition of the *infiniment petit*, † the East has ever excelled. Let any art-student examine for himself the textile fabrics and embroideries in the South Kensington Museum, and then let him take note of those now (thanks to Dr. Forbes Watson's care), so well arranged in the Museum of the India Office, and he will be struck at once by the difference between Eastern and Western art. How much imagination, pathos, quaint ugliness, and infinite variety is there not in the needlework of

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to trim with lace-stitches. The German word *spitze* means simply *point*, i.e. of the needle; though it is applied to bobbin and machine-made articles.

\* 'Valance of Venice gold in needle-work.'—*Taming of the Shrew*.

† 'L'étude des infiniment petits a pris dans l'histoire de l'Art une grande importance.' Cav. G. d'Adda.

medieval Germany and France! The German orphreys of the latter part of the fifteenth century (no. 8667), a piece of Italian embroidery of the same date (no. 1260), with some of the table covers, hoods (no. 8333), pede-cloths, and maniples exhibited at South Kensington are so many poems or pictures in needlework. After making due allowance for the discolouration and damage done by time to such specimens as the celebrated Syon Cope, we still feel that in these works of art it is always their *matter* and *manner* rather than their *material* which must have attracted. Turn again to the Oriental fabrics and embroideries at the India Museum. What limited imagination and illimitable patience, what perfect contrast of colours, what gorgeousness of line and material, what unity of design, what uniform excellence of execution! How much more gratified here is the eye, how much more readily tired is the mind! The East seems to think as it were but once; she decides, and in her decision errs not, so she can trust to this perfection to atone for her repetitions. The West, far more tentative, and never truly satisfied with her own success, alters, and rarely repeats. One country only there is that in this, as in many other respects, seem to hold a middle position between these two influences. We mean Russia, whose church stuffs and embroideries have about them much of Eastern splendour and monotony of design. Even the coarse pillow-laces made by the peasants in some of her governments, for example, in that of Moscow, have a semi-Oriental tinge, and suggest rather the border of an Indian vase or shawl than the works of Western Europe. Did this characteristic of Russian art come to her as it did to Venice from the East, from Byzantine waters? or is there not a missing link to be seen in the gold embroideries of Tiflis, and in the needlework of the Tartar women of the Crimea, whose embroideries on crape have a great affinity with those of Upper India? It almost looks as if Russia, preserving the memory of her Tartar invaders, as we know that she does in some of her customs, many of her idioms, and in not a few proper names, had also derived from them her needlework and embroideries. If this could be proved, the fact would be doubly interesting from the very certain one that it is to her Mohammedan conquerors that India owes her needlework and the rise of her textile arts.

We have said so much about the Eastern derivation of Venetian art, because the derivation of any art is always a curious subject and one replete with interest, whether looked at from the artistic or from the ethnological point of view. The planting in of any industry is a simpler subject, but also not

without its attractions. One of the greatest successes that ever was achieved in the way of transplanting, as far as Lace is concerned, was that of the minister Colbert when he established the manufactures of Alençon.

It is not only in the matter of 'point d'Alençon' its origin, history, and duration, that Mrs. Bury Palliser's account is unsatisfactory, but she fails, we think, to appreciate the difficulties with which the Minister had to contend, as well as the wide scope of his undertaking. We propose, therefore, to throw a good deal of new light on his proceedings by referring to the State Papers of Venice, begging the reader as we do so to bear in mind the only good French laces not made on the pillow came from that school. How much trouble and intrigue it cost Colbert to import and transplant the art will be seen from some letters which are courteously placed at our disposal by Mr. Rawdon Brown, than whom no one is better acquainted with the contents of the Venetian archives, and these papers have been extracted by him with great care and judgment from those of the Inquisitors of State.

'Colbert,' says Mrs. Bury Palliser, 'in 1665, at the recommendation of the Sieur Ruel, selected Madame Gilbert, a native of Alençon, already acquainted with the art of making Brussels point, and making her an advance of 50,000 crowns, established her at his château of Louray, near Alençon, with thirty forewomen whom he had, at great expense, caused to be brought over from Venice' (p. 140). By these workwomen hangs a tale: Colbert, not content with the admirable Mme. Gilbert, had another lady in his service, a Mme. de Bris, the wife of one of his clerks, who at his request and probably at his charges went to Italy 'to see the curiosities of Rome and Venice,' and in reality to induce female workers to emigrate to France. She had an accomplice in Venice, Mme. de Ternié, also a Frenchwoman, who residing there, learned all that was to be learned in the Republic, and also bribed workers to leave their country for the service and rewards of King Louis, and of a Minister who displayed in all this affair an amount of caution and of astuteness worthy of the Scottish parentage of which he was so proud. The news of his machinations and of their successful results in the rise of a great French school of point lace, came at last to the ears of the Senate, not because they were discovered in Venice, but because they were reported to them by their envoy in Paris.

In August 1667, Marc Antonio Giustinian wrote:—



'Most illustrious and excellent my masters:—The war \* which ought to induce all minds to apply themselves to great things, does not avail to divert your sons from small matters, and with regard to them they form no great hopes. . . . Venice point, that called *lavoro d'aria*, has been introduced here a year since, and the tradespeople who have taken it up have laboured at it with great assiduity, though I know not with what gain to themselves. Now they are exerting themselves to the utmost to draw profit from it, and they have got up a fund for the business, 400 *lire* of their money, the whole with the help and consent of the Minister Colbert. . . . It is even in deliberation to induce by large promises a certain pattern designer, Pietro, that he might come to his city. He is at the head of his profession. The surname of this person I would have you know is Margeri, but he is vulgarly called Pietro Cabotto . . . They wish to alienate and secure to themselves the very first masters of this art. I bring this under notice of your eminences.'

Whether Il Cabotto went to France or not, we cannot tell, but the complaints and warnings go on. The ambassador, Michiel, writes:—'Paris, October 14, 1671. . . . Gallantly 'is the Minister Colbert on the way to bring the *lavori d'aria* 'to perfection. This is called Venice point, and is a thing 'allowed by every one to be very difficult to render with any 'perfectness. . . . ' He goes on to tell of Mme. de Bris and her intrigues, and says that 'he (meaning Colbert) is open-'eyed to all that regards the functions of my ministry.' That the Venetians were both jealous and uneasy appears again some ten years after the first warning, when Domenigo Contarini boasts that 'he has penetrated the intentions of this Minister 'Colbert to transplant into this kingdom factories of sublimates, *ceruse*, and *cinabri di Venezia*.' He promises to take all steps in his power to prevent these injuries to his native country, 'too much prejudiced already by the manufacture in 'France of mirrors and *punt' in aria*, which work they can now 'do here to admiration. Paris: April 14, 1677.'

In ten years, then, the art had been acquired and an industry established which threatened the schools and workrooms of Venice. This *punt' in aria*, however, like the *guipures* and *dentelles à fleurs volantes*, did not remain in fashion in France; ruffles and laces, more adapted to the use of the tailor and the milliner, were demanded, and of all the laces made and taught in Venice, the *réseau* groundwork of Burano alone maintained its place, and gave birth to the *réseau* grounded *point d'Alençon*, so much and so justly admired.

It was fashion which in France, and in the Low Countries,

The war of the Succession, terminated by the Peace of Breda, 1667.

first demanded net-ground laces, and whether made by needle, by bobbins, or by loom, it is this net-ground which has been, and still is, preferred for most practical purposes. Even as a pillow-work it is extraordinarily tedious to make,\* but fashion must be gratified, and so the demand, and with it the supply, increase year by year. At present the general favourites are Valenciennes, that true *dentelle linge*, and servant of all work, and black silk laces from the shores of the Mediterranean. Genoa, Malta, and the Island of Gozzo produce these in amazing quantities, but they are also to be got in the Vosges, and there is a species produced in the Bohemian highlands which, though pricked from Maltese patterns, is inferior both in handling and in the hue of the silk to the laces of the South of Europe. Something might surely be done by the Chambers of Commerce to remedy the defect in the material, and there is every encouragement to do so since the success which has attended the Archduchess Sophia's Bohemian schools for the making of Brussels lace. Both *plat point* and *point d'aiguille* have been mastered in that country, and the thread is got direct from Brussels. In the same way with the school in the female prison (Piazza delle Termini) in Rome. There fourteen Belgian nuns, of the order 'de la Providence,' control, and nurse and teach a couple of hundred outcasts of the Roman populace, employing them in a manufacture of which those who have either visited the workroom, or seen the specimens exhibited in Paris in 1867, will readily admit the success. These nuns import from Belgium the patterns, the bobbins, and the thread. And here we would venture to offer a suggestion to those interested in the reproduction of laces, and in the establishment of lace-schools, whether at home or in the Colonies. Get the best designs, get the best materials, get the best teachers, and import them all. Archduchess Sophia did so in Bohemia, and then out of her school, at first taught by Belgian women, a set of scholars has come who are now able to teach in their turn.

It is in vain to hope to copy lace faithfully with different materials. If the thread be coarser or finer, if it weighs but a few fractions more or less, and be a little more or a little less tightly twisted: if the bobbin be heavier or lighter, and so pulls the work but a trifle more, and if the pattern has been pricked by some one unaccustomed to that particular kind of design, how can the result be satisfactory? It is sure to be extremely the reverse, and after all the labour and expense thrown away

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\* A piece of Valenciennes exhibited in progices, at Paris in 1867, had 1,200 bobbins attached to it.

upon it, an article with an insufficient edge, with a jumble of Moorish and Christian devices, with ill-turned corners and with gaping loops, will but ill repay those who have tried to get foreign laces copied or adapted in England.

Yet such laces are both made and bought—only a want of culture in purchasers and wearers maintaining such bad art in our manufactures. Mr. Matthew Arnold has filled many pages with eloquent hints that we are in many things but Philistines at the best, and in this particular it would, indeed, seem as if culture were often wanting. Add to this our impatience of the labour and time required for the honest elaboration of any work, so called, of art, and we shall have to confess that while the causes of our deficiencies are not to our credit, they are at least remediable. Why have we no such laces as those of Brussels, no such designers as those of Bayeux, no such blondes as those of Calais? Why do people make and buy tape and crochet imitations, and why are the peasantry of Bucks always to make worse lace than those of the Puy and the Vosges? Because they have no sense of excellence, and no teachers. Because such schools as those of Cappelouin, and of the Catholic Orphanage at Liverpool are the exception, not the rule; because we have no good local collections, as at Le Puy, and because our public one at South Kensington is, both in its arrangement and in its catalogue, the reverse of satisfactory. We are accordingly not surprised to find that in the International Exhibition Report of 1871, the specimens of Lace are declared to be ‘neither numerous nor of varied kinds. We hope in future years to welcome many more contributions, and we desire to encourage many other contributors. The very high prices obtained by dealers in old lace ought, surely, to stimulate the efforts of the present age. Why should not such a price be attainable in the nineteenth as it was in the sixteenth century?’

The statistics of the Lace trade in Ireland, and its history as narrated by Mrs. Meredith, do not alter our opinion. Take, for example, the fate of the crochet imitation which once in the districts of Cork and Clones employed so many thousand hands. Is its remuneration in 1871 what it was in 1857? Very far from it, for the manufacture which possessed no merit but its ingenuity, has almost fallen into disuse. Would a more artistic article always maintain its value? We believe that it would, and therefore it is that we hail with pleasure not only the attempts at the reproduction of Lace in this country, but also a scheme for its manufacture in India. A plan for this purpose has originated with Dr. Forbes Watson, and we need

not tell visitors to the Museum of the India Office, or remind readers of this Review,\* of his perfect acquaintance with the people of India, their dresses, their textile fabrics, and their aptitude for all the arts and appliances of ornamentation. Apt they are, indeed, and yet to judge by the specimens of work taught in the Mission Schools of India, one would say that much was being done to destroy the artistic sense of young India, by the well-meaning persons who have introduced Indian children to the tawdry mats and samplers of Western civilisation. It became necessary, then, for Dr. Forbes Watson to choose with some judgment the soil in which to sow the seeds of a new industry which will assuredly be nothing if not artistic. Considering the needlework of the East as likely to be still what its *ricami* were of old, at once the forerunner and the best nurse for Lace, Dr. Forbes Watson will probably take as the nucleus of his operations those Mussulmann houses in Calcutta which are exclusively occupied in embroideries made by the needle. Trained to its use those Oriental fingers may be trusted to produce all the *punti* of Venice, and to give us work as artistic as was ever made in the isles of Greece or on the shores of the Adriatic. We wish good speed, then, to an undertaking which seems to have for its very foundation a propriety and fitness in the 'nature of things.' But these fingers must be well taught, and with a hope of success before us, it will surely be worth while to give this school the best materials and the best instructors, otherwise we shall be found to contribute only to the decay of indigenous art, and as regards Lace to fall into a line of 'imitation' laces only; that is, of getting an inferior representation by inferior methods, with inferior materials, of what is in itself good and worthy of being reproduced. Now, if Colbert could succeed, and by painstaking and a ten years' effort get for France not imitations, but a transplanted and adapted excellence, this Indian project ought not to be allowed to drop or fail.

To impart a new industry to the greatest of our dependencies, to revive an all but extinct art on a great and remunerative scale, to obtain well-executed point lace at a moderate cost, while we employ many hands in a novel way of breadwinning, is not a trivial task or an unworthy hope. It has a bearing on the practical education and welfare of some portion of mankind, and as such it would seem to elevate the love of Lace as a taste, and the reproduction of Lace as a Fine Art, a good deal above the mere study of things infinitely small.

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\* Edin. Rev. vol. cxxvi. p. 125.

- ART. III.—1. *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists*. By the Rev. L. TYERMAN, Author of 'The Life and Times of the Rev. S. Wesley, 'M.A.' Three vols. London: 1870-71.
2. *John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century*. By JULIA WEDGWOOD. One vol. London: 1870.

IN these days of rehabilitation, when events and characters upon which the judgment of mankind has long been decisively pronounced are again and again brought forward for a new trial upon new evidence, it was not without misgivings that we opened Mr. Tyerman's three bulky volumes, written (as he tells us) to supply 'a confessed desideratum;' to remove from 'the world and the Church, and especially the Methodists,' ignorance which 'ought no longer to continue,' and to correct 'much that is false and erroneous' in former publications. We close them with a feeling of relief, not only because we are glad to get through the work, which (truth to say) we have found rather heavy, but still more because it leaves our judgment of Wesley and Wesleyanism very much what it was before, and confirms our belief that nothing materially new remains to be discovered or told. Fresh evidence, even adduced by friends, does not always tend to raise a reputation, especially when the friends are hot partisans also. But in this case if the additions are unimportant after all, assuredly they are not unfavourable. We retain our reverence and admiration for the single-minded and devoted evangelist of the last century, confirmed in the belief that

'Whatever record leap to light,  
He never shall be shamed;'

while, at the same time, we cannot but regard as before the defects and extravagancies of his character, and must profess a very qualified admiration for the system he originated.

Mr. Tyerman's estimate of the system is still more enthusiastic than that which he has formed of his hero; in judging of whom, indeed, he is eminently impartial and moderate. 'Is it not a truth' (so he begins his introduction), 'is it not a truth that Methodism is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ?' To the astonishment of his readers he assumes that they will agree with him that it is so—a greater fact than the Reformation! a greater than the diffusion under

the Apostles of Christianity itself! This astounding statement he proceeds to justify by an application of the Rule of Three (we can hardly here call it Proportion), based on the denominational statistics of Methodism, not forgetting the number of the newspapers which it publishes, and of the hymn-books which it sells; the most imposing array of figures being those which are supplied by the West Indies and the United States. And once more, in conclusion, he asks, 'Is not Methodism the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ?' It is much as though a geographer were to measure 'the broads' into which the little rivers of the English eastern counties expand in the flat regions near their mouth, and proceed accordingly to claim for these rivers a right to rank beside the Danube or the Volga. The same admiring exaltation of everything connected with our author's favourite system pervades the entire work. Every smallest detail in the local history of Methodism possesses a sacred interest in his eyes. He lingers fondly over each daily movement of the great itinerant preacher, especially when it has left upon a place the distinctive impress of the denomination. Much as he loves Wesley, he loves Wesleyanism more. Chalk is not white enough to note the day when Methodism was introduced into some town or village. He hangs in rapture over the most trifling particulars of sectarian annals, like Mr. Ruskin over a picture of Turner's. Every stroke and spot is full of beauty, every meanest object contracts importance from its association, every obscurest figure deserves to be studied and admired. Of these last we have far too many in Mr. Tyerman's pages. He loves to dwell on the memory of local preachers, class-leaders, and other specimens of Methodist worthies, most of them women; the circumstances of whose conversion he relates to us, and of whom he assures us that after a life spent in faithful adherence to the Society, they 'went triumphantly to heaven.' We only wonder that a book written in this style stopped at three volumes, instead of being prolonged (as, doubtless, the author would gladly have prolonged it) to thirty times three. Besides its prolixity, we are bound as critics to notice its faults of composition. It would be easy to adduce a string of examples of vicious phraseology, bad scholarship, and bad taste. But we forego the ungracious task, merely assuring Mr. Tyerman that, when he is content to be simple and natural we gladly allow that he writes pleasantly and forcibly too. And while deprecating his offences against the Queen's English, we deprecate still more the tone of glee with which he tells his anecdotes of God's judgments against the persecutors of Wes-

leyanism, and hardly less the offensive jocularity with which he almost invariably speaks of its clerical opponents. These last may have been altogether in the wrong; though, probably, if the whole truth were known, many a simple community had reason to deplore the day when Methodism first found entrance into it. But even when the opposition was unrighteous and selfish, 'mendacious scurrility' and 'episcopal buffoonery' are unbecoming expressions to employ; and at least we might be spared the oft-recurring scoffs about 'pious venom,' the 'revend calumniator,' and 'the Christian rector.'

Mr. Tyerman's book will probably become a favourite with his co-religionists, though among them also there are probably many who will regret, as we do, the faults and blemishes we have noticed. We cheerfully add that in many respects it merits such popularity; though, with the general public, it can never rival the attractive work of Southey, or even that of Watson. In any case it deserves the praise, not only of being the fullest biography of Wesley, but also of being eminently painstaking, veracious, and trustworthy.

We must briefly glance at the earlier lives of Wesley, of which, according to Mr. Tyerman, there are but six deserving of the name. The first of these, Hampson's, published immediately after Wesley's death in 1791, was the work of a quondam itinerant preacher, who, having cause of offence against his former chief, had left the Connexion, and vented his displeasure in his book. It is, however, by no means a malignant, and hardly (we should say) an unfair production; and besides its present rareness, possesses an interest of its own from the circumstances under which it was written; as does also Whitehead's, issued from two to five years after. Whitehead, in conjunction with Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore, had been left by Wesley his literary executor, and, with the consent of the others, undertook to compile a life of him, under the sanction of the Conference. The documents were accordingly placed in his hands; but, yielding (it was alleged) to the tempting offers of a bookseller, he declared his intention of publishing 'as an independent man.' Dissatisfied and alarmed at this, Coke and Moore set to work immediately, and in 1792 brought out the Memoir, which may be called the official account of the great Founder of Methodism; but which, from the haste with which it was put together, we agree with Mr. Tyerman in designating as meagre and insufficient. Many years afterwards (in 1824) Moore, having recovered many of the papers which Whitehead had carried off, published a much fuller and more careful account of his revered

friend, which in some respects therefore deserves to be considered as the most authoritative account of all. Meanwhile, Southey's famous work had been given to the world—a work which is always likely to live; and which, in spite of the obvious inability of the author to enter heartily into the mind and purpose of his subject, has the merits of thoughtful and impartial consideration, as well as 'literary charms,' giving a compass and richness to its treatment far greater than any other of the biographies. Lastly, provoked chiefly by Southey's book, appeared a *Life* by another Wesleyan minister, the Rev. R. Watson: the work of an honest truthful man, though, perhaps, too persistent an apologist. We do not know that a better knowledge and appreciation of the subject can really be gained than from the edition of Southey's book published by Mr. Bohn, in which the earnest and often just protest of Watson is appended to the text whenever the questionable statements of the former seem to call for it.

It is a tribute due to all these writers, and still more to the simplicity and openness of Wesley's character (his own journals being after all the main authority depended on), that substantially the same impression is left by each and all of them on the mind of a thoughtful reader who desires to form an estimate of the man himself and of the work which he accomplished. The second work cited at the head of this article is written avowedly with a view to form such an estimate. We desire to notice it with warm commendation, though unable to examine it in detail. It bears some resemblance to Isaac Taylor's treatise on the same subject, published in 1851. But it presents its conclusions in a much terser form, while it supplies also (which the other did not) an excellent biographical summary. If we were called to recommend to the general reader a work on the subject, brief yet sufficient, impartial yet generous, and eminently readable, it would assuredly be this of Miss Wedgwood's.

Mr. Tyerman's work, however, is of course of far greater importance, and to this we now return. Fresh from the study of it we propose to present to our readers, according to our lights and principles, a sketch of the man and of the system at which we have just taken a preliminary glance; and the rather because, on looking back through the volumes of this Journal, we find that we have never reviewed any of the *Lives of John Wesley* previously published.

First, then, respecting the man himself; one, assuredly, of the most remarkable personages of the last century, whether in England or in Christendom; one moreover whose figure at



this distance of time stands out in far greater prominence than many of his contemporaries who seemed at that time to fill a larger place in history.

John Wesley is not only one of the chief representative men of the eighteenth century, but he is one whose term of life curiously and exceptionally corresponded with it. He was born 1703 and died in 1791. Born in the reign of the last of the Stuarts, before the Union between England and Scotland, he lived through the whole course of the struggles for the ascendancy of the House of Hanover till all danger in that quarter had ceased; and after witnessing, on the one hand, the series of military and naval triumphs which raised his country to the highest pitch of greatness, and, on the other, the disastrous loss of the American colonies, he ended his days amidst the convulsions of the French Revolution, with mental powers unimpaired, in full view of that supreme crisis in modern history.

The details of his childhood and his youth, both at his father's quiet parsonage of Epworth in Lincolnshire, and at Charterhouse School (which he entered in his eleventh year), have been related with more than usual minuteness by his various biographers. Mr. Tyerman had this advantage over his predecessors, that he has made the story of the Wesley family his especial study, and has written the life of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, father of the great Revivalist. But this very familiarity with the early part of his subject has made him perhaps a little too sparing of information respecting his hero till we reach the period of his college life. The elder Wesley, though far inferior in every way to his distinguished son, indeed to all his three sons, was a man of considerable ability and attainments, as well as of piety and industry in his calling, but deficient in practical judgment and energy of purpose, running deeply into debt, and publishing bulky theological treatises and wearisome sacred poems. The mother was a woman of remarkable force of character and strength of understanding, and (as is so often the case) did far more than her husband to make her children what they ultimately became. She taught them carefully and soundly, showed them the reality and reasonableness of religion, and kept up her influence over them when absent by affectionate and thoughtful letters. Both she and her husband were zealous adherents of the Church, though by birth and training Nonconformists. Yet it is thoroughly characteristic of Mrs. Wesley that on one occasion, when the Rector was absent from his parish attending Convocation, she endeavoured to make up the loss by allowing such of the neighbours as

desired it, to attend her family worship on the Sunday, which gradually became a congregational service of reading, expounding, and extemporaneous prayer; and when her husband remonstrated with her she stoutly combated his objections, though professing herself willing to submit to his positive commands. Under such parents the boy John grew up, as may be supposed, with deep religious impressions, which were consistently followed in a singularly thoughtful and conscientious childhood, though lost afterwards to a great extent amidst the temptations and in the ungenial atmosphere of a great public school.

Charterhouse was a rough nursing mother in those days for the junior boys; and even in Mr. Tyerman's narrative we find no trace of holidays spent by the poor lad in his distant Lincolnshire home. It was a hard life for three or four years at least out of the six during which he remained at school; but one, nevertheless, on which he looked back with peculiar gratitude for having prepared him in body and mind to endure the hardships which he bore so nobly in after life as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. 'From ten to thirteen or fourteen' (he says) 'I had little but bread to eat, and not great plenty of that:' it being the practice of the older and stronger scholars to eke out their own scanty rations by requisitions upon their weaker schoolfellows. But even these privations he believed to have strengthened his health; though certainly in many constitutions such insufficiency of food has laid the seeds of lifelong illness.

Among the early details of Wesley's life, which Mr. Tyerman has passed over too rapidly, we think, with but an insufficient apology for his silence, is the singular story, which Southey, on the other hand, has given in all its fulness, with a view to its obvious bearing upon Wesley's mind—the story of 'Old Jeffery.' This was the name given by the Wesley family to a ghost which for some months haunted Epworth Rectory—John, however, being all the while at Charterhouse. 'Old Jeffery' (so called from a suicide in the parish, whose restless spirit it was supposed to be) was for a long time the terror and torment of the parsonage. Frightening the maid-servants, it next assailed the daughters of the family—howling, groaning, stamping, and clanking chains in their chambers; and proceeded finally to such lengths, shaking them in their beds and upsetting the furniture, that strong-minded Mrs. Wesley, long suspecting rats, at last intreated her husband to investigate the matter. Failing to detect or arrest natural causes, the Rector, with the aid of a neighbouring clergyman, had recourse

to exorcism. But his adjurations were fruitless, only resulting in drawing down upon himself the peculiar resentment of the unseen visitant, by whom he was several times rudely and violently pushed. At last, the apparition ceased as unaccountably as it had begun. This curious story, however explained, was narrated by John Wesley himself in the '*Arminian Magazine*,' from family letters and journals which he had carefully collected. He devoutly believed in the reality of the visitation, and his views of spiritual agencies were from first to last very largely affected by it.

He had profited greatly by the intellectual discipline and teaching of Charterhouse, followed up by the closer and more careful instruction of his elder brother Samuel, then an usher in Westminster School—an able and judicious man, whose influence over John (lost too early by his premature death) was always most wholesome and beneficial. And, in 1720, when seventeen years old, he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford; from whence, after taking his degree, he was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College. The great abilities and steady industry of the young student, though undeveloped by the means which now exist for revealing and rewarding merit, made him a distinguished member of the University, and reputed one of the principal scholars of his standing. But it was not till the time approached for his ordination that the deep religious feeling, which marked him as a child, awoke within him once more. Devoting himself with conscientious earnestness to the work of the ministry, he acted for some two years as his father's curate in Lincolnshire; after which he was recalled to Oxford by the need of his services in college. Then it was that he began a course of life, which (even without the wonderful career which followed) would have made his name memorable in the annals of the English Church. In union with his younger brother, Charles, who had followed him to Christ Church at an interval of two years' time, and supported by a few other young men in whom they had excited similar religious convictions, he set an example of a life devoted to holy exercises and charitable labours such as Oxford had never witnessed before. Careful in the observance of the ordinances of the Church, diligent in private devotions, strict and self-denying even to asceticism in the government of themselves, this little knot of Christian youths, presently including the famous George Whitefield, began to seek out the miserable and indigent in the city, to visit the prisoners in the gaol, and to do all that was possible to spread within the University itself the knowledge of a pure and practical Christianity.

Oxford was at that time deeply sunk in ungodliness and indifference; and such conduct soon drew upon them the scorn and dislike of the majority, even among the graduates. Insults and persecution followed thickly. But, encouraged by their father, who 'blessed God for giving him two sons at Oxford, 'with grace and courage to turn the war against the world and 'the devil,' and warmly supported by the bishop of the diocese, they continued their course, making little progress, however, in their influence over the gownsmen, and sometimes indeed losing the associates they had won. The principles of the two brothers during all this time were those of High Churchmen, carefully observant of all rubrical and canonical rules, and deferential to ecclesiastical authority. The prejudice against them arose simply from the goodness and purity of their lives, which so put vice and carelessness to shame, and from that scrupulous adherence in things great and small to the system they had adopted, which won them at the time the nickname of *Methodist*—a term which has become significant of so very different an idea from that which it at first embodied.

Meanwhile the Rector of Epworth had died; and John Wesley, whose mind had been attracted by reading of Brainerd's career to the thought of missionary work, especially among the Indians of North America, was induced in 1735 to give up his official position at Oxford, and accompany the philanthropic Oglethorpe to the new colony, or rather settlement, of Georgia, formed for the sake of needy emigrants and foreign Protestant refugees, of which Oglethorpe was a chief promoter, and had lately been appointed Governor. Wesley's main object was to evangelise the Red Indians; but arrived in the colony (whither his brother Charles accompanied him in the capacity of secretary to the Governor), he found himself tied down to other duties, which the authorities held him bound to fulfil—those, namely, of Chaplain to the English colonists. His residence in Georgia proved accordingly to be a failure, heightened by a misunderstanding which arose between the brothers and their friend the Governor. For nearly two years, however, he persevered conscientiously in his unwelcome duties; till at last overwhelmed with obloquy arising from his High Church views and injudicious practices, indicted before a prejudiced jury for ecclesiastical offences and defamation of character, and even threatened with arrest, he precipitately left the colony, and escaped with some difficulty to Charleston; from whence, in 1737, he set sail on his return for England.

In his outward passage, and during his residence in America, he had been greatly struck with the simple faith and unshaken

serenity of a body of Moravians who went out with him as emigrants to Georgia. In them he seemed to find the realisation of what he had long sought for himself, and sought in vain—a state of entire satisfaction in the doctrines of Christianity, a peace of mind, and complete repose of heart and spirit in the possession of Divine favour, contrasting strikingly with the painful effort which he was conscious that religion cost him. He set himself accordingly to learn of his Moravian teachers this secret from on high, of which they seemed to be depositaries; and on his return to England, having fallen in with another of their ministers, Peter Möhler, a man of remarkable gifts and force of character, himself also on his way to Georgia, he was at last comforted in May, 1738 (as he ever after testified), by the attainment of that peace of mind, inward light, and strong consolation, after which he had so long aspired.

This crisis in his spiritual history was by Wesley himself, most incorrectly as we cannot but think, called his *conversion*. And for some years he continued to speak of it in terms which appear if calmly considered (and so, indeed, they eventually appeared to himself), excessively exaggerated. He had been till that time (so he ventured to affirm) no Christian at all; being not only imperfectly enlightened, but in darkness, in bondage, and under the wrath of the Almighty. An assurance of the Divine pardon and favour became in his eyes the one essential mark and certificate of genuine Christianity; and this conclusion was pressed with a vehemence and exclusiveness which marred the proportions of sound Christian doctrine, though perhaps a more measured statement could never in like degree have impressed the imaginations and roused the consciences of his hearers.

Though by no means renouncing his position as an English clergyman, he now put himself into full communion with the Moravian Church, and in the third summer he set out on a pilgrimage to Herrnhut, where Count Zinzendorf's Moravian settlement was then flourishing in all its youthful freshness. The Count himself (by reason of some political troubles) was absent from his flock, though from his residence near Frankfurt he continued to exercise unbounded influence over them; and after a visit paid to him, Wesley proceeded to the sanctuary itself, that there he might study the choicest specimens of Christianised humanity. The visit did not disappoint him on the whole, though in some measure it disenchanting him. We are forcibly reminded in reading of it, of the interviews of the equally shrewd and equally single-minded Herodotus

with Egyptian and Chaldean theosophists. But though deeply influenced by his Moravian models, from whom he reluctantly tore himself away, he was too thoroughly possessed with the fervent zeal of an evangelist to fall into Moravian quietism; and on his arrival in England, he entered immediately on that course of activity which nothing but death terminated at last. The celestial fire which burned so intensely within his heart could not but put forth its power on the world around him with all its moral degradation, its misery, and its sin.

The state of England in the eighteenth century, and not least in the reign of George II., has often been the subject of melancholy remark. Morally and spiritually it had doubtless sunk very low. The tone of society had never recovered from the anti-Puritan reaction which set in with the Restoration; nor had the example of the court for some time past, and notably under the reigning monarch, helped to elevate it. Under Walpole's administration too, and still more amidst Jacobite intrigues, corruption among public men and indifference to principle in state affairs could not but affect the general tone of morals, especially of the higher classes. The state of the lower classes is indicated by the brutal amusements in which they habitually indulged, and still more distinctly proved by the statistical evidence of the criminal calendar. 'During this very year, 1738, not fewer than fifty-two criminals were hanged at Tyburn; and within the last two years about 12,000 persons had been convicted, within the Bills of Mortality, of smuggling gin or selling it without licence.\* A Committee of the House of Lords had been appointed in 1737 to examine into the causes of the present notorious immorality and profaneness.' The report of the 'Society for the Reformation of Manners' shows that in a single year not fewer than 2,723 persons had been prosecuted by its agency for lewd, profane, drunken, and gambling practices.† Wesley's own picture of the state of the country, dated 1745, is too particular not to be drawn from the life, and certainly was not consciously overcharged. 'What wickedness is there under heaven which is not found among us at this day? Not to insist on sabbath-breaking, thefts, cheating, fraud, extortion, violence, oppression, lying, robberies, sodomies, and murders, which, with a thousand unnamed villanies, are common to us and our neighbour Christians of Holland, France, and Germany—

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\* Tyerman, vol. i. p. 173.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 62.

‘ what a plentiful harvest we have of wickedness almost  
 ‘ peculiar to ourselves ! ‘ For who can vie with us in the direc-  
 ‘ tion of courts of justice ? in the management of public  
 ‘ charities ? or in the accomplished barefaced wickedness which  
 ‘ so abounds in our prisons, fleets, and armies ? Who in  
 ‘ Europe can compare with the sloth, laziness, luxury, and  
 ‘ effeminacy of the English gentry ? or with the drunkenness,  
 ‘ and stupid senseless cursing and swearing which are daily  
 ‘ seen and heard in our streets ? Add to all these that open  
 ‘ and professed Deism and rejection of the Gospel, that public,  
 ‘ avowed apostasy from the Christian faith, which reigns  
 ‘ among the rich and great, and hath spread from them to all  
 ‘ ranks and orders of men.’ \*

Or if a period is more fairly judged by its own literature, we shall come by the use of that test to very much the same conclusion, with a still more melancholy conviction how widely the evil had spread. An age that could delight in the plays of Congreve, and welcome (especially from a clergyman) such poems as Prior's, has virtually admitted all that has been alleged against it. The novels of Fielding and of Smollett, the letters of Chesterfield, the works of Bolingbroke, are only specimens of the diversified evidence that can be brought forward to the same effect. And though such moralists as Addison had not written in vain, and the censorship of society was in 1738 on the point of being revived with still greater power by Johnson, the tone of their writings, and the facts which they adduce, is perhaps the most conclusive proof of the point to which the general feeling had ebbed.

Most melancholy of all was the state of the Church. Christian faith had almost died out of the hearts of the ministers of religion. Even with the well-conducted and exemplary, a cold morality and a calculating reference to a future state had taken for the most part the place of the living power of the Gospel. Belief in the reality, the nearness, the power of the spiritual world had almost disappeared, both among the parochial clergy and among the Nonconformists. A voice was needed which should be lifted up in the wilderness, to alarm and to awaken, and the voice now destined to fulfil that high purpose was Wesley's.

While speaking thus generally, however, we must remember that sweeping assertions of this sort are always, by the necessity of the case, more or less exaggerated. It would be preposterous to suppose that exemptions from the prevailing

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\* Tyerman, vol. i. p. 503.

irreligion and deadness of spirit did not abound in the country, existing indeed in every town and village throughout the land. And no less unjust would it be to suppose that vital Christianity did not still burn brightly in the hearts of many of its ministers. To be convinced how groundless such a representation would be, we have only to recollect the names of Gibson, Butler, and (above all) of Wilson among the bishops of the Church, to say nothing of obscurer clergymen; of Calamy (the younger), Watts, and Doddridge among the Dissenters: men who assuredly owed nothing to the instructions or example of Wesley, while in their own persons and characters some of them presented, perhaps, a still purer model of Christian graces. But whatever there was of piety, and even of prophetic afflatus in some of these men, none of them had the spirit and power of an Elijah to rouse a slumbering Church and a godless nation. To effect that there needed a man with the force and the fire which is infused by the consciousness of a special call. And for accomplishing this, the very narrowness and one-sidedness of Wesley's mind—nay, even his extravagancies and errors—were probably an advantage and a help; they were an alloy which imparted sharpness to the metal; an eruptive heat which gave additional impulse to the movement he originated and led.

Even the statement that he originated the movement needs considerable qualifications. There was at that time a ferment in several parts of Christendom, contemporary with or even previous to the excitement raised by Wesley. We have already spoken of what he owed to the Moravians. These (or, as they styled themselves usually, the United Brethren,) were relics of the ancient Hussite Church of Bohemia, who, having settled in Moravia, had been largely recruited from the Catholics of that province early in the century through the preaching of Christian David, a single-minded and devoted evangelist, whom Wesley himself had the advantage of meeting when he was at Herrnhut; and whose doctrine and mode of action, far more than those of Zinzendorf, became his subsequent model. In America also, before Wesley went to Georgia, a remarkable religious revival had commenced in New England under the preaching of the famous Jonathan Edwards. Even in Great Britain, before the Wesleys came forward, a similar movement on a smaller scale had been begun among the Welsh by the agency of Howel Harris, a man of the same stamp as the great English Methodists, though, like most of their coadjutors, a layman; and who, associating himself with them and especially with Whitefield,



was presently eclipsed, even in Wales, by the greater prominence of his leader. In Scotland too, almost contemporaneously, a revival of the same character as that in New England was inaugurated by a Mr. Robe, minister of Kilsyth. Nor must we forget the many local religious Societies, which in England itself had existed for half a century before, formed for the purpose of mutual edification as well as works of charity, and which in various parts of the country materially aided Wesley in the organisation of his converts.

We left John Wesley on his return from Germany, associated with the Moravians in London, whose religious sentiments and peculiar discipline had still such attractions for him. Even when in 1740 he finally broke off all connexion with the Brethren, he retained great part of their discipline, to which the Methodists owe their Classes and Bands, their Love-feasts and Watch-nights. At the time of his closest union with them, however, he continued to profess himself a member and a minister of the Church of England, attached to her Articles and Liturgy, and seeing in them and in her Homilies the very doctrines which he was most anxious to inculcate and diffuse. It was in the pulpits of the Established Church, accordingly, that he began that fresh course of his ministry which was destined to produce such remarkable results. At Islington, in St. Giles's, and other metropolitan churches he poured forth his call to repentance, and testified to the reality and necessity of that conscious regeneration which more than any other was his constant theme; while, accompanied by his brother Charles, who had shared with him his recent changes of conviction, he sought interviews with Archbishop Potter and the Bishops of London and of Gloucester, striving, not unsuccessfully, to interest them in the Mission to Georgia (from which Whitefield, who had there taken Wesley's place, had now recently returned), and also in his grander design for the revival of religion at home. Nothing, in fact, could be kinder and wiser (on their own showing) than the treatment which the Wesleys met with at the hands of the Bishops; and it was not till after the disorder attendant on the outdoor ministrations of the Methodist preachers (gradually excluded from the consecrated buildings by cautious or offended incumbents) that some of the Episcopate, frightened by these startling innovations, issued their inhibitions against them. The first to do so was the Bishop of Bristol, the diocese in which field-preaching commenced; and this was not before the news had come down from London of Whitefield's violent occupation of

the pulpit of St. Margaret's, Westminster, against the will both of the incumbent and the churchwardens.

Field-preaching was first commenced by Whitefield at Kingswood, near Bristol, a region inhabited by colliers, and noted for the savage roughness and vicious conduct of its inhabitants. The fire of the preacher's soul seized upon the hearts and consciences of awe-stricken multitudes; and effects followed unparalleled in England since the introduction of Christianity. After six months of marvellous success here, and at Bath and at Cardiff, Wesley also, at Whitefield's request, came down to Bristol to aid and continue the work; and the latter took his departure for London, to repeat on Moorfields and Kennington Common the stirring appeals which he had made among the cities of the West. From this time forth field-preaching became the chosen and favourite instrument of the Methodist leaders; Charles Wesley, no less than John, throwing his whole energies into it: Whitefield, the most effective preacher of the three, being often absent in America; from which country, on his return, he came from time to time like a whirlwind upon slumbering waters. It was in this earlier period of the Methodist agitation that the well-known phenomena principally occurred, which are variously regarded as the glory or as the reproach of the movement. Under the strong emotions of spiritual excitement, numbers were struck down as dead, strewing the ground as with corpses; others in the congregation burst forth into shrieks of lamentation or of terror; others 'felt' as if a sword was running through them, or 'as if their bodies' were being torn to pieces; while some, as though seized by a demoniacal possession, raved on for hours in an agony of despair and blasphemy till the fit of madness gave way under the prayers of the evangelists. Whitefield always set his face against these manifestations; and Charles Wesley put an end to them in his audiences by giving notice that anyone so deporting himself should be carried off the ground; but his elder brother certainly regarded them at first as proceeding from spiritual agencies too awful to interfere with, and, though presently he professed to discourage them, a very opposite effect must have been produced by his practice of spending whole nights in prayer with those who were thus affected. But whatever may have been the admixture of fanaticism and delusion in cases such as these, marvellous and beneficent results assuredly followed the ministrations of the brothers. Christianity proved its power over whole populations which had been given up to Heathenism before. Thousands testified to have found peace and salvation under the power of the Gospel thus

delivered to them, and showed by their altered lives and characters that the change thus wrought in them was real and permanent.

Convinced beyond a doubt that they were chosen instruments of divine grace for awakening and evangelising the country, the Methodist chiefs undertook on a larger scale their itinerant ministry, admitting as their associates, after some hesitation, a few of their best qualified converts, laymen though they were. John Cennick and Thomas Maxfield, the earliest of these, rivalled their principals in devotedness and success, though both of them, unhappily, deserted them at last. Year by year the circuits of these ministrations widened. Northward through Yorkshire and to Newcastle, eastward over Norfolk, westward into the extreme regions of Cornwall, presently over the border into Scotland also, and over the Channel into Ireland, they bent their course, carrying their message most of all to the ignorant, the brutal, the neglected. Everywhere they found themselves opposed, however, by the hostile suspicions of the clergy, the apprehensions of the magistrates and gentry, the dislike of the general community, and the prejudice and violence of the mob. 'Assaulted and insulted on every side' (writes Wesley himself), 'we were everywhere represented as 'mad dogs, and treated accordingly. We were stoned in the streets, and several times narrowly escaped with our lives.' Excluded from the churches, denied the use of town-halls and public rooms, these undaunted missionaries would take their stand in the market-place, or at the corner of some crowded thoroughfare in a populous town, give out a hymn or read aloud some striking passage of Scripture to the few or the many whom the sight of a clergyman so engaged would be sure to assemble round him, and proceed to address the rapidly increasing congregation, inviting them, in conclusion, to reassemble at some time and place appointed, usually in some large open space within easy reach of the town. There, mounted on some rough platform, or often merely on a table, the preacher proceeded to harangue the motley congregation, consisting often of thousands or tens of thousands, and displaying every varying mood of curiosity, of indifference, of hostility.

It was a task from which Demosthenes himself might well have shrunk, requiring remarkable physical gifts of voice and nerve, besides those rarer and nobler qualities of mind and spirit which would enable the speaker to fix and retain the attention of such an auditory, with no authority to control them, many coming and going all the while; and this amidst the uncertainties and often under the rigours of the English

climate. But Wesley and his associates had far more than this to bear. The opposition raised against them went to all lengths short of deadly violence, manifesting often an ingenuity which brought the power of ridicule also to bear upon the sufferers. Besides the stones, the rotten eggs, the garbage which are employed on all such occasions, the preachers were lashed at with whips, bands of men were hired to clamour them down, horns were blown and drums beaten, fire-engines were brought to play upon minister and congregation, shameless fellows stripped themselves naked and ran in among the multitude, packs of hounds were brought upon the scene; nay, blood-hounds were sometimes set upon the preachers, and savage bulls let loose upon them and their audience. Nor could the magistrates be induced for the most part to interfere for the prevention of these outrages; indeed, their influence and authority were usually employed the other way. But good temper and fact were not wanting to second the zeal and courage of the missionaries, and instances were rare in which these did not prevail, even in their first visit to a place. At Bath, Beau Nash, coming on the ground in all his glory to put a stop to Wesley's preaching, found himself overmatched by the searching repartees of his opponent, and beat a retreat in utter confusion; and more than one blustering Justice of the Peace, anticipating a triumph over the itinerant preacher, was fairly worsted with his own weapons, and left him in possession of the field. On several occasions, however, Wesley was in real danger of his life. At Wednesbury, which at that time was the Doncaster or the Newmarket of England for cock-fighting, cock-throwing, and similar spectacles, he was for several hours in the hands of a raging mob, who would have torn him to pieces but for the persuasion they fortunately entertained that the magistrates intended to inflict condign punishment on him: and while they were hurrying him accordingly from one magistrate to another, the fearless serenity and heroic meekness of his deportment so impressed three or four of the leading rioters that they secured him, and carried him off at the hazard of their own lives.

In this course of itinerancy it was from the first the peculiar care of Wesley to make provision for the permanence of the effects produced, by associating and watching the converts he had gained. 'I was convinced (he said) that preaching like an Apostle, without joining together those that are awakened, and training them up in the ways of God, is only begetting children for the Murderer.' We have already seen that for half a century past religious *Societies* had existed in England

instituted for mutual help and edification. This was the name which Wesley adopted for the local bodies which he formed, and also for the collective body of his adherents everywhere. It was the *Society* of Methodists, not the Methodist Church. For he earnestly deprecated, to the close of his life, the name and the position of Dissenters. It was a fundamental principle with him to remain in the communion of the National Church, separation from which he considered to be as disastrous as it was wrong. The meetings of his local societies, or rather of the classes into which they were divided, were conducted very much like those of the Moravians; with which, at first, they were almost identified. But experience soon led him to add a characteristic feature of his system by the appointment of class-leaders. These were superintendents of each little group of Methodists; whose duty it was not only to preside at the meeting, maintaining order and imparting the tone to its proceedings, but also to visit and keep watch over every individual member, noticing and (if need were) reporting and denouncing inconsistent conduct, and armed with the power of granting or withholding the quarterly ticket which was the requisite certificate of membership. To these class-leaders, as the Society grew, were added stewards, whose duty was to conduct its financial business; for it soon became necessary to ask and expect, though not to enforce, some contribution from every member towards the local and general expenses of the body.

The spiritual part of the organisation, besides that of the classes, consisted of preachers only; for the administration of the Sacraments was held to belong exclusively to ordained ministers of the Church, in which capacity alone the Wesleys themselves claimed that privilege: and from these preachers, laymen for the most part, the mass of whom were designated *local*, and exercised their functions (together with their secular calling) in their own neighbourhood, a certain number were chosen, in virtue of special gifts and qualifications, to act as itinerants within appointed circuits in conjunction with their chiefs for the superintendence and edification of the scattered body. Finally, the leading preachers were called together once a year to a Conference with Wesley and those who acted or sympathised with him, for the settlement of questions of doctrine, of discipline, and of management.

One obvious need arising out of this organisation was that of erecting places of worship. *Preaching-houses*, Wesley called them; for he would not usurp the name of chapel, and he abhorred the name of meeting-house. The first of these was

one at Bristol, and the large building in London near Finsbury Square, which went by the name of the Foundry (having been the royal foundry for cannon which Government had put up for sale in a ruinous condition, when enlarging the Arsenal at Woolwich), and which Wesley immediately purchased, with the aid of his wealthier friends, and adapted for the reception of some 1,500 worshippers. Other edifices gradually arose in every part of the land, of such humble sort as Methodists could afford; the type which Wesley himself preferred and advocated being of octagonal form, with arrangements (which he strongly insisted on) for the entire separation of the men from the women.

All this which we have described had been effected, at least in its incipient form, as early as 1742, when Wesley had just reached his fortieth year—within three years of the time when, in conjunction with Whitefield, he had entered on his gigantic undertaking. Nor did this rapid growth prove one of mushroom nature. Both work and workman stood the test of time. It is among the most striking features of Wesley's career, and the one which most of all, perhaps, justifies and heightens our reverence for his character, that for half a century from this date he continued unweariedly and unswervingly in the course on which he had thus entered, undaunted in resolution, unflagging in zeal, unremitting in diligence, unchecked by the growing infirmities of age, and unimpaired (such was the rare privilege vouchsafed to him) in mental faculties. So even and so constant was the tenour of his life, that the remainder of it may be best described in a single survey; no breach of continuity preventing the eye of the observer from ranging up and down those fifty years of 'unresting and unhastening' labours of love. The very weariness we feel in reading through such a record as Mr. Tyerman's, who chronicles his proceedings from year to year through as many separate chapters, occupying more than 1,400 pages, enhances our respect for the man who could maintain with cheerfulness and energy the monotonous round of so toilsome and homeless a life. His brother Charles, disheartened and irritated, gave up the work of itinerancy before half this period had expired: Whitefield, often absent in America, and even when in England no longer perfectly in accord with his former chief, died in the year 1770, sinking under the stress and burden of his exertions; his most valued fellow-labourers fell off from his side, some disabled by age or sickness, some drawn into the advocacy of doctrines abhorrent from his own; the friendly parsonages and other kindly homes which used to be resting places for the harassed

evangelist as he passed from county to county, were closed against him one after another by the hand of death. But still Wesley went on, visiting unfailingly the scattered communities which looked up to him as a spiritual father, 'coming with 'a rod' upon lukewarm or backsliding societies, sweeping like a flaming meteor over remote villages and moorland dales where the gleam of his presence had never before been seen; and never allowing formality or disgust to blunt the edge of that devout piety and that genial sympathy which made his presence a source of quickening influence to all with whom he was associated.

Every day with Wesley, whether at home or out on his circuits, began at four o'clock at latest; and few were the days (none, if a congregation could be assembled) on which he did not preach a sermon at 5 A.M. Frequently he would preach three times a day throughout the week—often to large multitudes—spending much of the interval besides in the superintendence of classes, in close attention to difficult business, in pastoral counsel and prayer with individuals. His personal habits were plain even to austerity; his diet abstemious even to asceticism. He rigidly abstained not only from fermented liquors, but no less (let the leaders of 'the Alliance' mark it and ponder) from tobacco, which he abhorred as heartily as King James himself; and even from tea, which he considered highly injurious to the nerves. The stipend which he allowed himself from the Society's funds (even after resigning his fellowship) was less than that of the Man of Ross, never amounting to more than 30*l.* a year; though to this must be added something for the expenses of his journeys. These were done almost entirely on horseback, till growing infirmity obliged him to have recourse to the use of a carriage; and no severity of weather, or perils of the road, would deter him from pursuing his way if an engagement had to be kept, or time (and when could this not be said?) was precious. Travelling in those days was an arduous business, even under favourable circumstances; but when things were at their worst they could not stop Wesley. Though storms were raging, though the floods were out, though the snow lay deep upon the moors, though the icy slopes scarcely allowed the horses to keep their footing, on he still would go. 'At least we can 'walk twenty miles a day (he would say) with our horses in 'our hands,' and forwards he would press, even over the moors of Yorkshire or the fells of Cumberland. At other times, when delayed so long by important business that ulterior appointments seemed impossible to keep, by travelling

night and day with hired horses he accomplished distances which at that period seemed absolutely impracticable.

From early years he had accustomed himself to read while walking or riding; and when the weather permitted, he would take his book in his hand, and with rein slackened, or thrown on his horse's neck, would pursue his studies. This practice, indeed, he advocated not only on the score of utility but on principles of pure equestrian science. Some serious accidents which befell him seem, however, to have convinced him at last of the danger of it. But with the help of this practice he managed to get through an immense mass of general reading, and to keep himself on a level with the literature of the day. He was a man of large and solid attainments, if not of commanding intellect. At Oxford he was distinguished as a scholar and a logician; he was no mean Hebraist; of German he was so thorough a master as to be able to preach in that language; with French, Italian, and Spanish he was well acquainted; in history, as in theology, he was well versed. Even in mathematical and scientific subjects he had at least the knowledge of a man of liberal education. And these various attainments not only ministered indirectly to the furtherance of his work by the richness and variety they added to his preaching, but enabled him to bestow a boon upon his people of great importance in his eyes by supplying them with a whole library of useful knowledge. One of his permanent institutions was a publishing and book-selling department; and among the voluminous array of works, which he edited and issued from the press, were a series of grammars, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, for his school at Kingswood, besides one of classical authors for the same purpose; another of histories of England, France, Greece, Rome, &c.; and lastly the 'Christian Library' in fifty volumes, being a selected and abridged collection of all which seemed to him best in the whole range of Patristic and English Divinity. Of works more strictly original, besides sermons and pamphlets innumerable, the most noticeable are his Notes on the New Testament, and above all the Wesleyan Hymn-book, to which he was a large contributor, though the best and finest hymns (unsurpassed, indeed, in the English language) are those of his brother Charles.

In curious contrast to these must be mentioned the Medical Manuals which he composed and published, containing, amongst various strange nostrums, many sensible directions and



hints both for the prevention and for the cure of diseases. He had considerable natural aptitude as well as inclination for the art of medicine; which he largely exercised among his people when on his rounds, to their great delight as well as to the no small annoyance of the regular practitioners.

We have mentioned his Kingswood School, which he instituted in the year 1748 for the benefit of the children of his preachers, whose scanty pay (30*l.* or 40*l.* a year at most), made it impossible for them to provide adequate education for their sons. The principles on which it was conducted strikingly reveal and illustrate the weak points of Wesley's character and system. It was a fundamental rule of the establishment that the boys were to be allowed no play. 'He who plays when he is a child will play when he is a man,' was the grim maxim of its founder. Happily for Kingswood School, which still exists, this frightful conclusion has long been surrendered. The unfortunate boys in Wesley's time rose at 4 A.M., and, with the exception of meal-times and of three hours set apart for walking or working in the garden, spent the whole day till 8 P.M. between lessons and religious exercises, all under the eye of their masters. No wonder that some of the elder boys 'grew wicked,' and the school was constantly a source of anxiety and disappointment to its originator. And though on one occasion his heart was gladdened by the sight of a general conversion among the children, accompanied by the usual phenomena, he was grieved to find within a few months that all the hopeful signs had disappeared. 'They run up and down the wood' (he writes in his grief), 'and mix, yea, fight, with the colliers' children. They ought never to play; but they do, every day; yea, in the school.'

We have seen that a notable feature in his character, which, indeed, affected the very essence of his system, was his inveterate habit of looking out for and welcoming outward signs of the supernatural. It was long his practice to decide his perplexities by the lot, or the '*sortes Biblicæ*.' In the early part of his itinerant ministry he unhesitatingly ascribed the hysterical excitement of the converts to the direct action of Divine and Infernal powers. With regard to these last it is true that his views were modified, as experience made him wiser. But during the fresh outbreak of these same phenomena under his friend Mr. Berridge of Everton, he made little or no difference in his treatment of them; and in 1764, as in 1739, we find him spending hour after hour in prayer over a supposed demoniac.

He even believed in the interference of Satan with the order

of nature. A storm that burst over his chapel at Bristol during a service in 1788 could not be accounted for 'without supposing some preternatural influence. Satan fought, lest his 'kingdom should be delivered up.' When he had a narrow escape from being dashed to pieces in a carriage, he 'was persuaded that both evil and good angels had a large share in the 'transaction.' Even his recognition of a special Providence, deserving in itself of all respect, often provokes perforce a very different feeling. When a terrific landslip occurred in Yorkshire, 'God chose such a place' to impress 'the nobility 'and gentry' who resorted thither in the summer. When the wind fell suddenly during a storm at sea, it was because 'Christopher Hopper went to prayer.' We hardly know how far he is to be credited with the stories on which Mr. Tyerman dwells with such peculiar relish, of the judgments which befell the opponents of Methodism. We notice ten or twelve such cases in Mr. Tyerman's book; including the clergymen who were struck dead or seized with palsy after preaching in a hostile strain, and the poor diver who after exclaiming, 'One dip more; and then for a bit more sport 'with the Methodists,' plunged down and was suffocated in the mud! It is some relief to our feelings after this to hear of the theatre in which the stage suddenly sank six inches when a comedy was commencing in derision of the new religious movement; and of the Justice of the Peace who, after severely censuring Wesley, suddenly felt the floor of the room give way under him, and his wig fly off his head, while his table, with his pens, ink and paper on it, was overturned.\*

Wesley thus maintained a constant sense of the miraculous amidst the ordinary events of life. On the other hand, at various periods, when a fanatical persuasion prevailed that the end of the world was at hand, his strong good sense and manly Christian faith was signally displayed—like St. Paul among the Thessalonians—in recalling his followers and the community in general to the sober serenity of mind and quiet perseverance in daily duty which befits the Church in the face of an inscrutable future. And in curious contrast with his ascription to diabolic agency of some untoward thunderstorm, he was among the first to appreciate the value and to advocate the truth of Benjamin Franklin's scientific discoveries in electricity.

In his personal relations Wesley was one who inspired confidence and love, as well as respect, in a most eminent degree.

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\* Tyerman, vol. ii. p. 449.

His ascendancy over his followers (indeed, over men in general) was such as is rarely paralleled—such as is never realised except when to a strong will, a clear intellect, and great evenness of temperament is added that broad human sympathy which takes delight in intercourse with others, gladly recognising their good qualities and making allowance for their weaknesses. In the scores of Conferences over which he presided, he seldom failed to carry every point he insisted upon, however opposed to the inclinations of the majority; and this, not by the exercise of authoritative power, but the mere weight of his moral ascendancy. It was thus that he checked to the last the strong desire of his followers to break away from the National Church—a desire which Mr. Tyerman, on his part, heartily approves and justifies, and which was indeed an inevitable result of the measures which Wesley himself adopted, however strongly he might deprecate it. Successfully, however, as he threw oil over the troubled waters of the Connexion, smoothness and softness were no parts of Wesley's character. No one could speak out more boldly, more plainly, more sharply than he. His addresses to his people, when remonstrances were needful, are models of uncompromising (though never unkindly) rebuke. Still more characteristic are the letters of reproof which he sent to his preachers, when he disapproved of their temper or proceedings. 'Dear Tommy,' 'dear Billy,' 'dear Sammy,' were accustomed to language such as this:—

'You love dispute and I hate it. You have much time and I have much work.—Away with it; let it be heard no more.—I desire you would go to bed about a quarter after nine. Likewise be temperate in speaking; never too loud; never too long; else Satan will befool you.—They want a hard-mouthed man. Get you gone in a trice. Show them the difference.—Scream no more at the peril of your soul. . . . O John, pray for an advisable and tractable temper. By nature you are very far from it; you are stubborn and headstrong.—Tommy, distrust yourself. Do not lean to your own understanding.—Be active, be diligent; avoid all laziness, sloth, indolence. Fly from every degree, every appearance, of it; else you will never be more than half a Christian. Be cleanly. Avoid all nastiness, dirt, slovenness, both in your person, clothes, house, all about you. Do not stink above ground.'

The letter from which our last extract is made \* (addressed to one of his Irish itinerants) is so singular a production that it deserves to be studied *in extenso*. Wesley's preachers must have been a strange lot to manage. But he claimed absolute authority over them, their posts and circuits, and

the terms of union which were to be prescribed. It was not without reason that his detractors and opponents dubbed him 'Pope John.' Within the limits of the Connexion he expected and enjoyed a deference which would have satisfied Pío Nono himself. Hence, partly, it was that seceders assailed their former chief with a fierceness of invective seldom surpassed in the history of religious discord. Of all these the fiercest were those who embraced the Calvinistic doctrines of Whitefield. A large part of Wesley's life was embittered by the Calvinistic controversy, conducted on his side in some measure by himself, but chiefly by the gentle, pure-minded, and holy Fletcher of Madeley; and on the other side, principally, in a far hotter and more arrogant temper, by Augustus Toplady, and by the brothers Hill, the younger of whom, Rowland, was eventually so famous as the eccentric minister of Surrey Chapel. Whitefield himself was dead before the controversy reached its height, and, though painfully divided from the Wesleys even at an earlier period by doctrinal differences, cherished to the end his love and reverence for them. There is singular beauty and delicacy in his letters to his former leaders, especially to John Wesley, of which large numbers are given in Mr. Tyerman's volumes. It is easy to see why Whitefield had the greater influence with the upper classes of society, and made an earlier and deeper impression on the clergy of the English Church, inferior though he was to the elder Wesley in strength of reason and grasp of intellect.

With Charles Wesley his brother's intercourse, as life advanced, became less cordial. Fastidious, scrupulous, and irritable, with a finer and keener sense of what was erroneous, or unbecoming, or dangerous, Charles began at an early period to shrink from the results which Methodism was bringing about. He dreaded and abhorred the impending schism, he viewed with disgust the coarse and headstrong men whom the larger sympathies of the other readily welcomed as associates; and moreover his own marriage, with the family interests which followed, and still more the marriage of the elder brother (to which we must soon return), widened the differences between them. For many years, as we have seen, Charles withdrew himself entirely from the itinerant ministry, and took but a scanty part in the affairs of the Conference, except when he feared and sought to avert some further step towards Dissent: as, above all, in the matter of the Ordinations. He continued, nevertheless, to be regarded as his brother's colleague, as a secondary head of the Connexion, and as his natural successor in the event of his death. Wesley, on the

other hand, was painfully aware of the unpopularity and unsuitableness of such a successor, and endeavoured to make arrangements for devolving the office on the saintly Fletcher of Madcley. The latter, however, positively refused the nomination, not only from a dislike of the invidious distinction, but from a proper sense of the claims of Charles. The elevation of either of them would in truth have probably caused a disruption of the Society. As it was, John Wesley survived them both; survived also the need of a successor, by the legalisation (in the deed of 1784) of the Conference as the governing body of the Connexion. It was not on a question of rival claims to the Commandership of the Faithful that the split was to occur at last between the Shialhs and the Sonnecs of Wesleyanism.

We have spoken of John Wesley's marriage. The story of his love affairs, never given so fairly and so fully as now by Mr. Tyerman, forms a strange and most remarkable series of episodes in his life. The first occurrence was during his mission to Georgia, where he formed a deep attachment to a Miss Sophia Hopkey, niece of the chief magistrate of the colony. The earlier biographies of Wesley represent the affair as involving a conspiracy on the part of the young lady and her friends against the reputation and even the virtue of the youthful ascetic—instructions having been given her (they say) to encourage him by all means, and even 'to deny him nothing.' But so unlikely an account is now discredited, and is totally disclaimed by Mr. Tyerman. Certain it is that Wesley was deeply in love; certain, too, that he referred the case to his Moravian friends and advisers, who decided accordingly that he should proceed no further in the matter: and he is said to have acquiesced, saying, 'The will of the Lord be done.' However this may have been (and it seems doubtful whether he voluntarily gave up his attachment), the sequel is equally strange. For we find him a few months after publicly refusing the Sacrament to this same lady (then married to a Mr. Williamson) when she presented herself at the Lord's table. The grounds of his refusal have never been cleared up; but it was largely in consequence of this behaviour that he drew on himself the odium and persecution which drove him out of Georgia.

For some years after this he persisted in his resolution of celibacy: a resolution which certainly was most advisable for one who had embraced a life of self-denial, labour, and homelessness. In 1743, too, he published his 'Thoughts on a Single Life,' extolling that state as the privilege, if not the

duty, of all who were capable of receiving it; and three years after, in a published hymn, which is clearly autobiographical, expressed himself as follows:—

‘I have no sharer of my heart  
To rob my Saviour of a part  
And desecrate the whole;  
Only betrothed to Christ am I,  
And wait His coming from the sky  
To wed my happy soul.’

It was, therefore, with great surprise, and not without some scandal, that in 1749 his friends heard that he was engaged to a Mrs. Grace Murray, a young widow who had nursed him in a short illness, and who was actually accompanying him at that time in his ministerial travels through the country. This young woman had been brought up as a maid-servant, and was a person of small education, though of great attractions and a fervent convert to Methodism. She was a person of singularly impulsive temperament, and, with an utter disregard of delicacy and honour, in the midst of her engagement to Wesley allowed herself to coquet also with one of his lay preachers, John Bennett; and for some months the most extraordinary alternations went on, her choice resting sometimes on one, sometimes on the other of her lovers, with passionate assertions of her entire devotedness to each, and this with intervals occasionally of a few hours only. Charles Wesley, disgusted and indignant, strove to put an end to the scandal: and happily for the good man whose reputation was sadly endangered by the whole affair, it ended in the marriage of the worthless lady to the inferior suitor; with whom, also (as was hardly surprising), she presently seceded from the Society and joined the Calvinistic body of Dissenters.

Undeterred by this disastrous experience, in 1751 Wesley again ventured on an engagement, which actually resulted in marriage. Now too the lady was a widow, a Mrs. Vazeille; her first husband having been a merchant, who had left her a small independence. There was little in her to deserve the attachment of such a man, either in character or intellect. She too, like Grace Murray, was of humble birth, and, like her, had been a maid-servant. Having during her widowhood joined herself to the Methodists, she was naturally pleased and flattered with the attentions of their renowned Head. Charles Wesley again interposed; but this time in vain. It soon appeared how ill-advised a union had been contracted; and after a few years of wretched married life, marked on her part by outrageous ill-temper, jealousy, violence, and even treachery, which her

husband on his side bore with the patience of a Socrates, the lady one day took herself off and lived in a state of separation from him till her death. 'Non eam reliqui; non dimisi; non revocabo!' was the husband's apt and pardonable exclamation when he found her gone. He cannot, however, be wholly exonerated from blame; for setting aside the question whether after electing to marry he was not bound to do more for the comfort of his wife, he certainly gave occasion to her jealous temper by his unwary conduct, and most of all by his unaccountable fondness for a certain Sarah Ryan, a quondam maid-servant like the others; who, although she was the wife of *three living husbands*, so won the good opinion and confidence of Wesley by her ostentatious devoutness, that he actually appointed her matron of Kingswood School, where he necessarily paid frequent visits. No suspicion can really attach of course to the fair fame of one so pure and unblemished as Wesley, but it was difficult for a jealous wife to think so. And assuredly we must say of him, adopting a well-known phrase of Mr. Froude's, that 'in his relations with women he seemed 'to be under a fatal necessity of mistake.'

It is a relief to turn back from these weaknesses and blemishes of private life to the ministerial and public career of the great Methodist. There is little more (as we have said) to tell of that laborious life: except, indeed, the endless details of which it was made up, and which have no small interest of their own, not only to readers of his own Connexion, but in a measure also to all who study human character, or who care for the history of the Church.

Uneventful as those fifty years were in one sense, they are full of stirring incidents in the national annals, in many of which Wesley bore his part. The rebellion of 1745, or rather the advance of the young Pretender, found him at Newcastle; where he exerted himself zealously to strengthen the courage, and above all to reform the moral character of the garrison. During the turmoil of the Wilkes agitation he showed himself a steadfast advocate of the cause of order and authority. In the year of Lord G. Gordon's riots he stood forth as a determined (and as some thought a too vehement) denouncer of Romanism, and visited that nobleman when confined in the Tower, as he had done also in the case of the notorious Dr. Dodd, attending that unhappy man in Newgate, at his own request (though formerly a bitter antagonist of his), during his last days. The outbreak of the American war called out in him the strongest feelings of loyalty and patriotism. He was a zealous supporter of Lord North's administration, strongly advocating the justice

of colonial taxation, strongly condemning the unreasonableness of the American recusants, though with sad forebodings of the issue of the impending struggle. Fortunately for the cause of Methodism in the United States, a very different view was taken by Francis Asbury and his associates on that side of the Atlantic. And under their wiser guidance were laid the foundations of the great Methodist Episcopal Church, which now numbers by far the largest number of adherents of any Christian denomination in that country. At home Wesley's support and influential advocacy of the ministerial measures were so fully appreciated by the Cabinet, that one of the highest officers of state waited on him (it is said) to ask him to choose his reward. He declined any; but once told Adam Clarke that 'he was sorry he had not requested to be made a royal missionary, and to have the privilege of preaching in every church.\*' Imagine the consequences if this privilege had been given him, by a stretch of the royal prerogative, or even by statute! The French Revolution found him a very aged man, but in full possession of his mental, if not his bodily faculties. We cannot but look with special curiosity for the expressions of his thoughts and feelings about this crowning event of the eighteenth century: but, strange to say, we look in vain. Neither in his letters nor his journals have we found any allusion to the meeting of the States-General, the taking of the Bastille, or the assault on Versailles. The only echo that we catch of the great crash of the framework of society that was resounding across the Channel is, that in 1790, when the fame of Mesmerism was rife in England, he writes his opinion to Adam Clarke that 'animal magnetism is diabolical from the beginning to the end.'

At last in 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and full of honour as of years, revered as a spiritual father by thousands and tens of thousands, and respected universally by all whose respect was worth conciliating, the noble old evangelist lay down to die, happy in the assured possession of the truths he had lived to proclaim to others, and literally fulfilling the desire expressed in his own hymn that he might

'His burden with his life lay down,  
And cease at once to work and live.'

Sincerely as we reverence Wesley, and heartily as we desire to pay him honour, it is only in a very qualified sense that we can call him a great man. It is not only because like all others he had his weaknesses and defects, but because these

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\* Tyerman, vol. iii. p. 191.



weaknesses entered largely into his whole course of operations, and still pervade the result of his work. The fact may be strikingly illustrated by two confessions of his own, expressing his habitual feelings. 'I know (he wrote) that if I were to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep.'—'From a peculiar constitution of soul (he emphatically declares elsewhere) I am convinced by many experiments, that I could not study to any degree of perfection, either mathematics, arithmetic, or algebra, without becoming a deist, if not an atheist.' In both of these assertions Wesley assuredly did injustice to himself; but they betray nevertheless an uneasy consciousness of the weak points we speak of—an undue dependence on excitement, and an undue assumption of assurance in those spiritual matters which by their very nature admit only of moral persuasion. No one, surely, with any reasonableness could rank him within many degrees of Luther, Calvin, or even Knox. Wesley's sphere of action was altogether a smaller one. Confined to England, or the English-speaking race (for nowhere else has his teaching taken any appreciable hold of the population), it was restricted even within those limits to certain classes of society and a certain class of mind. It was marked, moreover, by the employment of measures of temporary efficacy for the cure of evils which in their special aspect were temporary also; measures, too, which do not (so far as we can see) contain within themselves seeds of lasting influence, like those of Luther and Calvin, when their first growth is exhausted. He is best compared, as Southey compares him, to Benedict, to Francis of Assisi, to Ignatius Loyola; men whose ardent zeal in the cause of religion, and whose keen perception of the evils of their time, drove them to devise a remedy for those evils—a remedy which none but fanatics could regard as a panacea, being itself little better than a counter-irritant, suitable only to a passing phase of disease, and provocative, if too long continued, of an evil as formidable as that which it assailed. In Wesley's system, moreover, there was more of the accidental and the makeshift than in those of the great founders of the religious orders. He caught up what came to hand for effecting his immediate purpose, using it doubtless with extraordinary skill as well as with entire honesty for the accomplishment of his end, yet with little of the plastic power of farseeing genius. Indeed, we consider it as especially redounding to his credit as a man of true goodness and sincerity, that he never regarded himself as one inspired to build up a system 'according to a pattern shown him on the mount;' but as one who with a fallible judgment,

though aided by the Providence of God, adopted such measures as for the time seemed best; contented, and even happy, that they should presently be superseded altogether, if so a higher Wisdom willed it.

In the year of his death the returns of the Connexion, according to Mr. Tyerman, gave the following numbers: Circuits established, 240; Itinerant preachers, 541; Members of the Connexion 134,549.\* Marvellous as were these results, the general effect produced upon the country was greater still; especially in the altered tone of preaching and of religious belief in large sections of the National Church. This was attributable, it is true, in a still greater degree to Whitefield than to Wesley; but a large share belongs directly to him, and long before his death he was personally welcome everywhere in the pulpits of the Establishment. It is a great mistake to complain, as so many do, that the Church cast out the Wesleys. We have seen at the beginning how kindly and even cordially they were treated by the leading members of the Episcopate; and even when this tone was changed, and some inhibitions were issued, yet in no instance were legal proceedings instituted against them as clergymen, nor yet against those rectors and vicars (of whom there were always some) who admitted them into their pulpits, and were even avowed members of their Society. 'The bishops (says Charles Wesley in 1784) have let us alone, and left us to act just as we pleased for these fifty years. At present some of them are quite friendly towards us. 'The churches are all open to you.' Archbishop Secker entered into a long and friendly correspondence with John Wesley. Bishop Lowth refused to take precedence of him, saying, 'Mr. Wesley, may I be found at your feet in another world.' Bishop Barnard even ordained one of the itinerants: 'to assist that good man (he said), that he may not work himself to death.' All that can be said against the Church authorities is, that they did not alter the constitution of the Church to suit Wesley's views; a course (it need hardly be added) which could not be taken, even if thought desirable, without the act of the Legislature. Whether experience, dearly bought already, ought not before this to have led to wider reforms in the Establishment, is another question; and one which prelates and statesmen would do well to consider even now.

It was the habitual testimony of Wesley to his dying hour, that 'if the Methodists left the Church, God would leave them.' Happily these forebodings have not been realised. The success

and increase of the Connexion has been enormous during the eighty years which have since elapsed. Mr. Tyerman computes the number throughout the world (including, however, the seceding bodies) as exhibiting nearly 22,000 regular ministers, and nearly 3,000,000 church members. Nor is their success to be measured by numbers only; they have continued to exercise a great and beneficent influence in this country, especially over whole classes and in large districts which the Church has failed to reach; they have been among the foremost and most successful missionaries in heathen lands; while in the training of their regular ministers they are second to none, perhaps, of the rival denominations.

It can hardly be denied, however, that Charles Wesley's prophecy has been fulfilled, that in their separate state they would become in fact simply a new order of Presbyterians. Like other similar bodies, too, they have been exposed to a continual process of disintegration. Already in this country, they have broken up into five or six principal masses: the *New Communion*, the *United Free Methodist Churches*, the *Bible Christians*, the *Wesleyan Reform Union*, the *Primitive Methodist*; and the local varieties are more numerous still. The *Old Connexion*, however, is still by far the strongest of these bodies; and will exercise the greatest influence over the future destiny of the National Church, with which its own future also is closely bound up. What will that future be?

We have spoken of Wesleyanism as a system essentially temporary. To this view of it probably many of its adherents would strongly demur: but even they can hardly deny that the range of its influence is necessarily a limited one. If not sectarian, it is at least undoubtedly sectional. Even in the land of its nativity it is incapable of covering more than a portion of the ground which the Church of Christ is designed to occupy. Unadapted by its founder to undertake the work of a Church, it can never, unless by ceasing to be Wesleyanism, meet the requirements of a whole Christian community. We forbear to dwell on its theological peculiarities, or to discuss its questionable doctrines of instantaneous Conversion, plenary Assurance, and attainable Perfection. Enough to point out that the Wesleyan body is restricted, by its very constitution and by its legalised standing, to the arbitrary basis of its founder's special views—a disability not to be obviated by the tendency of its abler and more thoughtful members to drop or materially to modify its most distinctive tenets. But, viewed as an ecclesiastical system only, it is obviously unequal to satisfy the spiritual wants of the Christianised body social;

its rigid scheme of itinerancy forbidding the formation of an effective pastorate, and its obligatory rule of Class-meetings being perilous to domestic union, and repulsive (to say the least) to minds of independence, cultivation, and delicacy. Its appropriate work, therefore, is evidently a partial one, supplementary to that of the Church Catholic. For making onslaughts on the virtual heathenism of the masses, and for keeping alive the sacred fire in those classes of the community with whom religion is before all things a matter of feeling, it is an agency of singular efficacy and value; and in this respect there is still ample work before it in England of the same nature as that which it has already accomplished. But the question remains, Must this be done in rivalry, and almost in antagonism with other Christian bodies; or shall it be done in harmonious co-operation with them—above all, with its natural ally and acknowledged parent, the National Church? We cherish the hope that such an amalgamation with the Church may yet be found possible; and that amidst the grave and unknown changes impending over our ecclesiastical system, this desirable result may yet be realised. Room might assuredly be found within the Establishment, or in a privileged position at its side, for the exercise of that distinctive discipline of Wesleyanism, which commends itself to many minds, and which has unquestionably been found peculiarly suitable to certain ranks of society.

Our hopes of such a result are increased by what we see in the United States. There, where advantage was wisely taken of the political situation of the country after the War of Independence, the Methodist Episcopal Church became to a great extent the inheritor and representative of the old Church of England. This it still is, side by side with its Anglican sister; and indeed by help of a wise modification of its original arrangements approaches more nearly than any other religious body to the position of a National Establishment.

But whatever the future of Wesleyanism may be, assuredly it cannot claim for itself the exclusive, or even the special possession of the mantle of its founder. The prophetic office, such as Wesley and his first associates in a large measure discharged, belongs permanently to no order and no succession of men. It is as impossible to annex it to the worthies of the Conference as to the legalised ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. For such high purposes, always more or less needful, and at some periods more emphatically so, agents and agencies will be raised up according as a higher Wisdom and Power shall order it; but none can foresee the

impulses which shall call them forth, or limit the mode of their operation.

That Wesley and his associates were men of this stamp, and fulfilled this purpose, we do not doubt—we thankfully recognise it. All honour to them for what they were, and what they did. Honour above all to the noble old man whose faith and energy were the mainsprings of the movement. No purer, more upright, more single-minded spirit can be found in the annals of Christendom. Among the ‘vessels of gold’ and of silver, of wood and of earth’ that have been employed in the great household of God, he was assuredly of the nobler metal; nor is it presumptuous to add the far higher commendation, that he was ‘meet for the Master’s use.’

ART. IV.—1. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom.* By EDWARD B. TYLOR. 2 vols. 1871.

2. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation.* By EDWARD B. TYLOR. 1865.

IN this elaborate work, Mr. Tylor continues, on an ampler scale and with fuller details, the task commenced in his previous volume, entitled ‘*Researches into the Early History of Mankind.*’ The main object of this latter work was to show that there is a community of manners, customs, and beliefs amongst primitive races separated from each other by vast intervals of space and time, and that their advance in culture takes place in a given order, and may be arranged in stages very much irrespective of historical connexion and chronological sequence. The leading chapters of the volume investigated the more primitive and direct means of intercourse represented by gesture, language, and picture-writing, the mental law or tendency embodied in magical beliefs and practices, the growth of a particular class of myths, the history of one or two simple arts, and of a few extraordinary customs. In the new work, the author extends his researches into other branches of early speculation and practice, attempting to trace in expanded detail the development, as well as in a measure to explain the origin, of language, mythology, philosophy, religion, and religious rites and ceremonies. Both works are thus devoted to the history of civilisation, especially in its earlier stages, to tracing inductively the steps by which men have emerged from the savage state, and lower races gradually

acquired the arts, sciences, and accomplishments of higher and more cultivated nations. The author seeks to place himself ideally at the very cradle of human experience, and to trace the progress of the race, from the rudeness of its savage infancy, through the strength and freedom of its barbaric youth, to the complex refinements and mature power of its adult civilisation. Of course, such an attempt virtually proceeds on the assumption that savage life is the primitive state of man, and that the ascent from that state takes place according to definite laws that may be accurately generalised from a sufficient collection and analysis of the facts. This assumption, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot however be positively affirmed or denied. But whatever may be true with regard to the primitive state of man, it is certain that there exist numerous and widely-scattered accounts of tribes and races in almost all stages of cultivation, and that these, though partially studied for special purposes, have never yet been adequately collected, compared, and scientifically analysed for the express purpose of throwing light on the laws of early culture, of ascertaining as far as possible the rational principles of human progress. Mr. Tylor's is thus, to some extent, a virgin enterprise, a sufficiently arduous one, but at the same time full of interest and promise, as well as in the direct line of modern speculation and research.

Hardly any branch of inquiry has, indeed, within the last few years, made more rapid strides than that which has man, his origin, antiquity, and history, his advancements and retrogressions, his powers, achievements, and prospects, for its object. The complaint made a dozen years ago by Professor Waitz, that the great questions raised by this branch of inquiry were 'orphan problems' excluded from the existing divisions of science, neglected by philosophy, and unacknowledged by any established faculty or chair, can no longer be made with any force or relevancy. Since the publication of his own painstaking and valuable work, a number of elaborate treatises on the subject have appeared, both in this country and on the Continent. In England, the diffusion of interest in these inquiries has of late been more rapid than elsewhere, having been directly stimulated by our ablest scientific thinkers, such as Lyell and Darwin, Huxley, Wallace, and Lubbock. The enthusiasm with regard to this branch of inquiry results naturally from the great and characteristic movements of scientific thought in our own day. It was almost inevitable that the modern scientific conceptions of unbroken continuity and progressive development of life should be applied to the

highest manifestations of this inscrutable power, and that the scientific investigation of humanity as the culminating point in a great scheme of vital evolution should be attempted. The rapid and assured progress made in the comparatively modern sciences of geology, language, and archæology, have directly contributed to the same result. The discoveries of geology, and the science of language in particular, have so completely swept away the old dogmatic chronologies, so extended the period of man's duration on the earth, and widened the sphere of his primeval activities, that it became necessary to construct, at least provisionally, some scheme of his origin and history more in harmony with the facts of science than the existing historical or semi-historical traditions and beliefs. Hence the ardent zeal displayed in investigating and analysing afresh the early records, traditions, and mythologies of lettered nations, in interpreting the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions still found amidst the ruins of once splendid but now extinct civilisations, in deciphering the mouldering pictorial symbols on the fragmentary but colossal monuments of forgotten peoples, and in illustrating from every available quarter the fanciful legends and superstitious beliefs of savage tribes and barbarous races. Hence, too, the keen and persistent inquiry into the buried hearths and homesteads, the sepulchral mounds and bergs, the cinerary urns and mortuary chambers of early ages. In all directions lakes and estuaries are searched, drift gravels and boulder clays explored, ancient river-beds laid bare, peat mosses and primitive sea-margins probed to their depths, dens and caves of the earth ransacked for any form of vanished life, any fragment of ancient culture that may throw light on pre-historic times, and help us to form a picture of the past, that, however imperfect in its details, may at least be tolerably accurate in the outline and proportions of its leading groups. The materials hitherto collected, though numerous, are as yet altogether inadequate for this purpose. Still, much has been done; and, in tracing back the long line of our ancestry, we are able, even now, to extend our gaze beyond the dawn of history, beyond the extremest verge of hazy tradition. Every day adds to the necessary facts, increases the accumulated materials of unwritten history, and, by the cautious and discriminating use of these, we may hope eventually to explore the earlier forms, if not to find the origin, of the complex civilisation we have inherited.

In the present state of the sciences connected with the history of man, all that any labourer in the wide field of pre-historic or extra-historic civilisation can accomplish, is to con-

tribute something in the way of well-ordered and carefully-sifted facts, with suggestions as to the principles they illustrate. This is what Mr. Tylor has attempted to do. As a contribution to the history of culture, he has undertaken to write perhaps the most difficult chapter of all, the first. In endeavouring to find the track of early culture, the path before him is, however, not only intricate and obscure, but crowded with obstructions, and beset with gins and pitfalls on every side. So numerous indeed are these obstacles, that Mr. Darwin, in his recent work, justly says, 'The problem of the first advance of savages towards civilisation is at present much too difficult to be solved.' Mr. Tylor is himself well aware of the difficulties and dangers in his way, and his expectations of success are tempered and graduated by this salutary knowledge. In the work before us he avowedly takes the position and discharges the laborious duties of a pioneer. In the introduction to his earlier volume he says frankly:—

'The time for writing a systematic treatise on the subject does not seem yet to have come; certainly nothing of the kind is attempted in the present series of essays, whose contents, somewhat miscellaneous as they are, scarcely come into contact with great part of the most important problems involved, such as the relation of the bodily characters of the various races, the question of their origin and descent, the development of morals, religion, law, and many others. The matters discussed have been chosen, not so much for their absolute importance, as because, while they are among the easiest and most inviting parts of the subject, it is possible so to work them, as to bring into view certain general lines of argument, which apply, not only to them, but also to the more complex and difficult problems involved in a complete treatise on the History of Civilisation.'

The new work, while far from attempting the history of civilisation as a whole, assumes to a much greater extent the form and dimensions of a systematic treatise on the subject. It is, as we have seen, devoted to primitive culture, the great end being to illustrate the unanimity that prevails in the earlier stages of civilisation, irrespective of race, or age, or country, to show that the different grades or stages of culture in all lands, and races, and ages, stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect. Mr. Tylor admits at the outset that there are popular objections against treating human life and human history in a scientific manner, and that they are, in part at least, well founded. 'There are many who would willingly accept a science of history if placed before them with substantial definiteness of principle and evidence, but who not unreasonably reject the systems offered to them, as falling too far short of a scientific standard. Through



'resistance such as this, real knowledge always, sooner or later, makes its way, while the habit of opposition to novelty does such excellent service against the invasions of speculative dogmatism, that we may sometimes even wish it were stronger than it is.' And elsewhere he says, in relation to the same point :—'The late Mr. Buckle did good service in urging students to look through the details of history to the great laws of human development which lie behind; but his attempt to explain, by a few rash generalisations, the complex phases of European history, is a warning of the danger of too hasty an appeal to first principles.' This is perfectly just; for while working in the right direction, Mr. Buckle, by his partial induction of facts, and dogmatic assertion of extreme opinions, produced for a time a strong reaction against the so-called science of history he claimed to have established. Mr. Tylor is well aware that as yet no such science exists, the most distinguished labourers in this wide and difficult field having hitherto only prepared the way for a really useful and trustworthy philosophy of history.

'That the labours of so many eminent thinkers should have as yet brought history only to the threshold of science, need cause no wonder in those who consider the bewildering complexity of the problems which come before the general historian. The evidence from which he is to draw his conclusions is at once so multifarious and so doubtful, that a full and distinct view of its bearing on a particular question is hardly to be attained, and thus the temptation becomes all but irresistible to garble it in support of some rough and ready theory of events. The philosophy of history at large, explaining the past and predicting the future phenomena of man's life in the world by reference to general laws, is in fact a subject with which, in the present state of knowledge, even genius aided by wide research, seems but hardly able to cope. Yet there are departments of it which, though difficult enough, seem comparatively accessible. If the field of inquiry be narrowed from History as a whole to that branch of it which is here called Culture, the history, not of tribes or nations, but of the conditions of knowledge, religion, art, custom, and the like among them, the task of investigation proves to lie within far more moderate compass. We suffer still from the same kind of difficulties which beset the wider argument, but they are much diminished. The evidence is no longer so wildly heterogeneous, but may be more simply classified and compared, while the power of getting rid of extraneous matter, and treating each issue on its own proper set of facts, makes close reasoning on the whole more available than in general history.'

This passage states and estimates very fairly the aim of the volumes before us, and through the whole of their elaborate detail the author keeps the main object in view with steadiness, persistency, and determination. Still, in going over the

work, it is impossible not to feel that some of the chief difficulties of the wider argument press heavily on the narrower enterprise. In particular, the immense complexity of the facts to be investigated, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining a sufficient amount of relevant and trustworthy evidence, gives to some of the author's most important conclusions a provisional and tentative character, and, in some cases, the most critical sifting of evidence fails to remove the uncertainty hence arising.

In many important respects, however, Mr. Tylor is well qualified for the work he has undertaken. In the first place he has an absorbing interest in the subject, a single-minded determination to pursue it under its strictly scientific aspects, which is, perhaps, the most essential condition of success in such inquiries. His mind has been completely swept into the strong modern current of scientific research. So completely is this the case, that in his casual references to such subjects as poetry, philosophy, and theology, he can hardly conceal his belief that they have had their day, and must be effaced or absorbed by the advancing tide against which they are for the time struggling, as he evidently thinks, in a confused and helpless manner. With all his habitual caution and reserve of statement, he almost unconsciously suggests that these subjects have now very much lost any claim they may once have possessed on the serious attention of enlightened and cultivated minds. The absorption of the mind of an author in a single point of view, if in some respects a limitation both of power and insight, has nevertheless its advantages. What is lost in extended sympathy and breadth of philosophic view, is gained in concentration of faculty and interest on the immediate subject in hand. And this concentration is especially needed in researches like Mr. Tylor's, requiring for their successful pursuit not only zeal and knowledge, but a considerable amount of faith and patience, of tenacious resolve and courageous industry. The author has, moreover, formed a very clear and definite, if not an altogether adequate, conception of the work to be done, as well as the means by which it must be accomplished. With regard to method, indeed, Mr. Tylor's painstaking induction and critical analysis of the relevant facts cannot be too highly commended. In this part of his work he has spared neither time nor labour, diligently searching for available materials in all directions, often in the most out of the way places, and collecting illustrative facts of widely different kinds, and from every possible quarter. The work is thus a storehouse of information connected with the early history of the language,

the mythology, and the rude religious conceptions of savage and barbarous tribes. This feature of the work is indeed likely to prove with many readers a drawback to the pleasure of its perusal, and may probably make it less widely read than it deserves to be. The accumulation of cognate facts is sometimes so great as to overload the exposition, and to give it a somewhat lumbering and disjointed character. The writer is himself conscious of this drawback, and explains in the preface the reasons which have led him deliberately to expose himself to such a complaint:—

‘In discussing problems so complex as those of the development of civilisation, it is not enough to put forward theories accompanied by a few illustrative examples. The statement of the facts must form the staple of the argument, and the limit of needful detail is only reached when each group so displays its general law, that fresh cases come to range themselves in their proper niches as new instances of an already established rule. Should it seem to any readers that my attempt to reach this limit sometimes leads to the heaping-up of too cumbrous detail, I would point out that the theoretical novelty as well as the practical importance of many of the issues raised, make it most unadvisable to stint them of their full evidence.’

Still the heaping-up of details, if not excessive from a scientific point of view, is often carried to a pitch that seriously interferes with the reader's enjoyment of the work, as well as with his clear apprehension of the author's drift and meaning. This result is, however, in part due to another characteristic of the volumes, which also must be ranked among their merits. We refer to the author's marked caution and reserve in drawing inferences from the facts he has accumulated. He shows throughout a conscientious anxiety to avoid sweeping generalisations, and not go at all beyond the conclusions which the facts appear fairly to warrant. In this respect his work stands in striking and favourable contrast to other treatises that have recently appeared on kindred subjects, and especially to Mr. Cox's ‘*Aryan Mythology*,’ noticed in our pages a few months ago. Mr. Cox, from a few facts, some of a very hazy and ambiguous character, drew the widest possible conclusions; and announced these conclusions as established beyond dispute with an easy confidence that was simply astounding. Mr. Tylor, on the other hand, from his wide array of facts, draws for the most part only narrow and tentative conclusions. This, while commendable on scientific grounds, certainly adds to the obscurity of the large topics discussed in his volumes. While the facts are held firmly together by links of inference in the author's own mind, these links are so few and far between in

the actual exposition, that it is not in the least surprising if they sometimes escape the reader's notice altogether, and he finds himself bewildered amidst a mass of new and perplexing details apparently uncontrolled by any central or governing conception.

It is impossible, however, to read carefully the more reflective portions of Mr. Tylor's work without feeling that the author has himself formed conclusions considerably in advance of those which he explicitly announces. The full statement and defence of these more advanced opinions would undoubtedly have given the exposition a unity and interest it does not at present possess. The introduction of such a stimulating element would also, it is true, have added to its aggressive character, and rendered it more effective in arousing opposition and provoking controversy. Some of Mr. Tylor's critics have reflected upon his procedure in this respect, attributing his reticence to imperfect scientific command over his method and materials, or defective moral courage in dealing with their results. Others have been disposed to attribute it to prudential reserve, the desire of conciliating as far as possible the more active opposition which a comparatively new branch of inquiry naturally excites. In our view this feature of Mr. Tylor's work admits, however, of a much simpler and more satisfactory explanation. So far as we have observed, it springs in the main, as already noticed, from a conscientious desire not to exceed in any way the conclusions which the facts naturally yield. That the narrow and partial conclusions which the facts unambiguously afford should fall short of the broader and more decisive convictions gradually produced in the writer's own mind is perfectly intelligible. When following up a special line of research, a number of casual sidelights, many minute points of evidence, and slight convergent proofs may easily conspire to produce a belief almost amounting to certainty in the inquirer's own mind. But this indirect, if not evanescent, kind of evidence hardly admits of being exhibited in distinct propositions so as to produce an answering impression on the minds of others unused to such investigations. In such a case the inquirer himself may feel morally certain as to the truth of positions that cannot be exhibited to others in an equally conclusive shape, that are not indeed supported by a sufficient amount of definite evidence to produce conviction in unprepared and unbiassed minds.

It is, however, very difficult for a writer who has in this way formed decided opinions on points still in dispute, uniformly to avoid expressing them in a more absolute manner

than the evidence appears to justify. At some point or other, in the course of a prolonged exposition, he will most probably be tempted to assume that the external proof of the disputed proposition is as complete as his own conviction of its certainty, and to speak accordingly. He will almost unconsciously assert a conclusion towards which many facts seem to point as established, when at most there is only a probability in its favour made out. With all his care and habitual reserve of statement, Mr. Tylor himself occasionally does this—occasionally reads into a series of facts his own dogmatic interpretation of them. Take for example the much-disputed question as to the primitive state of man. On this point Mr. Tylor has arrived at a very decisive judgment that it was savage, and savage of a very low type. And in referring to the Duke of Argyll's able summary of the facts and arguments opposed to this view, he says:—

‘The Duke of Argyll in his “Primeval Man,” while admitting the drift implements as having been the ice hatchets and rude knives of low tribes of men inhabiting Europe towards the end of the Glacial Period, concludes thence “that it would be about as safe to argue from these “implements as to the condition of man at that time in the countries of “his Primeval Home, as it would be in our own day to argue from the “habits and arts of the Eskimo as to the state of civilisation in London “or in Paris.” The progress of archaeology for years past, however, has been continually cutting away the ground on which such an argument as this can stand, till now it is almost utterly driven off the field. Where now is the district of the earth that can be pointed to as the “Primeval Home” of man, and that does not show by rude stone implements buried in its soil the savage condition of its former inhabitants? There is scarcely a known province of the world of which we cannot say certainly, savages once dwelt here, and if in such a case an ethnologist asserts that these savages were the descendants or successors of a civilised nation, the burden of proof lies on him.’

In support of this sweeping statement Mr. Tylor refers to a chapter on the ‘Stone Age, Past and Present,’ in his previous volume; and in the immediate context of the passage quoted he thus summarises the evidence contained in the chapter:—‘Even the districts famed in history as seats of ancient civilisations show, like other regions, their traces of a yet more ‘archaic Stone Age. Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, India, ‘China, furnish evidence from actual specimens, historical mentions, and survivals, which demonstrate the former prevalence ‘of conditions of society which have their analogues among ‘modern savage tribes.’ In the chapter itself, one of the most interesting in the volume, Mr. Tylor has collected with great care and diligence the evidence bearing on the point supplied

by history, archæology, and language. But in going over the evidence in detail, it will be found weakest of all, if not altogether wanting, at the very point where, for the sake of the argument, it ought to be strongest—in relation to the primitive home or cradle of the race. It may, indeed, be a question whether any particular spot, any assignable locality, is, in strictness of speech, entitled to this designation. But however this may be, there is no doubt as to the regions which are both traditionally and historically the seats of early and famous civilisations. These are to be found in the south-western area of the Asiatic continent. As Professor Rawlinson justly says:—

‘Revelation, tradition, and the indications derivable from ethnology and comparative philology, agree in pointing to this south-western region as the cradle of the human race. The soil, climate, and natural productions are such as would have suited man in his infancy. Here, and in the adjoining part of Africa, large communities were first formed, cities built, and governments established. Here was the birthplace of agriculture and the arts; and here trade and commerce first acquired any considerable development. Numerous streams, a rich soil, abundant and most valuable natural products, among which the first place must be assigned to the wheat plant, here alone indigenous, rendered this portion of the earth’s surface better fitted than perhaps any other for encouraging and promoting civilisation. Here, accordingly, civil history commenced, the earliest kingdoms and states being, all of them, in this quarter.’

In particular, the Arabian peninsula appears to have been the centre of a civilisation earlier and more extensive than any falling within the domain of history proper. From references that occur in our earliest sources of information, as well as from various fragments of indirect evidence, it seems probable that this region was occupied by a powerful and cultured people, known in early times as Ethiopians, whose civilisation gradually spread east and west, along the valleys of the Upper Nile, and through the fertile plains of the Tigris and Lower Euphrates. Heeren, referring to the dim but colossal form of this mysterious nationality, as it looms on the extreme verge of our secular horizon, says:—

‘In the earliest traditions of nearly all the more civilised nations of antiquity, the name of this distant people is found. The annals of the Egyptian priests were full of them; the nations of Inner Asia on the Euphrates and Tigris have interwoven the fictions of the Ethiopians with their own traditions of the wars and conquests of their heroes; and at a period equally remote they glimmer in Greek mythology. When the Greeks scarcely knew Italy and Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated in the verses of their poets; and when the

faint gleam of tradition and fable gives way to the clear light of history, the lustre of the Ethiopians is not diminished. They still continue to be objects of curiosity and admiration, and the pen of cautious clear-sighted historians often places them in the highest rank of knowledge and civilisation.'

Strabo, however, throws some light on the geographical relations of this vast but obscure nationality, in stating as a fact, with regard to the early Greek writers, what is almost forced on the modern critic as a surmise. He says that, as the ancient Greeks classed all the northern nations with which they were familiar as Scythians, so they designated as Ethiopia the whole of the southern countries towards the sea. The Ethiopians would thus have occupied, at a period far beyond the range of history, the extensive plains between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, the most southern point of Arabia, and the Caucasian mountains. But whatever may be the true name and race of the people occupying this region in primitive times, it is certain that they represent the earliest progressive civilisation of which we have any record, and that the civilisations of Egypt, Babylon, and Phœnicia, though ascending far beyond the dawn of history, are comparatively modern off-shoots of that primitive culture. This, therefore, is the region where, in order to support Mr. Tylor's argument against the Duke of Argyll, evidence of the primeval Flint Age must be looked for. On examining the evidence, however, it turns out that this south-western area of the Asiatic continent is precisely the region where no distinct traces of the Stone Age have yet been discovered. Mr. Tylor gives no instance of the discovery of flint implements in any part of this wide region. No direct evidence, indeed, of the existence of a savage Stone Age there is adduced by him; and the only fragment of indirect evidence he offers is of a singularly far-fetched and irrelevant kind. It consists of the account given by Strabo, of the rude fish-eating race found on the north-east coast of the Arabian sea, the present Beloochistan. The account is as follows:—

'The country of the Ichthyophagi is a low coast, for the most part without trees, except palms, a sort of acanthus, and tamarisks; of water and cultivated food there is a dearth. Both the people and their cattle eat fish, and drink rain and well-water, and the flesh of the cattle tastes of fish. In making their dwellings, they mostly use the bones of whales and oyster-shells, the ribs serving for beams and props, and the jaw-bones for doorways; the vertebræ they use for mortars, in which they pound their sun-dried fish, and of this, with the mixture of a little corn, they make bread, for though they have no iron they have mills. And this is the less wonderful, seeing that they can get the mills from elsewhere, but how can they dress the millstones when worn down? with

the stones, they say, with which they sharpen their arrows and darts [of wood with points] hardened in the fire. Of the fish, part they cook in ovens, but most they eat raw, and they catch them in nets of palm-bark.'

Mr. Tylor speaks of this fish-eating tribe as a people living under savage Stone Age conditions. But surely this is not an accurate description of their state. Comparatively rude as their condition was, they still had domestic animals, corn, and mills for grinding it, mortars for pounding the fish dried in the sun, and ovens for baking the fresh; and though they had no iron implements themselves, they were evidently in communication with a neighbouring people accustomed to the use of such implements. Strabo's reference to the corn-mills obtained from a distance, implies that the mill-stones had been shaped by the use of iron; so that, when worn by use, they could be dressed by the sharp stone instruments in use amongst the people themselves. A tribe such as this, possessing cattle, baking their food in ovens, having corn, flour-mills, and bread, are certainly in a state above savages; they are, in fact, but an instance of what is common enough both in ancient and modern times,—the existence of a ruder coast-tribe, on a somewhat isolated and inhospitable shore, side by side with a more cultured people further inland, with whom the coast-dwellers keep up occasional intercourse. Herodotus gives an account of such Ichthyophagi at the head of the Persian Gulf, while both Strabo and Herodotus describe similar fish-eating tribes as existing on either side of the entrance to the Red Sea. But these tribes could hardly have been so degraded as the description of Strabo would lead us to suppose, since, according to Herodotus, they were employed by Cambyzes as interpreters and ambassadors to the king of the Macrobian Ethiopians, and acquitted themselves of the difficult task with skill and intelligence. We have, indeed, in our time and nearer home, similar instances of rude outlying populations living mainly on fish. In isolated spots on the western coast of Scotland, and especially in the adjoining islands, the sparse inhabitants still live in miserable huts, and feed almost exclusively on fish, milk, and a little oatmeal. In former times when locomotion was far more difficult, this must have been in a measure the condition of all populations at a distance from the more active centres of intelligence and civilisation. Even now, in conditions of material culture, there is a difference of centuries between the poor highlander on the western coast and the inhabitant of Edinburgh or London.

But even supposing these fish-eating people on the shores



of the Arabian Sea were Stone Age savages, as Mr. Tylor represents them, it must be remembered that they only occupied a strip of coast on the outskirts of the vast territory which is the traditional seat of the earliest civilisations. No direct evidences of a Stone Age have been produced by Mr. Tylor from this region, though, as we shall presently attempt to show, some fragments of indirect evidence may possibly be obtained. It is, of course, altogether a question of evidence, and the required proofs may hereafter be forthcoming in abundance. But at present they fail precisely at the point where their existence is most essential to the conclusiveness of the argument. This is virtually admitted by Mr. Tylor himself in the closing sentence of his chapter on the Stone Age. 'It would be well,' he says, 'to have the evidence fuller from some parts of the world, as from South-eastern Asia and Central Africa; but we need not expect from thence anything but in confirmation of what we already know.'

But it may fairly be added, in relation to the general argument, that the mere presence or absence of Stone Age conditions is by no means a sufficient test as to the relative civilisation of different tribes and nations. Civilisation involves so many constituent elements, moral and material, that the degree of it attained by any particular people must largely depend on the union of many elements, rather than on the known existence or marked predominance of a single one. At least, in the present state of our knowledge, no one of these elements can be safely assumed as a critical test for determining the presence or absence of the rest. Of many concurrent causes tending towards the social and intellectual advancement of a people, some, moreover, will act more powerfully at particular times and places; and hence the difficulty of selecting any isolated test of culture, as well as of deciding from partial and imperfect data on the actual social state of prehistoric, and still more of primeval races.

Moral advancement and intellectual advancement, for example, as Mr. Tylor has pointed out, do not always proceed with equal steps. And the statement is perhaps still more true in relation to moral and material progress. This point may be illustrated by a passing reference to some of the tests that have been selected as decisive on this head. Take first the common index of food. It is laid down as a maxim that nations subsisting on fish are the very lowest in the scale of civilisation. Yet, as we have already seen, in Asia these tribes built houses for themselves, possessed cattle, and had in use darts, arrows,

and nets, mortars, ovens, and mills, while in Africa they were so accomplished in language as to have been specially selected by the Persian king as ambassadors to a distant and hostile monarch. Again, the use of the cereals is often employed as a test of advancement beyond the savage state. A people ignorant of tillage, and not using corn of any kind, is looked upon as necessarily very low in the scale of culture. Yet the Macrobian, described by Herodotus as a powerful and in many respects a cultivated nation, remarkable for their size, beauty, physical vigour, and longevity, were altogether ignorant of agriculture. They were a wealthy nation, living in cities with laws and institutions of their own, and governed by an elective monarch, who, according to the report of Herodotus, must have been entitled to rule by intellectual as well as physical pre-eminence. They had markets, courts of justice, and prisons; were skilled in the working of metals, as well as in some of the finer arts; and were quite a match for the Persian king at the difficult game of diplomatic intrigue. Yet they were wholly ignorant of the cereals, knowing bread only by report, and on the strength of that report despising it as rubbish, in contrast with their own more rational diet of boiled flesh and milk. 'A great proof,' says Heeren, 'that our rule for judging of civilisation will not at all apply to the African races.'

Or, again, if we take the favourite test of stone and metal, this equally fails as an absolute index even of material progress. The Ethiopians of the Upper Nile, for example, had reached a high degree of cultivation centuries before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. But the contingent of soldiers belonging to this great nation, who took part in the expedition, still pointed their arrows with a sharpened stone instead of iron, and used antelope's horn for the heads of their javelins, while the nations around them employed metal, either iron or bronze, for both these purposes. Stone knives, moreover, were in common use amongst them, and appear to have been retained for special purposes by their descendants down to a comparatively recent period. It may be added that stone knives of the Ethiopian type, and made not unfrequently from the black flint known as Ethiopian stone, were also used for sacred or semi-sacred purposes by the most powerful neighbouring nations—the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Arabians—nations having in many points a common history with the Ethiopians, and descended, in part at least, from the same stock. The continued use of flint knives for sacred purposes, after the metals were well known amongst these nations, is an extremely interesting ethnological fact, which has not yet, as it seems to

us, been turned to full account. Attention has indeed been directed to the fact, and the historical notices of its existence have been partially collected in earlier works. Nilson, for example, in his '*Stone Age*,' illustrates the existence of the custom amongst the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Israelites; and more recently attention has been directed to the point by Tylor, Lubbock, and others. But what is perhaps in some respects the most curious instance of this ceremonial retention of stone implements long after the metals were known, has hitherto, so far as we are aware, escaped notice altogether. This is the form observed by the Arabians in taking a solemn pledge or vow, the singular and evidently very archaic religious ceremonies which accompanied the making of a public covenant, contract, or stipulation:—

'Now there is no people,' says Herodotus, 'that keeps pledges more religiously than the Arabians do. Their manner of exchanging them is the following: When any two are minded to form a solemn engagement, a third person stands between them, and with a *sharpened stone* makes incision on the palm of each of the contracting parties near the middle finger. Then he plucks a bit of wool from the garment of each, and touches with the blood seven stones that have been set before them there; invoking Dionysus and Urania as he does so. When this has been performed, he who has entered into the engagement solemnly commends the foreigner, or, if so be, the fellow-countryman, to whom his own faith is pledged, to the good faith of his friends; and they hold themselves bound equally to respect the engagement.'

This account has points of special interest, both for Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock. It furnishes what Mr. Tylor would regard as indirect evidence of a previous Stone Age, in the very area from which, as already noticed, he has produced none either direct or indirect, and where it is most important for his argument that such evidence should be found. And it helps to establish as a fact what Sir John Lubbock gives as a conjecture, in explanation of a marked feature attending the stone-worship common in early times, and which still prevails extensively in different parts of the world. In many districts, especially in India, the sacred stone is smeared with vermilion, or the sacred stones, for they are often found in groups, have a prominent spot or disc of red painted on them. 'The worship of stones,' says Mr. Hislop, as quoted by Sir John Lubbock, 'is spread over all parts of the country, from Berar to the extreme east of Bustar, and that not merely among the Hinduised aborigines, who had begun to honour Khandova, but among the rudest and most savage tribes. He is gene-

‘rally adored in the form of an unshapely stone covered with ‘vermilion.’ Again, the same author says:—‘In every part ‘of southern India, four or five stones may often be seen in ‘the ryots’ field, placed in a row, and daubed with red paint, ‘which they consider as guardians of the field, and call the ‘five Pandus. Colonel Forbes Leslie supposes that this red ‘paint is intended to represent blood.’ In illustration of the same custom Sir John Lubbock gives from Colonel Forbes Leslie the sketch of a group of sacred stones found near Delgaum, in the Dekkan. These stones, of a somewhat angular shape, are arranged symmetrically in double columns facing the east, the eastern face of each being whitewashed, and on the white ground, near the top of every stone, there is ‘a large spot of red paint, two-thirds of which from the centre ‘were blackened over, leaving only a circular external belt of ‘red. This gave, as I believe it was intended to do, a good ‘representation of a large spot of blood.’ This belief as to the meaning of the red spots seems to be strongly confirmed, if not established as a fact, by the account already quoted of the religious ceremonies attending the making of a solemn covenant amongst the Arabians. Blood was the seal of the covenant, the knife employed was one having a special character of ceremonial sanctity, seven was a sacred number throughout the East, and the stones which received the seal and remained as permanent witnesses to the covenant were undoubtedly also objects of religious veneration. As without shedding of blood there could be no remission of sin, so also in early times, without the seal of this vital element there could be no effectual consecration. The manner of taking oaths among the Scythians and of making covenants generally amongst early nations, confirms this view. And the standing witnesses that received and retained the seal of so solemn a transaction would naturally be also associated with the highest sanctions, would acquire a ceremonial sanctity, if they were not themselves objects of religious worship.

Under this aspect, the Arabian ceremonial illustrated by existing practices takes us back to the very beginnings of civil society, when the members of a tribe or horde first felt the necessity of entering into solemn engagements with their neighbours and with each other, and the roving nomad state being exchanged for a more settled life, lands were divided, boundaries marked out, mutual ownership recognised and confirmed with religious observances. In Arabia, stones marked with the blood of those who mutually pledged themselves, were the sacred signs and witnesses of a solemn per-

sonal engagement. In India, stones with a similar mark, conventionally renewed and perpetuated, were the sacred witnesses and protectors of the boundaries between different lands. A similar practice appears to have prevailed in the earlier periods of Greek history. At least Pausanias gives a curious account, preserved by tradition, of the ratification of a solemn oath or covenant between Tyndareus, the father of Helen, and her suitors, which has striking points of resemblance to the Arabian ceremonial. The object of the oath was to secure a peaceable issue of the rivalry which the fame of the princess had excited. The beauty of Helen having attracted suitors from all parts of Greece, Tyndareus was alarmed lest the selection of one should produce a tumult amongst the rest. He accordingly made them all take a solemn oath to respect the choice of Helen and protect the favoured suitor against any evil that might be attempted against him. According to Pausanias, Tyndareus having in this emergency sacrificed a horse, commanded the suitors of Helen to stand by the entrails and swear upon them to assist Helen and her chosen husband, if any injury were offered to either. After the ratification of the vow, the horse was buried on the spot, and seven stones or pillars erected in commemoration of the event. In relation to this last point, which curiously coincides with the Arabian ceremonial, Pausanias is very explicit. He says expressly that on the way from Sparta into Achaia he saw the seven ancient stones or pillars erected, according to the custom of earlier times, to record and perpetuate the public taking of the oath. So that, whatever may be true with regard to the particular tradition, it is clear that in early Greek history stones were used, as in Arabia, in connexion with the shedding of blood as permanent marks of a solemn public compact.

The employment of stones in this way as standing witnesses to a solemn covenant, is also a distinctive feature of Jewish history. Amongst many examples that might be given, the custom is brought vividly out in the Biblical narrative of Joshua's last public act as ruler of Israel. Just before his death, Joshua, having assembled the tribes and recounted the memorable benefits they had received, invites them to renew the solemn covenant with the God of their fathers. 'And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses. Now therefore put away, said he, the strange gods which are among you, and incline your heart to the Lord God of Israel. And

'the people said unto Joshua, The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey. So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and set it up there under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, *this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.*' And the 'great stone of Abel' in the field of Joshua the Bethshemite, on which the captured Ark of the Covenant rested, and which served as a kind of natural altar for the sacrifices celebrating its return, appears to have been a boundary-stone connected by tradition with the earliest history of the race.

That stones should have been selected, not only for such purposes, but as objects of veneration and worship in early times, and amongst uncultured races, is not in the least surprising. Of all natural objects, they supply the most obvious symbols of what is immovable, unchanging, and incorruptible. They first, moreover, afforded materials at once portable and permanent for marking particular spots, and recording important events. In primitive times, when writing was unknown, the rude alphabet of crag and boulder, flint and pebble, enabled the unlettered ruler of a savage or barbarous people to perpetuate memorable facts by a kind of obscure colossal lithography. And from their various qualities of utility, grandeur, and beauty, stones of different kinds soon became objects of fear and wonder, of admiration and regard, of ceremonial respect and religious worship. Particular stones were dedicated to particular deities, or were regarded as symbols of their presence, if not as the physical embodiment of their unseen powers. Again, stones of peculiar beauty, symmetry, or utility were often looked upon in a special sense as divine gifts, endowed with peculiar virtues, and entitled to special reverence on this account. This, too, was often the case with regard to stones of unusual size or colour, or possessing striking local features, that gave them a strongly-marked individuality. Traces of the reverence thus paid to stones, as well as their employment for strictly religious purposes, are found not only in the history of savage tribes and on the monuments of semi-barbarous nations, but in the early records and traditions of almost every historical people. In some cases, the reverence paid to a particular stone may have arisen from its connexion, not only with a memorable event, but with a famous person, real or ideal,

sage or ruler, hero or demigod. Thus, the black stone long worshipped at Mecca was regarded as the seat on which Adam sat in Paradise. And, even in his day, Lucian tells us, in his striking account of the philosopher Demonax, that the Athenians paid a sort of religious respect to the stone on which he used to rest himself, considering that it had acquired a kind of sanctity through its connexion with him; and that in this view they constantly crowned it with garlands of flowers.

But the actual worship of stones as symbols or embodiments of the Deity belongs to a primitive time, and had a much simpler origin. In the earlier periods of Greek national worship, stones in rude temples and archaic shrines took the place of statues as visible embodiments of the presence and power of a local Deity. They were not unfrequently aerolites, and, having descended from heaven, were considered as divine gifts, and revered accordingly. Thus, a black stone was worshipped as a symbol of the goddess in the great temple of the Phrygians dedicated to Rhea or Cybele. Other stones of a similar character were preserved and worshipped on Mount Ida, in the Temple of the Graces at Orchomenus, and in the temple of Eros at Thespieae. Stones of ruder or more symmetrical form were also worshipped under the name of Zeus at Sicyon, of Apollo at Delphi, of Bacchus at Thebes, of Juno at Argos, and Diana at Corinth. Pausanias, indeed, says expressly that the statues of the gods which crowded the temples of Greece, and received the homage of the people, had grown out of a primitive worship of stone which prevailed amongst their ancestors. But however this may be, stones, monumental and votive, guardian and sacrificial, may be traced along the stream of history from the pillar which Jacob erected in Bethel, and solemnly anointed with grateful vows and prayers, down to the coronation-stone in Westminster Abbey, on which the monarch of these realms is still anointed in a similar manner.

Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that, if most nations have passed through the Stone Age, many have also had their stone cultus; and, as the majority of secular instruments were originally made of flint, so from its peculiar uses and striking forms it seems to have very early acquired a specially sacred character. As we have seen, knives of this material were used for sacred purposes by the group of nations occupying, in the earliest historical times, the south-western area of the Asiatic continent. Flint knives were used by the Jews and Ethiopians in performing the rite of circumcision; by the Arabians and Phœnicians in making solemn covenants; and by the Egyptians in embalming their dead, and most probably also in the rite of

circumcision, which prevailed amongst them, as well as amongst the neighbouring nationalities in Ethiopia and Judea. Flint knives were also used by the Romans in the early period of their history, for sacrificial purposes, especially in the religious ceremonies attending the ratification of a solemn covenant with a neighbouring people. So important was the use of the stone knife in this connexion, that it gave a title to Jupiter himself, who, in this relation, was appealed to as the guardian of treaties and avenger of their infraction by the name of Jupiter Lapis. And up to the close of the second Punic war, the use of the stone knife was considered so essential to the ceremony, that the Fetiales who went to Carthage to conclude the peace each took with him from the temple a sacred flint, in order that the religious rites might be duly performed. Sacred flints appear to have been known also to the Greeks, and, though no longer employed for directly religious purposes, to have retained something of their original character in being used as charms, amulets, and talismans.

It is not improbable, however, that the stones dedicated to particular gods in the early Greek shrines may in some cases have been flints, especially as more than one of them is described as being black. But apart from this, one rather remarkable piece of evidence seems at least to suggest that the ceremonial use of flint knives had at one time prevailed amongst the Greeks, as well as amongst the older nations around them. This is the presence of sharpened flints in the magnificent royal tomb discovered near the site of the ancient Panticapæum in the Tauric Chersonese. This once famous city was the capital of a small Greek kingdom, governed in historic times by a dynasty of kings whose earlier line is lost in oblivion. The tomb, found under a burial mound one hundred and sixty-five feet in diameter, was evidently that of one of the early kings. It contained, besides the remains of the king, his wife, his servant, and his horse, a royal diadem, a sculptured shield of gold, a sword with a curiously embossed hilt, a gilded quiver ornamented with figures, metal knives with carved ivory handles, statuettes, bronze cauldrons, and such a number and variety of valuable ornaments, that, from the tomb itself and the chamber below it, a hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold jewellery is said to have been taken. From the form of the letters in a Greek word engraved on the quiver, and other circumstances, the tomb is supposed to be coeval with the reputed date of the Trojan war, if it does not belong to a still earlier period. It is clear that flint knives, found in a tomb like this, containing admirably wrought weapons of iron and



bronze, could not have been used for any merely secular purpose. It is, of course, possible they may have been placed there simply as amulets, but, considering the early date of the interment, this is not likely. It is far more probable that they were sacred flints connected with sacrificial rites; and, if so, they would seem to carry us back to the earliest periods of Greek history, when the monarch was priest as well as king. This is illustrated in the account just given of the oath administered by Tyndareus to the suitors of Helen, the prince in this case having himself slain the victim, and in all likelihood used for the purpose a stone knife as the Roman Fetiales did on similar occasions.

But this habitual use of stone implements by nations highly advanced in culture seriously disturbs and complicates the wider argument founded on the existence and discovery of these implements in different localities. It is no longer possible to conclude absolutely, as Mr. Tylor sometimes does, from the presence of flint implements in a country, to the existence there of a previous Stone Age, and the savage life it is held to involve. It would be still more unwarrantable, of course, to infer that the people by whom such implements were used were necessarily low in the scale of civilisation. Flint knives, for example, having been ceremonially employed by the Jews for many generations, might be found abundantly in Palestine. But this would not in the least prove that the country was ever inhabited by a people living under what may be called Stone Age conditions. Long before the time of Moses, or even of Abraham, circumcision had existed in the Arabian peninsula, and along the valley of the Nile, amongst the Ethiopians and Egyptians. At least, all the evidence appears to show that this rite was known and practised by these nations ages before it was selected as a special seal of the divine covenant made with Abraham and his descendants. And the manner of performing it would be transferred and traditionally perpetuated with the rite itself amongst the outlying tribes and families who had adopted it. Whatever may be true with regard to Abraham, it is at least certain that, after the deliverance from Egypt, and the wandering in the desert, when the Israelites reached the Promised Land, the instrument used in the ceremonial was similar to that employed by the Egyptians and Ethiopians. The same would hold true of the Phœnicians, who, according to Herodotus, had in common with the Jews received the rite from the Egyptians. The mere finding of stone implements in Palestine would, therefore, be no proof whatever that it was once inhabited by savage tribes ignorant

of the metals and their use. In the same way the finding of flint implements and weapons in Greece would not necessarily prove that the Greeks, or any people previously inhabiting the country, had passed through the Stone Age. Such implements—arrow-heads and spear-points, for example—have been found on the Plains of Marathon and elsewhere, in Northern Greece; but their presence is reasonably attributed to the Persian invasion. Again, flint arrow-heads and spear-points, of the Egyptian type, have been found on Mount Sinai, but they are probably due to the presence of an Egyptian garrison, which, according to tradition, had in old times been quartered there. Mr. Tylor himself says, with regard to the sacred flints of the Romans, which he thinks they looked upon as thunderbolts, that the practice of using them ‘cannot be taken as having of necessity come down from an early Stone Age, seeing that it might quite as well have sprung up among a race possessed of metals.’ ‘Yet,’ he pertinently adds, ‘if all we knew about the matter was that victims were sacrificed with a flint on certain occasions, and that the Fetiales carried these flints with them into foreign countries where a treaty was to be solemnised, it might be quite plausibly argued that we had here before us a practice which had come down unchanged from the time when the fathers of the Roman race used stone implements for the ordinary purposes of life.’ He quite fairly allows this ‘argument on the other side,’ but the argument is really of wider sweep, and rests on broader grounds than he has recognised. For if the use of sacred flints were connected with an original stone cultus, the practice might naturally prevail amongst nations long accustomed to the use of the metals, and who had never existed in the savage state at all. The Arabians themselves, whom we have seen using flint knives and sacred stones, worshipped a lava-like mass of black rock down to the time of Mahomet. Indeed, the Caaba, the magnificent shrine containing the sacred stone, is still visited by pilgrims from all quarters, while the stone itself receives from them something like divine honours. From the mere presence of rude stone implements in the soil of such a country we cannot therefore infer the savage condition of its former inhabitants. On the strength of such ambiguous evidence we are not in the least entitled to say, with the certainty Mr. Tylor claims, ‘savages once dwelt here.’

Apart, however, from the facts which thus cross and perplex the simple stone and metal test as an index of progress, it may be added that there is nothing in the conditions of the Stone

Age itself incompatible with a comparatively high degree of culture. The vital essence of civilisation is to be found in its moral elements, in social manners and institutions, laws, government, and religion; and these might surely be developed in some degree under relatively simple conditions of physical comfort and material prosperity. At least it would be rash to assert that during the enormous periods of time which the older and newer Stone Ages are held to have covered, no considerable advance was made in the more vital elements of human progress. Analogy and experience would seem, indeed, to indicate that a less splendid and complex material culture is rather favourable than otherwise to moral advancement. The argument from this source may be to some extent checked and modified by the analogies of existing savage life. In our own days, tribes living under rude material conditions are also, it is found, as a rule, in a state of extreme moral degradation. But these analogies, though most valuable and instructive, are by no means decisive, especially with regard to the test under review. Some of the most degraded of existing races are well acquainted with iron, and have for many generations used metal tools and weapons. The wide metallic area thus includes savage tribes as well as civilised nations. In the same way the wide stone area of the earlier period may have included some relatively cultured, as well as rude and savage, populations. In warmer latitudes, where the conditions of life were easy and food abundant, it is difficult to believe that some progress would not gradually be made in social organisation, and the awakening of intellectual life.

The facts recently brought to light with regard to the condition of men during the early Stone Period seem to confirm this view. Even amidst the rigours of an arctic climate, paleolithic humanity appears to have made some progress—at least to have advanced considerably beyond the condition of the lowest savages of our own time. The people who employed the rudely-chipped flint implements found in the drift gravel of the Somme Valley and the caves of Perigord, had a feeling and a faculty for art of no contemptible kind. The specimens of animals sculptured by them on horn and ivory and schist, show a keen observation of nature, and a power of reproducing her characteristic forms with genuine life, truthfulness, and spirit. In this, and other respects, they approach nearer to the Esquimaux than to any other existing race. And the Esquimaux, as Sir John Lubbock shows in detail, are far from being the lowest amongst existing races in the scale of civilisation. On the contrary, he asserts that several tribes of the American continent are in a

much ruder and more degraded state. In illustration of this point, he has collected from various travellers who have visited the Esquimaux and lived amongst them, striking testimonies to their simple and kindly hospitality, their domestic comfort and tranquillity, their exemplary family life, their sobriety, truth, cheerfulness, and attractive social qualities. Thus, under the rudest and the oldest known conditions of material culture, we have a race advanced considerably beyond the lowest forms of savage life. We cannot, of course, say that even this early race represents the primitive condition of mankind. Contemporary with these cave-dwellers there may have been in more favoured lands races living under higher conditions of culture, and the analogies of progress in historic times would lead us to conclude that this must have been to some extent the case. Occasionally degeneration of race is a well-established fact within the historic period; and we may fairly conclude, therefore, that it must have occurred also in pre-historic times. The powerful arguments in Mr. Wallace's striking essay on 'The Limits of Natural Selection as applied to Man,' all tend to show that the lower savages are rather degenerate races than undeveloped types of mankind. As the evidence at present stands, all that can be said is, that the further back we go we do not necessarily get nearer to the typical or ideal savage—a being destitute of almost all distinctively human characteristics; and that in one vital particular at least, that of art, the earliest known race is far in advance of most savage tribes, if not of some cultured peoples. As we have already said in reviewing the evidence on this subject:—'There is no evidence that the man of those early days was more nearly related to the lower animals than ourselves. If, as some naturalists have supposed, we are descended from the same ancestors as the higher apes, the transitional forms are not met with in the Quaternary strata of Europe. They must be sought for in deposits elsewhere of far higher antiquity. There is not the slightest shred of proof, in either the cave or river deposits, in favour of such a view.'\*

This is the real question at issue. Rightly considered, the question concerning the primitive state of man does not ultimately turn on theories of advancement or retrogression at all. Progress is undoubtedly the great law of human life and human history. It must, however, be remembered, and kept steadily in view, that it is *human* life and *human* history of which progress is the law. The language and reasoning of

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\* Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1870, p. 459.

many writers on the subject would seem on the contrary to imply, that the primitive state of man is that in which he is divested of all human characteristics, if such a paradoxical expression may be allowed. Those who warmly sympathise with Mr. Darwin's romantic theories and speculations naturally take this view; and even more cautious thinkers may be drawn into it by the fascination which the love of unity almost unconsciously exerts over the scientific mind. Having once seized the principle of development, ardent inquirers cannot be satisfied with anything short of its universal application. If the known facts do not readily admit of such an application, they are tempted to over-ride them in the interest of the new principle, or at least to assert that it must apply where there is no evidence whatever of its presence or operation. Mr. Tylor himself recognises this tendency in relation to the point in question. Referring to the development hypothesis, he says:—

‘As to the first hypothesis, which takes savage life as in some sort representing an early human state, whence higher states were in time developed, it has to be noticed that advocates of this progression-theory are apt to look back to yet lower original conditions of mankind. It has been truly remarked that the modern naturalist's doctrine of progressive development has encouraged a train of thought singularly accordant with the Epicurean theory of man's early existence on earth, in a condition not far removed from that of the lower animals. On such a view savage life itself would be a far advanced condition. If the advance of culture be regarded as taking place along one general line, then existing savagery stands directly intermediate between animal and civilised life.’

Mr. Tylor, it is true, does not avow himself a convert to Mr. Darwin's theory of human nature, but the central principle embodied in the ‘Descent of Man’ runs through many of the discussions and general views scattered through his exposition of primitive culture. Some parts of the work, moreover, such as the interesting chapters on language and the art of counting, may probably be regarded as attempts to bridge over the gulf which now separates the highest animal intelligence from the lowest and rudest forms of humanity. They do not, however, in our judgment, contribute one iota to this result. It is no doubt an extremely interesting task to trace back human speech to its earlier forms, and find, if possible, the steps by which the faculty of language was first developed. But language is essentially a mental product, involving elements of intelligence which no animal has hitherto given any sign of possessing, even in the lowest degree. The earlier

working of these elements may, therefore, be traced to any extent, without bringing humanity one jot nearer to the higher forms of animal life. The attempt, indeed, to bridge over the gulf that separates animal from human intelligence, by any analysis of the conscious elements that constitute the latter, or of the necessary products of these elements, appears to us the result of psychological confusion and mistake. It rests on the assumption, that runs through so much of the writing on this subject, that there is no difference in kind between animal and human intelligence; that will may be resolved into appetite, and reason into sense; and that, as the lowest forms of animal life have rudimentary appetites and senses, the mind of an oyster is identical in kind with the mind of a Newton or a Shakspeare. This kind of psychological confusion is noticeable in the passage just quoted. Mr. Tylor says that, if culture be regarded as taking place along one general line, then existing savagery stands directly intermediate between animal and civilised life; in other words, that culture begins from purely animal life. Clearly, however, there can be no proof of this, while all the facts of the case are opposed to such an assumption. In order that culture may exist at all, even in the most primitive stage, there must exist beings capable of individual self-improvement and collective progress to begin with. But no animal has ever shown the smallest capacity of this kind. Their life, individual and collective, is essentially a stationary one, giving no signs whatever either of moral or material progress. Throughout the entire period of their history, animals of every kind—the most sagacious and intelligent, as well as the most brutish and inert—have been the victims of Nature, the helpless thralls of natural powers and influences. If these influences are favourable, they flourish; if adverse, they decline; if persistently hostile, they perish. They remain stationary for thousands of years where the conditions of food, climate, and geographical surface are the same; and they change gradually but inevitably with every important change in these vital and dominant conditions. Man, on the other hand, in the exercise of an observant, reflective, and forecasting intelligence, wields the powers of Nature, and modifies her productions for his own ends. His superior intellect enables him to obtain a knowledge of Nature, and this knowledge, even in its ruder forms, is power—a governing, controlling, superintending power. *Natura enim non nisi parendo vincitur*. And man, in every period of his history, has been so far the servant and interpreter of Nature as to be able to react against her

dominant influences, and achieve some conquest over them however small. Even in its lowest forms, humanity has struggled successfully against adverse natural conditions that would speedily have destroyed any animal equally unprotected and defenceless; and from these humble conquests the course of civilisation, or, in other words, of human progress, has been a triumphant march—a series of victories more or less brilliant and lasting—over the forces and productions of the material world. So far as the evidence goes, it may be said that animals, during the countless ages of their existence, have been absolutely controlled by physical influences—have never made the smallest independent or permanent advance in moral, intellectual, or even material improvement; while, side by side, and living under the same physical conditions with these fixed and stationary forms of life, man has never ceased to advance, in some at least, of the elements of civilisation, in arts and institutions, in knowledge, virtue, or power. Not unfrequently, indeed, under favourable conditions, the advance has been rapid and assured in all these directions. While progress is thus the law of human life and history, animal intelligence is essentially stationary.

This is, in fact, one of the broadest and most fundamental distinctions between the two orders of being; and it separates them by a gulf which Mr. Darwin and his friends have vainly attempted to bridge over. In the absence of any relevant facts, they have, it is true, endeavoured to fill the chasm with theories, speculations, and suggestions. Mr. Darwin's own reasoning on the subject is a striking monument of cumulative but baseless conjecture. Divested of literary amplification and of miscellaneous but often remote scientific analogies and illustrations, his reasoning may be said to rest on the simple postulate that a certain number of possibilities—say half a dozen or so—constitute a certainty. Having pointed out that this conjecture is not impossible, and that conjecture is not impossible, and the other conjecture is not impossible, he concludes that the result to which these possibilities point is therefore certain. And this conclusion is stated so confidently, and accompanied with such a number and variety of interesting particulars, that the logic of the process by which it is arrived at often escapes notice, or is accepted as conclusive on the strength of the writer's accomplishments as a naturalist and a writer on natural history. The missing links between human and animal intelligence have not, however, been discovered; and the most recent and elaborate researches into the phases of savage life and forms of early culture seem to make

the chance of success in such a search more hopeless and remote than ever.

In this point of view the works of Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor are of special interest and value. They have shown, in opposition to the partial facts and narrow reasoning of Whately and others, that self-improvement, self-development—in a word, progress—is the great law of human life and history. They have specially illustrated the working of this law where its operation has been most strenuously denied, in the case of savage tribes and barbarous races. These researches thus tend to widen and deepen the interval between men and animals, by showing that the lowest forms of human intelligence are not only immensely higher in degree, but essentially different in kind from the highest manifestations of animal intelligence. Both Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock insist that these differences, the essential characteristics of humanity, are so momentous and commanding as to throw completely into the shade all minor distinctions of age, or race, or culture amongst the various members of the human family. Mr. Tylor, at the very outset of his work, passes over these differences as comparatively unimportant. He regards even the extremes of savagery and civilisation as of little consequence in comparison with the broad and common features which characterise man wherever he is found. The lowest savages, the most degraded races yet known, are still found to possess and manifest all the distinctive attributes of humanity. They make tools and weapons, provide themselves with clothing and shelter, cook their food, have a rude, social organisation, a general sense of property, communicate with one another by means of language, pay respect to their dead, and believe in the existence of unseen personalities and powers. They have thus the rudiments, as it were, of industry and commerce, literature and art, manners and morals, law, government, and religion. And, as we have seen, even amongst ruder races, considerable progress is sometimes made in some of these departments of distinctively human activity. One of these indeed—that of language—when the mental powers it involves are fully understood, separates man immeasurably from the very highest animal; whilst together they make rationality or conscious intelligence a dividing line even more broad and deep than vitality itself. Mr. Tylor's work is extremely valuable in bringing vividly out these common characteristics of humanity, in all ages and countries, and under every variety of culture. We agree with him that vast as is the difference between savagery and civilisation, it is of little account in



comparison with the deeper, wider, and more pregnant differences that separate human from animal life. Mr. Tylor shows that in almost every department of culture there is a substantial identity in the methods of working and reasoning that prevail among the savage and civilised; and that this is pre-eminently true of the higher and more characteristic results of human intelligence—in relation to language, mythology, and religion. The agreement in these vital particulars helps to demonstrate not only the unity of the species, but the identity of conscious intelligence under all forms and in all stages of its manifestation. With regard to language, for example, Mr. Tylor says:—

‘The language of civilised men is but the language of savages, more or less improved in structure, a good deal extended in vocabulary, made more precise in the dictionary definition of words. The development of language between its savage and cultured stages has been made in its details, scarcely in its principle. It is not too much to say that half the vast defect of language as a method of utterance, and half the vast defect of thought as determined by the influence of language, are due to the fact that speech is a scheme worked out by the rough and ready application of material metaphor and imperfect analogy, in ways fitting rather the barbaric education of those who formed it than our own. Language is one of those intellectual departments in which we have gone too little beyond the savage state, but are still as it were hacking with stone celts and twirling laborious friction-fire.’

Again, with regard to the art of counting, he says:—

‘We are here especially concerned with gesture-counting on the fingers as an absolutely savage art still in use among children and peasants, and with the system of numeral words, known to all mankind, appearing scantily among the lowest tribes and reaching within savage limits to developments which the highest civilisation has only improved in detail. These two methods of computation by gesture and word tell the story of primitive arithmetic in a way that can be hardly perverted or misunderstood. . . . They are distinct records of development, and of independent development among savage tribes to whom some writers on civilisation have rashly denied the very faculty of self-improvement.’

The chapters on mythology are an elaborate illustration of the same fact:—

‘From savagery up to civilisation there may be traced in the mythology of the stars a course of thought, changed indeed in application, yet never broken in its evident connexion from first to last. The savage sees individual stars as animate beings, or combines star-groups into living celestial creatures, or limbs of them, or objects connected with them; while at the other extremity of the scale of civilisation, the modern astronomer keeps up just such ancient fancies, turning them to account in useful survival, as a means of mapping out the celestial globe. The savage names and stories of stars and constellations may

seem at first but childish and purposeless fancies; but it always happens in the study of the lower races that the more means we have of understanding their thoughts, the more sense and reason do we find in them.'

And with regard to the lower and more rudimentary forms of religious belief, Mr. Tylor justly says:—

'Nor because the religions of savage tribes may be rude and primitive, compared with the great Asiatic systems, do they lie too low for interest and even for respect. The question really lies between understanding and misunderstanding them. Few who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion will ever again think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its belief and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'

The general result of Mr. Tylor's extensive and minute researches into the forms of primitive culture may be summed up in the statement, that the more carefully and profoundly savage life is studied, the more completely is it found to rest on the same basis of reason as the higher forms of civilisation. The same principles of reasoning, the same central and governing convictions, both of belief and practice, are found to run through the whole line of human culture and human progress.

Mr. Tylor has himself adverted to the causes which have so long helped to obscure this truth and delay its general recognition.

'Popular opinion has under-estimated the man as much as it over-estimated the monkey. We know how sailors and emigrants can look on savages as senseless, ape-like brutes, and how some writers on anthropology have contrived to make out of the moderate intellectual difference between an Englishman and a negro something equivalent to the immense interval between a negro and a gorilla. Thus we can have no difficulty in understanding how savages may seem mere apes to the eyes of men who hunt them like wild beasts in the forests, who can only hear in their language a sort of irrational gurgling and barking, and who fail totally to appreciate the real culture which better acquaintance always shows among the rudest tribes of man.'

It is in fact only settled ignorance or prejudice that, in the light of modern inquiry, could persist in holding that the higher quadrumana or anthropoid apes even approach the lower races of mankind in the kind and degree of their intelligence. They are separated from each other by the whole interval between rationality and irrationality. Amongst none of the

higher apes is there found any of the distinctive manifestations of reason, whilst, as we have seen, these are uniformly present amongst the lowest races of mankind. We have thus in human life and human history a new power, manifesting itself by new and distinctive products, of which no traces are found in any form of merely animal life. This power is conscious intelligence, which determines a vital difference in kind in all the activities of the human mind, from the highest to the lowest. It constitutes, indeed, a higher order of intelligence, marked by new powers, operations, and productions. This fact vitiates at the very outset Mr. Darwin's attempted evolution of reason and conscience from merely animal elements. Even the operations of sense, in a being endowed with self-consciousness, are conditioned by the higher attribute; and the statement that, 'as man possesses the same senses as the lower animals, his fundamental intuitions must be the same,' is an enormous assumption, opposed to the facts of the case, and altogether incapable of proof. Throughout this part of his work, indeed, Mr. Darwin reads his own conscious experience into the life of animals who show no sign of possessing consciousness, just as the savage, going one step further, attributes intelligence and will to inanimate objects. Mr. Darwin's whole argument on the subject is, in fact, only a finer form of savage reasoning. Extremes meet, and the fetichism of modern science, though of course not so crude and obtrusive, is in this particular as real as the fetichism of barbarous races. It is the history and development of this new power, defined by rationality or conscious intelligence, that writers on culture have to trace; and however far they may go back, they must at least have this expanding progressive force to begin with. The primitive state of mankind must be one in which this power is present and operative, or, in other words, reflects itself in *results*, like in kind, though not equal in degree, to those everywhere present among the known and cultured races of mankind.

Our space is gone, or we should like to notice in some detail the chapters in which Mr. Tylor deals with mythology and the rudiments of religious belief. A word or two must suffice. In tracing the early forms of mythology, Mr. Tylor of course adopts the comparative method, the only one likely to produce fruitful and solid results; but he avoids the error into which some mythologists have fallen, of applying this method in a partial, extreme, and almost ludicrously one-sided manner. He finds the primitive and prolific source of myths not in language, which is the instrument of thought, but in thought itself, in certain natural tendencies and workings of the mind

in the earlier stages of its development. Of these, one of the most powerful is the tendency to attribute our own conscious experience to inanimate objects. The basis upon which early myths are built is not, Mr. Tylor urges with considerable force, mere poetic fancy and transformed metaphor. They rest upon a broad philosophy of nature, early and crude indeed, but thoughtful, consistent, and eminently serious in its scope and meaning. The analogy of nature is another fruitful source of myth; and to assume for conceptions derived from this source no deeper origin than metaphorical phrases, would be 'to ignore one of the great transitions of our intellectual history.'

'For myself, I am disposed to think (differing here in some measure from Professor Max Muller's view of the subject), that the mythology of the lower races rests especially on a basis of real and sensible analogy, and that the great expansion of verbal metaphor into myth belongs to more advanced periods of civilisation. In a word, I take material myth to be the primary, the verbal myth to be the secondary formation. But whether this opinion be historically sound or not, the difference in nature between myth founded on fact and myth founded on word is sufficiently manifest. The want of reality in verbal metaphor cannot be effectually hidden by the utmost stretch of imagination.'

Further on, in dealing at large with the myths derived from natural objects, Mr. Tylor condemns still more emphatically the extravagances of solar interpretation which the writings of the meteorological school illustrate.

'No one-sided interpretation can be permitted to absorb into a single theory such endless many-sided correspondences as these. Rash inferences which on the strength of mere resemblance derive episodes of myth from episodes of nature must be regarded with utter mistrust, for the student who has no more stringent criterion than this for his myths of sun and sky and dawn will find them wherever it pleases him to seek them. It may be judged by simple trial what such a method may lead to; no legend, no allegory, no nursery rhyme, is safe from the hermeneutics of a thorough-going mythologic theorist.'

Mr. Tylor treats of the primitive conceptions of spiritual beings, and rudimentary forms of religious belief, under the general head of Animism. This part of the subject is worked out with great care, and with a mass of illustrative detail that fills nearly half the work. The facts, it need scarcely be said, are collected from all quarters with enormous industry, sifted with critical skill, and exhibited in a systematic shape or series of developments. The author evidently regards the evolution of these primitive conceptions as one of the most important parts of his work; but, so far as the general drift and suggested conclusions of the exposition are concerned, it appears to us the least satisfactory of all. Mr. Tylor's general

argument on this head appears to be that, inasmuch as the belief in spiritual existences prevails universally amongst savage and barbarous tribes, such beings do not exist. This is no doubt a very summary turning of the tables on the old position, that the universal and irresistible character of this belief is, to some extent at least, an evidence of its objective validity. But, after all, there seems to be more reason in the old position than in the new. That a given belief, with regard to the existence of objects out of itself, should inevitably arise from the contact of the human mind with the material universe, would seem at first sight to afford at least a presumption of its having some foundation in nature; and this presumption is certainly not rebutted by the fact that the belief is found in a crude or elementary shape even amongst the lowest races. This is exactly what we should expect if the belief is a distinctive product of human reason or conscious intelligence working on the materials of experience. Mr. Tylor, in the first chapter of his work, attempts to meet the argument, that the universality of a belief is a presumption in favour of its having some foundation in the nature of things by saying, that 'the cause why men do hold an opinion, or practise a custom, is by no means necessarily a reason why they ought to do so.' This is true enough, of course. But, on the other hand, the fact that a particular belief universally prevails, is surely in itself no proof that it is a mere subjective delusion, and as such ought to be rejected. Mr. Tylor goes on to say, in obvious reference to the subsequent discussion as to the belief in spiritual beings :

'As it has more than once happened to myself to find my collections of traditions and beliefs thus made to prove their own objective truth, without proper examination of the grounds on which they were actually received, I take this occasion of remarking that the same line of argument will serve equally well to demonstrate, by the strong and wide consent of nations, that the earth is flat, and nightmare the visit of a demon.'

The only plausibility which this statement possesses as an argument lies in the illustrations, and they are altogether irrelevant. That such examples should be offered as parallel cases to the belief in the existence of spiritual beings, illustrates afresh the psychological confusion often found in Mr. Tylor's reasoning on philosophical questions. In this case, the confusion is that between a general law and the primitive or childish attempts at its application—between a rational principle and the crude uncultured examples of its early working. Given the belief in the existence of spiritual powers as

the universal characteristic of human reason, such a belief would be sure to manifest itself in grotesque and monstrous forms in the early operations of the savage mind. It would naturally result in the attribution of souls or spiritual life to stocks and stones, tools and weapons, as well as to more striking objects and forces in the material world. But these attributions, even when most extreme and absurd, do not discredit, much less disprove, the essential rationality and objective worth of the belief, any more than the attribution of particular effects to absurd causes destroys the existence of causation in nature. The two cases are indeed strictly parallel; and Mr. Tylor's general argument, transferred to the region of science, would be that, because particular effects have been referred by the rude and ignorant to false and preposterous causes, therefore no such thing as real power or effective causation exists in nature. Both beliefs are, in fact, the natural reflex of the conscious intelligence which is the distinctive attribute of man. In the order of nature, he cannot but see the reflection of his own intelligence, and, in the changes of nature, the reflection of the power he is conscious of within; and there is not a fact or suggestion in Mr. Tylor's discussion of the subject that goes to disprove the essential reasonableness and objective validity of these irresistible beliefs. Both beliefs are at first manifested in very crude forms, but, as it is the office of science to purify the working of the one, so it is of philosophy and religion to guide, control, and elevate the activity of the other. But the wide general question cannot be discussed here. We have adverted to it merely to illustrate what seems to us the chief defect of Mr. Tylor's work—the want of exact psychological knowledge, a defective acquaintance with mental facts, with what has been scientifically established in relation to the nature and operations of the mind. This is further illustrated in the confusion running through the discussion on moral freedom, in the opening chapter, and in the references to the theory of ideas in the body of the work. The result is, that most of Mr. Tylor's important lines of reasoning are traversed by other facts and arguments that largely modify, and in some cases reverse, the conclusions at which he has arrived. Apart from this central defect, his volumes are entitled to very high praise, and may justly rank as the most valuable contribution yet made in this country to the early history of civilisation; and, however much we may at times differ from some of the author's conclusions, it is impossible not to admire the noble spirit—the fairness, candour, and love of scientific truth—that animates the exposition throughout.

- ART. V.—1. *A New History of Painting in Italy, from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*. With Illustrations. By J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE, Authors of ‘The Early Flemish Painters.’ 8vo. Two vols. London : 1864.
2. *A Continuation of the Same*. Vol. III. London : 1866.
3. *A History of Painting in North Italy, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*. With Illustrations. By J. A. CROWE and G. B. CAVALCASELLE. In two vols. London : 1871.

THE work which heads this article has now swollen to the dimensions of five large volumes, containing some three thousand pages. A notice of the two first volumes appeared in this Review in 1865. The materials, since gradually added—the third volume in 1866, the two volumes on ‘North Italian Painting’ in 1871—impress us, however, so strongly with a sense of their value, that we feel justified in partly retracing our steps. As contributions to a special department of history this work is strictly new in the sense of owing less to previous writers than any yet undertaken ; and thorough to a degree only to be appreciated by very thorough perusal. Vasari’s Lives have long ceased to be a text-book ; bit by bit his mistakes and omissions have been detected. Yet it is fair to remember that his merits, for his day, were relatively as great as those of the work before us ; his research, however inferior, more novel, and his style unique in a lightness and ease the farthest removed from the pedantry of the time. In this, as well as in more important respects, it would be difficult to find a greater contrast than between the work first published in 1551, and these volumes, commenced more than three centuries later ; our contemporaries failing in all wherein the old Florentine excelled, and *vice versa* ; the true gain in the exchange being all on the side of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. We have lost much that is entertaining—the flow and the sparkle, equally as the gossip, the exaggeration, and the mistatement ; but we have gained in their stead accuracy, fulness, and learning, of a rarely sterling kind. Still, it is hard to see why authentic history should not be given in a more readable form,—why the contrast should be strained to its utmost limits. As the absurd and farfetched style of this otherwise admirable work is the first thing that will be sure to strike the reader, it is only fair to acknowledge and regret it at once.

For nothing has been gained, but, rather much popularity lost, by a crude and crotchety vocabulary, equally at variance with the propriety of history, and with the accepted phraseology of art; technical terms being almost as rigorous in art as in science. But these pages teem with new-coined expressions which have no graphic merit to excuse their novelty. Why should 'nimbs' be put for glories, 'masks' for faces, 'frames' for figures, 'glazes' for glazings, 'passages' for gradations, 'card' for *cartellino*, 'table' for panel; 'the transit of the Virgin,' or 'the Ascension of Mary,' for the Assumption? Why should the reader be required to translate such terms as 'addled folds,' 'the birth of the arches,' 'the lie of the Redeemer's frame,' 'an incorrect and pinguid child,' 'the ruck of his class,' 'the artificial run of the contours,' 'the genius of ensemble,' 'long-tailed eyelids,' 'a nose whose ball projected,' 'a bust almost smothered in smears,' and similar phrases which seriously interrupt the attention and respect due to such researches?

In a work, too, which owes its contents principally, we believe, to an Italian, an accurate rendering of Italian names and words should be a matter of course. For instance, Andrea dal Castagno, not *del*, and Domenico Veneziano, not Veniziano, can be shown to have been the customary spelling of each name since the fifteenth century,\* and no one has the right to inaugurate such changes without giving his authority. Still less is there any excuse for the omission of the one accent which plays so important a part in determining Italian pronunciation. *Qui*, without an accent is not Italian at all; nor *maesta*, nor *podesta*, nor *Trinita*, nor *citta*, *pieta*, nor *felicita*; nor *Forli*, nor, with all reverence, *Gesu*. Nor does an Italian of any education write 'Castel del Uovo' instead of dell' Uovo, or 'Lettere Sanece' instead of Sanesi, nor 'S. Lucia di Bardi,' or 'S. Maria de Servi,' instead of in both cases de', nor 'S. Remedio' for Rimedio, nor 'S. Rainero' for Raniero; nor does he talk of the 'Fra' instead of the Frate; with numerous other conceits and barbarisms which might pass for misprints in pages teeming with such frailties, were they not carefully repeated throughout the work. One can make allowance for the good faith with which the authors, one a foreigner, and the other living abroad, quote a 'Mr. Bathhouse' as the purchaser of certain pictures; an error arising from a confusion of the late Lord Ashbur-

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\* Giovanni Santi in his 'Cronaca' says expressly, 'Domenico chiamato il Veneziano.'



ton's name with that of his London residence; and which finds a counterpart in Nagler's 'Kunst-Lexicon,' where the reader is gravely informed that George Cruikshank was also known by the name of Simon Pure. But these gentlemen ought to be aware that the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome did not 'perish in the fire of last century,' and further, and especially that the assertion that Gregory the Great was born in 1127 and died 1241 is, under every aspect, embarrassing to the reader.

But with these quotations of most avoidable blunders we have said our worst. What the precise compact is between the two labourers in this vast field we know not; or whether the matter be all owing to the Italian, and the manner to the English gentleman; but we are well aware that the fruits of Signor Cavalcaselle's indefatigable pilgrimage throughout his native country, embodied in Italian notes and illustrated by plans, diagrams, and sketches, presented a species of shorthand, which, however intelligent, was not easily reducible into any language. The labour incurred by Mr. Crowe in giving form and order to such materials must have been simply enormous, though such is their value that in any shape they are an immense boon. Vasari wrote with no conscientiousness—it was not a popular commodity with the favourites of Medici princes in the sixteenth century—our authors have almost overdone the virtue. There never was such a collection of facts brought together. They may be as dry as dust, but they are also as minute. Patiently extracted from every possible source—from letters, account-books, registers and wills,—from returns of taxes, purchases of land, and leases of houses,—from records of partnerships, contracts, and salaries, of law-suits, sentences, and appeals,—of debts and dowries,—indefatigably traced through the worm-eaten accumulations which block up the limbus of forgotten things—the contents of these pages may be said to have completely exhausted the subject. Within them lie also comprised in an accessible form every credible notice hitherto scattered through the antiquated art-history of centuries. For all that tribe of local *Guida*'s, which have formed a curious speciality in Italian literature since the fifteenth century, have been ransacked for what they are worth, and melted down into this vast conglomerate of historical plumpudding stone.

Let no one then fancy that he knows or has heard of a wall or panel,—or wreck, or rag, of any kind that has escaped Signor Cavalcaselle; that gentleman's itinerary would form a curious web over the surface of Italy. So rich are the re-

sults, so endless the entries, that a mere alphabetical register of each master's works—what they are, where they are, and *how* they are—would be full of interest and suggestion. As it is, the index, though full to redundancy, is confused and faulty. Nor are the missing pictures, and their name is *Legion*, neglected. They have a category of their own, which, it may be predicted, will one day open the way to some genuine claimants and to more impostors. For this work and the *Lives* of Vasari are antithetical in a further sense. He wrote when art had reached its climax, and morals and political virtue were rapidly declining; these gentlemen come into the field with the revival of Italy, if not of its art. Vasari supplied an inventory in some measure of what Italy then possessed—Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle supply one of what she now possesses. The fate of objects of art furnishes a vein of history through which the same pulse beats that regulates the whole system. There is no surer record of the degradation of the Italian race during three centuries than the destruction and decay of their proudest monuments. One is accustomed to look upon Reformations and iconoclastic furies as the natural enemies of the beautiful. Italy had no Reformation;—the Roman Church boasts of being unchangeable, except for greater conservatism. Here and there French, Spanish, and German mercenaries committed acts of vandalism—as in the destruction of Leonardo da Vinci's equestrian statue—but, generally speaking, the loss to art may be said to have been listlessly and brutishly inflicted from within,—from the causes which gave Italians no country, and therefore nothing national to respect.

To return to our authors. If, in the light of history, or rather of the materials of history, this work be unassailable, in the light of connoisseurship, however highly to be respected, it is, of course, open to diversities of opinion. Nevertheless, such reversals of old stock beliefs, such vindications of 'the great wronged soul of an ancient master,' as are among the prominent novelties, are justified rather by stubborn facts than by any subtlety of knowledge. If Giotto have lost the credit of the frescoes of the Sacraments in the *Incoronata* at Naples (and they were no credit to him), it is less owing to Signor Cavalcaselle's consummate knowledge of early Italian art, than to the simple discovery that the espousals between the royal pair, represented under the Sacrament of Marriage, were not solemnised till eleven years after Giotto's death, nor the wall which they decorate erected till later still. Discoveries of this kind—of men who, like Masolino, outlived

their successors; like Domenico Veneziano, survived their murderers; like Cosimo Rosselli, ruined by wicked pursuit of alchemy, who left a comfortable fortune; like Colantonio di Fiore, who never existed at all—discoveries of this kind, we repeat, are numerous and incontrovertible.

The arguments, again, which deprive Orcagna of the grand frescoes hitherto assigned to him in the Campo Santo, Pisa, and Masolino, of his share of the decorations of the Brancacci Chapel, though not precisely of the class above cited, are in both cases sufficiently convincing. The silence of local and contemporary records, which took note of the engagements entered into with great masters, is in itself evidence of no trifling kind; and, if, in addition, an *alibi* can be set up on the part of the painter, or the presence proved of some limner who, according to the loose nomenclature of the day, passed under a similar name, we are not inclined to dispute the verdict. As we come later these discoveries are not so startling. The existence of L'Ingegno, for instance, as a painter and fellow-scholar of Raphael, has long been doubted, and our authors trouble themselves little to bring him to life; they deal more in well-grounded surmises, destined, probably, to mature into certainty, that history has in several cases created two men, or even three, out of one. That Bissolo and Pietro degli Ingannati, for example, are identical; that Andrea di Bergamo and Cordelle Aghi are only different names for Previtali; that Vittor Belliniano, Vittor Bellini, Bellin Bellini, and Vittor di Matteo are one and the same; that a like identity exists between Morto da Feltre and Pietro Luzzi da Feltre, commonly called Zaratro, and also possibly between Paolo Zoppo and Vincenzo Foppa the younger. Meanwhile, they have relieved Giorgione of the paternity, which did him no honour, of the 'Meeting of Jacob and Rachel' in the Dresden Gallery, and point out that the initials G. B. F. inscribed on a sack (not a stone) in the foreground signify, far more probably, 'Giovanni Busi (Cariani) fecit,' than 'Giorgio Barbarelli fecit.'

There are many reasons why a work of this kind was not produced earlier. It required for its author a combination not easily found—a man of education and of special knowledge of art, a good draughtsman, an Italian, a Roman Catholic, one versed in the humours and ways of his countrymen, not afraid to bully priests and to flatter nuns, to disturb the frippery on Italian altars, and to mount himself in their place. Nor, till within the last twenty years, has there been any chance of a demand for such a work. It has taken long to

rear the interest which has encouraged and materially assisted Signor Cavalcaselle in his labours. The taste of Sir Joshua Reynolds himself, as evident in his foreign journals, was very one-sided. He had not arrived at any appreciation of masters now felt to be among the most fascinating that mediæval art has produced. Beautiful things abounded in his path, with all the advantage of being a century less ruined, which he passed without a comment. The French commissioners also, who, like those whom Cicero called the bloodhounds of Verres, scoured the country in the rear of Napoleon's armies, were guided mainly by the notoriety of the objects they stole. Works not then in fashion were left in peace; and among those were the exquisite productions of a Giovanni Bellini, a Bernardo Luini, and a Francesco Francia! Within these last thirty years also such writings as Mr. Ruskin's have denied rather than upheld the cardinal principle that catholicity of feeling is the only shibboleth of the genuine lover. To such genuine lover every school has its merits and relative interest, —those merits consisting, as between the arts themselves, in their differences rather than in their resemblances. So that to criticise a Teniers because he has neither the subjects nor the style of a Tintoret, is an involuntary tribute rather than a reproach. As the art of painting has been formed by a succession of stages, so the art of taste, if it may be so called, must be acquired on the same road; though generally in a retrospective direction, as if from the flower back to the bud. No enthusiasm for ripe art excuses, no real perception of beauty permits of contempt or even blindness for the generations which have laboured in its development. Boschini's simile of a ship, applied to Venetian art, in his 'Carta del Navigar pittoresco,' is equally applicable to Italian art generally. Giotto may be figuratively said to have laid the stocks; Orcagna to have fashioned the timbers; Fra Angelico to have contrived the portholes; Uccello and Signorelli to have fixed the rudder; Masaccio to have reared the masts; and Ghirlandajo to have added the sails; while others caulked, and fitted, and ornamented, till the gallant vessel stood complete. In other words, the perfect stature of art, attained by a few, has been the gradual structure of many; each adding some beauty or strength—all growth; here and there a strong man standing on the shoulders of his predecessors, and perceiving a breadth of horizon unrevealed before; while minor votaries crossed and recrossed the path; some struggling through byeways of sculpture, architecture, carving, and goldsmith's work, till the many metals were gradually

smelted and welded together into the matchless Corinthian brass of the *cinque cento*.

At present this work, though already so large, is far from complete. It stops short of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, Correggio, &c. There is more, however, to be said of early art than of that of a riper kind; this speaks for itself, and also presents fewer difficulties in its investigation. Indeed no justice can be done to the labours of Signor Cavalcaselle without alluding, as we shall do presently, to the difficulties that have stood in his way.

We have no intention to accompany the authors from what they are pleased to call the art of the second century. The art of the Catacombs has been from the time of Bosio interpreted to suit foregone conclusions; the conclusions have been cast aside, but the interpretations still cling. The reader is further misled by woodcuts, too long seen in Kugler's 'Handbook of Italian Art,' representing so-called pictures of our Lord, the woodcuts being as untrue to their prototypes as the explanations are to them. The Byzantine element also, as such, except, perhaps, in the occasional traditional treatment of a subject, as with Duccio, belongs rather to the department of archæology, and adds but little interest to the revival of painting. Italian painting, properly so called, dates from the time when art, having exhausted her old quarry, was dug out of new ground by young and fresh hands, whose greatest merit it is to have cast off the Byzantine fetters. Nor does it appear that the study of Christian archæology has been profound on the part of our authors. They are not aware, for instance, that a coincidence between Andrea dal Castagno and Pietro della Francesca in representing the Virgin 'in vulgar lamentation with her cheek resting on her hand,' arose from the fact that both these painters (and many others) adopted the traditional gesture of grief derived from the antique, and transmitted through Byzantine art. Also, that the action of the Infant Saviour in a work by Giotto, where the Child is represented 'sucking its tiny hand,' is owing, not as they think to the master's more attentive observation of nature, but to the Christian tradition, continued much later than Giotto, which makes the Child put his fingers to his mouth in token that He is 'The Word.' Nor do these gentlemen seem aware that in describing the Archangel Michael, or any angel, as giving the benediction, they commit a very grave breach of spiritual etiquette.

In turning to the young and fresh hands just mentioned, the nature of the materials on which judgment can be formed,

must be taken into account. From the time of Giotto to that of Mantegna, every painter of note has left his *chefs-d'œuvre* to posterity in the form of fresco. Such examples of easel pictures as have survived, are for the most part very inadequate specimens of their powers. The panel was to the painter as an unwonted instrument to a musician. The wall was his real field, to which he entrusted his greatest efforts. How posterity have treated this legacy, how the Roman Church has guarded this trust, is too well known. Time, climate, and revolving seasons have been tenderer than man. The great creations of great names have had but a choice of deaths. Either the gradual extinction by neglect and injury, or that which was supposed to put them out of their pain at once; viz. the daubing over with whitewash. Where was the historical pride of fair Florence when the frescoes by Ghirlandajo in the Vespucci Chapel, containing the portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, could be, as late as 1616, thus ruthlessly effaced? Still more, where were the citizens and magistrates on those banks of the Arno when the Chapel of the Bargello, with the frescoes by Giotto, comprising portraits of Dante, of himself, and others of note, seen and described by Vasari, was consigned (doubtless first) to whitewash and forgetfulness, and afterwards to the basest uses? We have already given the reasons.

And next to the destruction of the materials on which judgment could be found, may be classed that looseness of nomenclature, common in mediæval Italy, which considerably embarrasses history. The addition, in Eastern fashion, of the father's baptismal name to that of the son—such as Francesco di Giorgio, Niccolo di Pietro, Taddeo di Bartolo; &c.; the addition of the master's name to that of the scholar—such as Francesco di Maestro Niccolo, Marco di Melozzo, Piero di Cosimo, &c.; the cognomen of their place of nativity—such as Gerino di Pistoia, Matteo di Siena, Giovanni di Milano, &c.; names derived from their father's trade—such as Ghirlandajo, and Botticelli; epithets of affection or derision adopted in the *Bottega*—such as Masaccio, or Orcagna (supposed to be a contraction of Arcangelo); and sometimes two of these categories put together—such as Pellegrino di S. Daniele; all these, in endless variety and complication, alternately Italianised and Latinised, took the place of that definite surname now felt to be indispensable in the transactions of daily life. Even the entries in the painters' guilds, and in other forms of registry, sometimes go no deeper than these unidentifying baptismals, while the signatures on their works,

generally traceable to a pride in their native or adopted city, present a nomenclature puzzling to the unlearned. Not everyone would recognise the name of Giotto in the following inscription: 'Op. Magistri Jocti di Florã.' No wonder that a man should not have known his mother's name, as is recorded to have been the case with Andrea dal Castagno, or that Vasari should have mistaken father for son and *vice versû*—Lorenzo di Bicci, for Bicci di Lorenzo.

And not only these vague registers, but the careless use of them by other historians, have added to our authors' troubles. 'Paintings without ascertained authors are not less numerous than masters without authentic works. Half the difficulties of classifying the productions of Italian art arise from the precipitation with which early writers connected pictures with names and names with pictures, thus creating confusion of styles, of dates, and of men. These difficulties become insurmountable when nick-names occur' (vol. i. p. 410). A case in point is furnished by the painter called Giotto. Ghiberti (died 1455), assigns sundry works in Florence, including the Chapel of S. Sylvestro, to one Maso; Vasari assigns the same works to one Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto, and gives date of his birth and death. In no contemporary record, however, can a 'Maso,' or a 'Tommaso di Stefano,' or a 'Giotto' be found. And, though a 'Giotto di Maestro Stefano,' who sounds like the real Simon Pure, stands on the register of Florentine painters, yet the dates of that individual are at cross purposes with those of Vasari's man. Thus the name of Giotto—

'Tis all a ghost can have, alone remains,'

while, at all events, the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Sylvestro are pronounced not unworthy of the painter whom Vasari's glib tongue cried up as 'more perfect than his master.'

The revival of art in Italy was connected externally with a great movement in the Roman Church. It arose over the grave of St. Francis of Assisi. There, in a landscape of solemn beauty, one church was piled over another in honour of the saint, and these became the cradle of Italian art. The upper and lower churches present one vast gallery; commenced by uncouth hands, but revealing in successive stages the presence of a mind whence the true instincts of art were destined to spread over the length and breadth of Italy. Giotto (born 1276) found little more at Assisi than rude traditions; the labour, it is believed, of more than two generations of painters, culminating in the heavy maxims and still lifeless forms of Cimabue;

he left a living soul and a true creed. Great injury and partially entire obliteration render the task of tracking the expanding style of the youthful Giotto (in Assisi), one in which few will follow the patient steps of Signor Cavalcaselle. Certain scenes in the life of St. Francis, in the lower series of the upper church, evidently preceding in date the great allegorical works on the ceiling of the lower church, suffice to show that the chief aims and instincts of art have more than their rudiments embodied in them. Especially that so-called sense of a whole—(perhaps the translation for ‘the genius of ‘ensemble!’)—the result of a true relation of parts, all subordinate to the principal feature—that which may be deliberately pronounced to be the highest as the rarest gift in art—the gift nearest approaching the principle of creation—the gift most valuable in a leader of art—the gift, we must add, most lost sight of now;—that sense was pre-eminently possessed by Giotto. Our authors justly say, ‘Giotto cared more for the ‘whole than for the parts. An arm, as he painted it, might ‘be wanting in the anatomical form of the muscles, in the ‘completeness of the details; it was never defective in the ‘action of the limb itself.’ Perhaps no other artist in the world has ever embraced such an extensive area of human feelings, and the actions which express them, as Giotto. In his works are seen the germs of conceptions and motives which extend through masters of the most diverse type, even to Raphael.\* When the student glances in thought from the master’s works at Assisi, to the frescoes lately disclosed in the Bargello—to the Navicella at Rome—to the exquisite panels of the ciborium in the sacristy of St. Peter’s—to the riches of the Arena Chapel at Padua;—when he examines such marvellous compositions as the ‘Dance of the Daughter of Hero-dias,’ and others, recently emerged from whitewash in the Peruzzi Chapel, in S. Croce, Florence (believed to have been thus defaced at the beginning of the eighteenth century)—the irreparably injured, but imperishably fine scenes from the life of St. Francis, also recently scraped clean, in the Bardi Chapel of the same church;† when he considers all these, and then remembers Giotto’s architecture as seen in the Campanile at Florence; the sculpture upon that building, and upon the Baptistery doors, executed by Andrea Pisano from his designs, to which

\* The pathos of the action of the Virgin’s arms extended in parallel lines impotently towards our Lord, in the Spasimo (the finest action there), is traceable to Giotto.

† Two more chapels full of frescoes by Giotto under the same roof, are still covered with whitewash!



the picturesque sculpture of the Renaissance is justly traceable—he will admit, in our authors' words, that 'Giotto united at a common level all the qualities which constitute the universal genius of the Artist.'

What wonder, then, that a numerous brood of what are called *Giotteschi* should have succeeded the great man, who repeated his designs and caricatured his manner, who are seen even in Spain, and who have contributed to pull down the very greatness on which they preyed! At best, the most notable painters who followed in the fourteenth century divided his art between them, each working out some particular excellence. Signor Cavalcaselle feels that the first after him who gathered up and held in his grasp all the powers of a painter, was Ghirlandajo; the next and last, Raphael. Only one demur can be made to this, and that, in one sense, a tribute to Raphael's perfection. He lacked a charming human weakness, seldom absent from the greatest and most genial Italian minds, and abounding in the works both of Giotto and Ghirlandajo. Raphael was naïve, childlike, even in his grandest efforts, but he never approached that peculiar humanity of his predecessors which breathes in playful, almost comic, Nature; and, in that, misses one of the most elastic springs of human sympathy.

Our authors trace the same family of art, however varying in feature and development, from Giotto, through Taddeo Gaddi, Orcagna, Masolino, Fra Angelico, to Masaccio—the two last sharing in the highest sense those qualities, masculine and feminine, which made up the sum of Giotto. After these, the same family branches off into more special and complex lines. Painters were guided along them by various clues; by the revival of classic literature, by the study of perspective and anatomy, by the practice of a plurality of handicrafts in art, and doubtless, first and foremost, by the increasing consciousness of the endless variety of Nature. They saw gradually in Nature more than art had hitherto admitted, and restlessly cleared fresh ground without regard to the principles of selection hitherto laid down. Art profited in the end, but no longer advanced so symmetrically. Paolo Uccello (born 1396) represents a portion of this movement. He saw the forms of animals, the action of the elements, the perspective of substances and lines. His foreshortened dead figure in the fresco of the Deluge (in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella, at Florence) lies in a scattered composition which Giotto would have repudiated, but it bursts on the beholder as a new power, here first issuing

forth, and destined to run a course continued by Signorelli, and perfected by Mantegna.

A speciality for animals is attributed by Vasari to the elder Pesello, and we are indebted to Signor Cavalcaselle for such light as can be thrown on two names—viz. Pesello and Pesellino—hitherto involved in obscurity. The two are now shown to be grandfather and grandson, separated by a space of fifty-six years, which, considering the progress such a period represented, interdicts the possibility of their reputed joint labours. To the younger man, therefore, are assigned works of a high order, such as two *cassone* pictures in the possession of the Marchese Torrigiani, Florence, introducing varieties of animals, African and European, and combining infinite grace of male and female figures, with a certain pomp of landscape and costume. To Pesellino also must be given that Italian Trinity in the National Gallery, mutilated by some Vandal in this century, which alone stamps him as the most extraordinary painter of his time. When we consider the perfection of drawing, and the unique sublimity of expression which distinguishes the head of the First Person, and remember that Pesellino was born 1423, we equally wonder why there are not more works extant by such a hand, and not more great Florentine names between him and Ghirlandajo, almost thirty years his junior. It is true that Pesellino died at the early age of thirty-four, but this was maturity, during the fifteenth century, for a painter under an Italian sun. The hiatus is rather to be attributed to that scattering of the powers of one man among many arts which the habits of the *Bottega* then encouraged. The brothers Pollaiuoli are instances of men who were at once sculptors, painters, gold-workers, and jewellers. It has been the fashion to extol this versatility, but there is little doubt that in men of only average ability it embarrassed the conditions of style, and exhausted the individual; and, even in the highest hands, interfered with their productiveness. The Pollaiuoli were men of power and research. They are believed to have first practised dissection; they were the initiators of that muscular action and prominent anatomy which culminated in the greatest Florentine name; they sought also eagerly for new mediums to impart a greater brilliancy to their work; but their art, however full of interest, is a hybrid, of which we see the extreme and degrading result in the productions of such an artist as Vecchietta.

Benozzo Gozzoli is another who especially and more legitimately enlarged the sphere of the artist. Formed in a school the most opposite, apparently, to his natural bent—a school

(that of Fra Angelico) which drew all from within, while Benozzo imbibed all from without,—it is curious to observe how he gradually emerges from the stern limits of devotional feeling into the exuberant freedom of sunny nature and jocund life. It is he who first shows us the sweet outer face of Italy, her stately architecture and teeming landscape, the luxuriant *pergola*, the fountain springing from the classic basin,—the peacock basking on the marble balcony. His great work at Pisa remains the record of an eye which grasped and delighted in the *picturesque*; and we feel that in the scant praise accorded to this great master, the Italian writer betrays his own lack of that perception of Nature's beauty which belongs principally to modern times, and almost exclusively to the English race.

We have quoted only painters from the central mine—Florence; the mine especially worked by Vasari. But, trite as the remark may appear, there is nothing more striking in the history of the human mind than the various physiognomies of Italian art which simultaneously prevailed; each marked by peculiarities of its own, yet all distinctively Italian. To the numerous small States and free cities this richness of variety was owing. They communicated enough for instruction and competition, they were isolated enough for originality and independence. No place was farther removed from Florence, in art, than Siena, yet there were those who, like Orcagna, combined the excellences of each. Indeed, this independence would seem to have been the condition of the very existence of a school. Where one city or state was absorbed by another its fountain of art refused to play. Pisa became subject to Florence, and, though larger than Pesaro, or Urbino, it merged its art in that of the ruling power, and no Pisan school of painting is worth recording. There can be no greater proof that the same instincts pervaded the greater part of the Peninsula. Wherever there were freedom, liberal laws, and therefore commercial prosperity, there was art. It has been too hastily assumed that because the Italians during their long centuries of decadence were devoid of the commonest traditions of fine taste; because the princes, who hastened the ruin of Italy, patronised art only to degrade it; because the Roman Church, which had hitherto afforded the chief mart, became, even in art, a tyrannical dogmatist and intolerable dictator, wasting the energies of the great men whom she presumed to direct; because the writers from the latter part of the sixteenth century and downwards have propounded for the most part such theories

as only the most pedantic ignorance could excuse;—it has been too hastily assumed upon such evidence, that all real intelligence for art, even in its halcyon days, was confined to the exceptionally gifted men who produced it.

But in this conclusion the wide chasm which divided the Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from those of the latter end of the sixteenth—and the history of mankind hardly supplies a wider—has been lost sight of. On the contrary, there can be little doubt that when truly a nation—that is, during the period of their political and intellectual greatness—the Italian race were no less universally endowed with the instincts of fine taste in the formative arts, than, as we know them still to be, and to have long been, with others, more compatible with a period of degeneracy; namely, with the instincts of music and the drama. There can be no rational question that a feeling for art formed part of the rich dowry of the Italian mind of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that every averagely gifted child of the soil was placed, by right of birth, half-way up to the Temple of the Muses. If, therefore, the vigorous instincts for art which swelled the ranks of Italian painters had little in common with the delicate and emotional organisation which in too many cases now constitutes the chief title of the modern votary, it was mainly because art with them was a national impulse, and not, as now, an exceptional individual gift. It thus became a business, not a pursuit, and was conducted on principles of business, or rather of trade. For painters felt it no disgrace to be tradesmen where the highest citizens were merchants. Boys were bound to a master for so many years, and carried the hod, and swept the shop, and ground the colours, till their turn came to handle that instrument the use of which they had daily witnessed. It is ridiculous to suppose that there could be any mystery or secrecy where *bottegas* and churches were open, and many worked in the same room, or on the same scaffold. The art, therefore, as far as it could or can be communicated, was open to all. Men did not go on puzzling and wondering and tearing their hair in the solitude of one half-darkened room, as too many of our countrymen do now. There was at once a more severe mechanical apprenticeship, and a greater spontaneity of feeling. This is why two qualities are especially impressed on Italian productions—ease, and power. Uncertainty of process, however undeveloped the stage, and pettiness of detail, are alike absent from works which, taken all in all, have never been surpassed. When Sismondi remarks that

there was hardly a department of knowledge in which the Italians did not give the first instruction to other nations, who afterwards surpassed them, he should have excepted the arts.

No work has yet attempted in the same degree to unfold the history of all the Italian schools—their intricate relations and affinities, the stock whence they descended, the families into which they intermarried, the impulse traceable to the passing visit of one great painter, the mannerism accounted for by the vicinity of one particular picture.\* None also has done such justice to the great men who stand centrally as formers and uniters of others. And here we must remember that though those who formed others—whose works needed but to be seen to inspire the wish, and in some degree the power to do likewise—were truly great; yet that the painters who did not, and could not, thus form others were not therefore small, but, in one sense, greater than all. It is not the winged-seed shed on the air like the thistle-down that proceeds from the noblest plant. There are two kinds of eyes—those through which the owner alone can see, and those constructed for many to look through. Raphael himself belongs to the first category; also Fra Angelico; and our own contemporary Ary Scheffer. Such men had those exquisite qualities which admit of no more or less. Just what they did delights us; nothing stronger, nothing weaker. They had, Raphael always excepted, many deficiencies, but their special excellence was of too high an order to admit of propagation. Of them, therefore, there is little to be said in that sense in which Perugino far outdid his great scholar.

But even some of the most original and gifted of what may be called these parent stocks have been so overlooked and forgotten as to be apparently unknown to fame. Few, till lately, have heard the name of Pietro della Francesca; few even now know that of Melozzo di Forlì! The places these two men occupy, each with one foot firmly placed in the Florentine school, and the other fondly rooted in their remote provincial homes, are among the most remarkable in the history of art, and from them may be said to have sprung that combination of qualities which finally fructified in a Raphael.

Pietro della Francesca, born early in the fifteenth century, was one of those spirits formed to receive, to create, and to transmit. Born in Umbria, and adopted in Florence, he took up and carried on the laws of composition bequeathed

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\* Perugino's altar-piece, for instance, in S. Agostino at Cremona, affected the whole Cremonese School.

by Giotto, the science of linear perspective initiated by Paolo Uccello, the aerial perspective introduced by Masaccio, the occult technical processes begun by Pesello and extended by the Pollaiuoli, the architecture of Brunelleschi, and the plastic element of the Renaissance sculpture; giving to each in turn fresh character by the strong aliment of his own solemn but naturalistic individuality. No one can study that ghostly Baptism at the National Gallery without feeling how earnest was the knowledge which dictated the perspective of the Saviour's feet, of the winding stream, of the reflections of the hill, as well as the anatomy of the figure stripping himself for the rite—all signs of a mind equally delighting in the accurate principles and in the natural effects belonging to his craft; these last effects being curiously evident in the careful rendering of the argillaceous bed of the stream, seen through the water. In this combination of art and science he was one of the mighty band who preceded Leonardo da Vinci, and it is noteworthy that the same eminent mathematician, Fra Luigi Pacioli, was the friend of both. Pietro della Francesca was the forerunner of Ghirlandajo in the fine taste of his architectural backgrounds. In his 'Vision of Constantine' in the frescoes at Arezzo, he equally anticipated Correggio in that effect of light long supposed to have been invented in the 'Notte.' A sketch for the Vision which found its way into the Lawrence Collection was there ticketed as Giorgione,\* and might, as our authors observe, 'have been assigned with equal propriety to 'Correggio or Rembrandt.' In his small portraits of Federico di Urbino and Battista Sforza in the Dyptich in the Uffizj, he outdoes in exquisite execution even the later hand of Antonello da Messina. His fresco in the Vatican, subject unknown, barbarously destroyed to make room for Raphael's 'Deliverance of St. Peter,' is ingeniously surmised to have suggested the effect of light, new in Raphael, observable in that work. At all events, there needs no speculation to admit that Pietro della Francesca's residence in Urbino gave an impulse which Giovanni Santi, at whose house he lodged, was more capable of passing on to his son, than of profiting by himself. Finally, while traceable through many more paths than we have space to explore, he was the master of Signorelli. As to his own type of beauty, there is no doubt that had Vasari applied the fable of the Barbary Pirates to him instead of to Fra Filippo Lippi, it would have been difficult to refute; for Pietro della Francesca's Madonnas and female

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\* Exhibited in London, January, 1836.

heads have a class of feature which points to an African derivation. And it is not a little significant of the man that his grandeur of conception suffices to assimilate even this form to a high order of solemn beauty.

Of Melozzo di Forlì, born at Forlì about 1438, far less is known. His connexion with the painter just mentioned is evidenced by his works rather than by any historical records. Nor does this evidence consist so much in actual affinity of style as in that ardent reaching upwards and downwards to the higher and deeper laws of their art which imparted to each a sort of geometrical firmness of structure. This is confirmed by circumstances in life, common, in spite of difference of age, to each. For both are eulogised by Fra Luigi Pacioli in his treatise on architecture, both extolled in Giovanni Santi's *Cronaca*; the junior painter, in terms of warm friendship—

‘Melozzo, a me si caro,  
Che in prospettiva ha steso tanto il passo.’

But few certain works by Melozzo are known, and these bear a stamp which will always include their author in the *Libro d'oro* of great masters. The earliest records of him begin with the maturity of his life and art; at Rome under Sixtus IV., who, besides erecting the Sistine Chapel, founded the Academy of St. Luke, where, among the first autograph inscriptions is that by Melozzo, ‘Melotius pic. pa.’ (pictor papalis). Sixtus IV. also repaired the Church of the SS. Apostoli, and restored the Library of the Vatican, events which occurred from 1475 to 1480. On both of these Melozzo left his mark. The restoration of the Library was commemorated by a fresco from his hand, representing Sixtus enthroned, with two cardinals, and the learned librarian Platina, with two attendants, kneeling before him. That this fresco, considering the destructive tendencies of the succeeding Popes, should have been preserved to the present day, is a kind of phenomenon, somewhat modified in value, however, by the transference of the surface of the wall at some unknown time to canvas; in which form it now hangs in a dark place between two windows in the Vatican. Under these circumstances, little more is visible than the fine distribution of the figures in space, and the grandly proportioned architecture.

This Church of the Apostoli was also indebted to Melozzo for a fresco in the tribune, representing the Ascension of our Lord, surrounded with cherubim. This is one of those daring feats of foreshortening where a painter seems equally to revel in the difficulty and in the triumph. The church was de-

stroyed in 1711, but the fresco was sawn from the wall and transferred to the staircase of the Quirinal, where few English travellers know of its existence, and fewer natives, whether of the past or present *régime*, lift their eyes to it. Some fragments of angels playing on musical instruments, and equally strongly foreshortened, from the same fresco, are preserved in the sacristy of St. Peter's, and were there visited and copied by the indefatigable Seroux d'Agincourt in the last century. From these ideal, rapt creatures, we drop suddenly to earth—for no other known work by the master interposes to break our fall—on to a sign-painting at Forlì, once over a grocer's shop, call the 'Pesta Pepe,' or Pound the Pepper, representing a figure in violent action, wielding with both hands a heavy pestle over a huge mortar. Even this, now reduced to a shadow, is a masterpiece in the fitness of means to end—being supposed to be seen from below, and composed accordingly. The name of Melozzo has been doubly made free with—first, on behalf of certain pictures inscribed 'Marco di Melotius,' now known to be the signature of his scholar Marco Palmezzano; and secondly, as a possible and honourable patronymic for a series of fictitious portraits, known to have decorated the Palace of Urbino, and subsequently divided between the Sciarra\* and Barberini families. These works, partly Flemish, partly Italian in character—neither tempera nor oil in medium,—and equally ideal and naturalistic in feeling—have in vain tormented the connoisseur mind to assign to them fitting authorship. Signor Cavalcaselle wisely leaves the question open. A further interest attaches to them from their connexion with Raphael, whose youthful sketch-book, preserved at Venice, contains small chalk drawings carefully made from several of these portraits. There can be therefore little doubt that Raphael was further influenced when at Rome by the grand works of Melozzo. And those who have seen them may not perhaps consider us too flighty for tracing an analogy between the vista of cherubim behind the Sistine Madonna, and those behind Melozzo's ascending Saviour; and even a subtle connecting expression between the two well-known cherubs at the foot of the same Madonna, and the angels in St. Peter's sacristy.

Signor Cavalcaselle has justly devoted much close attention to that painter who connects Flemish and Italian art, and forms the hinge on which oil-painting entered Italy. Owing to

\* The Sciarra series were purchased by the Marchese Campana, and transferred with his collection to the Louvre.



Vasari's habit of getting hold of small fragments of truth, and rounding them into a whole by his own imagination, the name of Antonello da Messina has been attached to a story the different parts of which refuse to fit even with each other, far less with any outer evidence. According to Vasari, Antonello, being smitten with admiration of a picture in oil at Naples, travelled expressly into Flanders, and learned the secret of oil-painting from Jan Van Eyck, who died 1441; then imparted it to Domenico Veneziano, who died 1461; and died himself of consumption, after 1493, aged forty-nine! Much anxiety has been felt to reconcile these discrepancies, and the shortest way, it has been suggested, was to suppose that, instead of dying at forty-nine years old, Vasari must have meant seventy-nine! This was the more necessary if not probable solution, inasmuch as a small and exquisite picture at Berlin—the portrait of a youth—bears Antonello's signature and the date 1445; a date, by the way, full twenty years in advance of any other inscribed by the master. At the same time, another early writer, Il Gallo, author of the '*Annali di Messina*,' gives the date of Antonello's birth as 1447. This reconciles the dates of birth and death, but quite upsets the visit to Van Eyck, and the secret so fatal to Domenico Veneziano. But we now come forward with a new theory, for which we are indebted to the sagacity of Mr. Weale, the well-known archaeologist at Bruges,\* much engaged in investigating the history of the Early Flemish painters. Vasari, be it remembered, does not attempt the awkward consonants of 'Van Eyck,' but simply designates the great Fleming as 'Giovanni di Bruggia.' But we remind the reader that there were *two* Giovanni's da Bruggia,—or, rather, that there was a noted painter whose name was long concealed by Vasari under the appellation of 'Ansse' or 'Ilavesse,'—modified by Baldinucci into that of 'Ans,'—identified by Morelli as 'Gianes da Brugia,' and by Sansovino as 'Giovanni da Bugia.' This was no other than the famous Hans Memling of Bruges, believed to have been born about 1425 and to have died in 1499, and thus, as far as dates are concerned, perfectly competent to have welcomed Antonello to Bruges, and to have taught him his own art. Further, there is more affinity by far between the style of Memling and that of Antonello, than between the style of Antonello and that of Van Eyck, which last are obviously separated by many years. And, lastly, the date

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\* Author of '*Handbook for Belgium*,' Membre correspondant de la Commission royale des Monumens, &c.

1445 on the picture at Berlin is found, by close examination, to have been tampered with, and the work itself is now identified as that described by Zanetti as bearing the date 1478.\* Thus we have only to admit that Vasari fitted the name of Giovanni da Bruggia to the wrong man, and, knowing now that Domenico Veneziano was neither acquainted with the art of oil-painting, nor murdered, the whole confusion vanishes.

The notices on Antonello da Messina are contained in the two volumes of Painting in North Italy. These volumes, as chronicling the rise of a new form of art and a new process of painting, simultaneous in date, and belonging to a later and therefore more easily-investigated period, are more compact and distinct in chronology than their predecessors. The workings of master-minds, with their modes of training, are here traceable from their centres to the farthest circles affected by them. Padua and Venice are the great head-quarters whence the glorious infection spread along the head of Italy and deep into the Friulian hills. The history of art in Padua is curious. In common with other North Italian cities, all more or less affected by the Eastern relations of Venice, it adhered to degenerate Byzantine traditions long after they had been repudiated by Florence and Siena. Giotto's presence in Padua, about 1305, left no traces beyond the walls of the Arena Chapel, and those remained a barren stock. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, about 1380, representatives of Giotto's art, as matured in the interim, appeared in Padua, and left grand monuments of their skill in the great temple of the 'Santo.' Whether Aldighiero was a Veronese,—who Jacopo d'Avanzo was,—whether the last-named took part in these fine but utterly-ruined works, or whether he ever existed at all, and all are owing to Aldighiero alone—are questions which Vasari in his usual fashion has embroiled, and which Signor Cavalcaselle's investigations fail to clear up. They matter not here; the only point being that these fresh grafts from the Giottesque tree also bore no further fruit. The only native name of any note which occurs for many years is that of Pisano, a Veronese, of whom, as regards dates, little is certain but that he did not die before 1455, and is believed not to have lived much after; the few examples extant of his art revealing in the careful modelling of the heads his chief occupation and merit, that of a medallist.† Thus the soil

\* Zanetti, della pittura Veneziana, 1771, p. 21.

† The picture by Pisano in the National Gallery, unique in its

which refused to propagate the style of Giotto was open to a new and original growth. And none ever began more unpromisingly than that of Paduan art in the person of Francesco Squarcione. Of him our authors truly say, 'there is nothing more curious than that a man, himself unskilled, should have acquired a name as the founder of a school.' Squarcione was the impersonation of the common craftsman and Jack-of-all-trades in art. He was at once a tailor, an embroiderer, a worker in metals, a designer of *tarsia*, a painter of Madonnas, and a decorator of walls, including those of the Eremitani Chapel! In other words, he was an *impresario*, or one who undertook to get all these tasks performed.\* At the same time, his habit of affixing his own signature—'Opus Squarcioni'—to the works that issued from his shop, explains the singular discrepancies in their merits; while forged signatures of the same kind have since added to the perplexity. Long has Squarcione been concealed, like a Veiled Prophet, behind the school which lent him a mysterious importance. Now it is admitted that if any of these works were by his own hand, they were such as no scholar would care to own.

But Squarcione was no fool. Endowed with no faculty for painting himself, he had the intelligence to discern what would best educate it in others. According to some accounts he travelled in early life not only through Italy, but into Greece; observing all that was most noteworthy, and bringing back specimens of antique sculpture, pictures, and other objects best fitted for models. Thus furnished, he set up an atelier, frequented by no less than 137 pupils, was noted as the best teacher of his time, gained wealth and fame, and was called the Father of Painters. It is extraordinary what a family likeness, as far as their names and works are preserved, runs through the Squarcione progeny. Whether Pizzolo, Marco Zoppo,

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signature, illustrates our remark. No one can look at the marvellously modelled profile of the St. George without perceiving the hand of the die-sinker. Taking, therefore, this example with justice as a standard of the painter's style, it is impossible to agree with Signor Cavalcaselle that the pictures assigned to him in the Verona Museum, with their peculiarly soft, tender, pretty, ill-drawn, and unplastic character—only agreeing with the work in the National Gallery in the embossed and gilt features then prevalent—can be by Pisano.

\* *Impresarij* of this kind were common. Contemporary with Squarcione there were other enterprising men who undertook at once the *tarsia*'s in the Santo at Padua and those in the cathedral at Modena, the reprinting of Gutenberg's bible, and the edition of Aristotle with the commentary of Averrhoes.

Bono Ferrarese, Ansuino, or Gregorio Schiavone—the fruit has throughout one common flavour, and that, it must be owned, partaking more or less of the sourness of a crab. Even that extraordinary youth, who was well worth all the other 136 put together, Andrea Mantegna, is not free from the asperity of the stock. Though, such is the power of his works, that we learn to relish the smack of the skin which pervades the noble wine once contained in it.

Of Mantegna's descent nothing is known, except that he was born in Padua in 1431, and became not only the scholar but the adopted son of Squarcione, who registered his name in the guild of painters at the age of ten. Our authors dwell on the influences of Donatello, Paolo Uccello, and even of Fra Filippo Lippi (to whom he most certainly owed nothing), in the development of Mantegna's genius. Whatever the influence, it was shared up to a certain level throughout the *bottega*, and where Mantegna rises above that level, it is rather, as far as outer causes are concerned, attributable, not to any forerunner, but to an ardent study of the classic remains both sculpturesque and architectural, which were then the objects of enthusiastic local explorations in the provinces of Padua and Verona. For the rest, his will and his eye were powerful enough to account for any excellence. That a youth thus formed, mentally and physically, endowed with great powers of invention and a solemn poetry of feeling, and above all with an intensely realistic tendency, and yet deriving his earliest and therefore strongest impressions from classic sources—that such a youth should aim to combine the extremes of the Ideal and the Real, is easy to believe. But that these extremes should cohabit harmoniously on the same canvas was due to a power of mind stronger than either tendency.

Andrea Mantegna was one in whom mediocrity found no place. He could be over frigid or over fiery, but never lukewarm. While his predilection for antique forms and costumes led him, on the one hand, to portray men and women rather as haughtily animated statues than as warm human beings, his vehemence of character, on the other, tempted him to scale the heights of passionate expression so daringly as to stand on the very verge of caricature. Giovanni Santi, in his enthusiasm, declares that Nature did so much for 'Andrea' that he does not know that she could have done more. Nevertheless, there were things, as we shall see, which Mantegna did not attempt, but whatever he grappled with, from the least to the greatest, he overcame. Such a man had necessarily many followers, but no real assistants. No one, as is evident in the altar-

piece in the National Gallery, could take up where he left off. Nor was there any field of pictorial activity which he did not subdue. Wall, canvas, and copper were equally his tributaries; each dominated by an iron certainty of hand only derived from consummate knowledge. Resembling, in the grand calibre of the Italian mind, those predecessors whom we have particularised, however unlike them in practice, he pored insatiably into the deeper laws which govern art. No painter ever worked out the problems of perspective and foreshortening with greater energy;—his earlier works, in the Eremitani Chapel, being the more interesting to the student as lacking as yet the art to conceal such art. If it be true that Melozzo also studied under Squarcione,\* it is obvious whence the science displayed on the Quirinal staircase was derived. At all events it is certain that Mantegna's ceiling in the Camera dei Sposi at Mantua, inspired Correggio with that ambition which culminated in the virtual piercing of the cupolas of Parma.

Signor Cavalcasello dwells in more than one part of the two last volumes on the influence of Jacopo Bellini (father of Gentile and Giovanni) on Mantegna, and on the identity of taste and aim which he assumes to have existed between them. This would be sufficiently accounted for by the residence of Jacopo in Padua, and by the fact that Mantegna married his daughter. We have, however, Jacopo's book of drawings,—light pencil sketches, heightened here and there with brown penning, —in the British Museum, to prove that while Squarcione invented nothing for the benefit of his scholars, Jacopo Bellini was teeming with ideas which enriched not only his sons and son-in-law, but more or less every notable Venetian painter. The account of this remarkable book by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle is so little satisfactory that we are tempted to believe that they have only described it from very imperfect recollection. In their somewhat vague words Jacopo was no adept in perspective; 'he did not master the exact rules, but he evidently heard of the science, and instinctively tried to apply its principles.' Jacopo's instincts must have been astonishingly perfect in this case, for there is nothing more striking in the whole volume than his proficiency in perspective. Page after page is covered with grand and complicated structures—for which his small foreground figures furnish the flimsiest pretexts—with their varied problems of foreshortened curves and angles, interrupted lines and irregular

\* See Eastlake's *Materials for History of Oil Painting*, vol. ii. p. 225.

planes, all worked out in a way that shows equal study and delight. In the first pages we have the sterner architecture of Florence and even of Bologna, with their battlemented and machicolated walls and towers; but as we proceed, the features of Venice, the balcony, the arcade, and more than one grand reminiscence of the Giants' Staircase, are unmistakeable. We know nothing more interesting in mediæval art than this domestic relic—the work of a man of whom nothing else worth recording survives—but containing the germs of ideas destined to bear fruit in the works of the greatest Venetian masters. For it is absurd to suppose that the inspiration conveyed by this sketch-book—incribed ‘Da mano di me Jacobo bellino Veneto, 1430—in Venetia,’ and therefore commenced before Mantegna was born—it is absurd to think that its influence was confined to Jacopo's own family. Many a sympathetic eye must have kindled over its pages, and carried off ideas, the power to appropriate which constitutes, in art, an all-sufficient title. Though, therefore, the very forms and motives seen in this book reappear in Giovanni Bellini's known works, yet suggestions from it, no less distinct, are traceable in Cima, Crivelli, Giorgione, and, second or third hand, in Raphael.\* At the same time there is no need to credit Jacopo Bellini with the entire origin of all these designs. These were the times when art floated to and fro in indirect streams and currents, unconsciously shedding fertility; and Jacopo must have seen similar sketches by the hand of his master Gentile da Fabriano, and of his Florentine contemporaries, though, unhappily, not so carefully preserved.

In the case of Mantegna this work would seem to have suggested rules and tendencies, as in the instance of perspective, rather than actual forms; and, considering the sternness of his character, the influence of Jacopo over him is probably most seen in his over Giovanni Bellini. No two great men are more interesting to compare in what they borrowed from another, in what they had in common, and in what they essentially differed. Mantegna's ‘Agony in the Garden,’ in Mr. Baring's Gallery, and Bellini's rendering of the same subject, in the National Gallery, were painted at a time when, as our authors quaintly say, Giovanni ‘united the bitter of the ‘Paduan with the sweet of the Venetian.’ Here Bellini's figure

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\* So much was this book esteemed in the family that Gentile left it to Giovanni by his will, on condition that Giovanni should finish the picture called the ‘Sermon of St. Mark,’ now in the Brera—a condition which Giovanni fulfilled. (*Painting in North Italy*, vol. ii. p. 136.)

of the kneeling Saviour is closely taken from the same figure in his father's book,\* the higher finish of the drapery being Mantegnesque. In the conception of the sleeping disciples the two painters have much in common, though Mantegna's figures are by far the finest; while the mixture of the classic and the realistic, the severe foreshortening and stern detail, in those by Bellini, again show the mind which guided his brush. Thus far the softer Bellini appears here as still dependent on the leading of others; but we now come to 'the sweet,' destined in its development to sever him more and more from his brother-in-law. Mantegna had no feeling for landscape, nor, we may add, as far as these faint pencil sketches give evidence, Jacopo either. No one ever looked more lovingly on earth and sky than Bellini. Mantegna fills up his background in Mr. Baring's picture with quaint and impossible rocks, which look, like the architecture of his time, as if they had been coloured, and among which the exquisitely drawn animals and weeds he has introduced would as soon have played, or grown, as in the painted scenes of a play. Bellini, on the other hand, seizes the occasion to give us the ineffable charm of an Italian landscape—the beautiful earth resting after the last radiance of a gloriously setting sun—all bathed in that transparent atmosphere which tells 'the grace of a day that is gone.'

It would be curious, to digress for a moment, to analyse the causes, visual or mental, for the departure from truth, in so important a respect as their landscape backgrounds, in such men as Mantegna and his great junior Leonardo da Vinci; both of whom carefully and minutely finished the most impossible forms. The causes may be traced, perhaps, to the intellectual interest with which they pursued the profounder principles of their calling; so that, in the ever-varying features of hill, rock, and tree, they recognised accidental rather than abstract appearances, and while ordering their perspective, in a certain sense, aright, cared not how capricious were the structures to which it was applied. In this respect they continued in the same track with the great men who preceded them, who, struggling to define the laws that lie beneath the surface, occasionally, as we have remarked, let the mind get before the eye, the geometrician before the painter. But let no one undervalue even such partially de-

\* The little stream and bridge also appear in the sketch-book. It is further noteworthy that the leafless tree and vulture in another picture in the National Gallery too modestly ticketed 'Marco Basaiti' are seen here.

fective results. Many were nourished with the product of such labour; few were of a calibre to undergo its severity. Our authors say justly, 'What, indeed, would have become of that art had not some one sacrificed the end to the means, and dwelt with severe patience and solemn pleasure on the drier problems?'

\* Mantegna and Leonardo da Vinci were the last to go through such stern labour. Bellini, peacefully possessed of the golden apples for which others had fought the dragon, appears, by an apparent paradox, to have been even the better gifted pictorially, in being less so intellectually. His length of life embraced the crowning stages of the art of painting, and his works bridge over the space between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Under the tutelage of his father, and at the side of Mantegna, he had passed through the syntax of the language of his profession; but gradually we trace the ascendancy of the purely æsthetic sense, and a freedom of eye and hand fitted, if not for a profounder, for a wider and kindlier sphere.

Mantegna, again, painted only in tempera; producing, in his later time, deep and solemn effects which overlap the powers of oil. Bellini, inspired by Antonello da Messina, overcame the difficulties of the transition from the one medium to the other; and, thus armed, annexed new regions of beauty. To this victory over the most effective and fascinating process of painting may be even attributed his abstinence from the practice of its grander forms. Mantegna was the master of fresco; his Eremitani Chapel works display the perfection of that art. Bellini never painted in fresco at all. Mantegna has left no authentic portraits, though supposed to have introduced the features of both Gentile and Giovanni Bellini in his 'Martyrdom of St. Christopher.' Bellini's portraits are among the choicest forms of his art.

Upon the whole, it cannot be said that Bellini possessed a highly poetic fancy. He did not soar between the common and the ideal like Signorelli, nor between the realistic and the monumental like Mantegna; but he was endowed with a peculiar combination of the grand and the gentle, which attracts both our sympathy and respect, and inspires the sense of a moral rather than an ideal or spiritual beauty. In truth, the older Bellini grows, the greater the interest of his works; for while his power shows no decline, his humanity seems to increase. His saints become less austere—more serene and childlike in their dignity. In his St. Jerome reading, with



his book on the gnarled bark of a fig-tree (in S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice), painted in 1513, when he was eighty-seven years of age, he appears like an aged monarch who retains all his governing faculties, but lays aside etiquette. In his representations also of outer nature he seems to assert, at last, the right of painting for his own pleasure. In the landscape in the National Gallery, the figures, fine as they are, merely serve to give a name to a scene of which we only know that in hill, bridge, and town, and mass of evergreen branch and foliage, all glowing, not under direct sunshine, but in the soft suffusion of southern light, it is truly and enchantingly Italian.

Over Giovanni Bellini the genuine lover of Italian art will fondly linger, as over the last act but one in the great drama of pictorial development—the act which led in every scene to that apogee beyond which there was no higher stage—to the full glories of Venetian colour, to the radiant blossom of Titian and Giorgione.

We must draw this article to a close. To few has it been given, as to Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini, to bequeath a style so capable, in their great successors, of expansion, and, in their minor followers, of imitation, modification, and variation. The number of the last named is Legion; and never before have the ramifications of the Mantegnesque and Bellinesque, and the combination of the two, been so carefully explored. The Mantegnesque impress continued through the fifteenth century, and expired with it; having inspired the quaintly classic Vivarini; the gorgeously fantastic Crivelli (sometimes mistaken for Mantegna), the mysterious painter or painters who bear the name of Ercole Grandi, of Ferrara, and spread itself, under varying disguises, as a firm substructure never entirely concealed, from Venice, through every north Italian town, to Milan, and even to Cremona.

Bellini's impress can only be said to have died with Venetian art; wherever glorious colour, noble forms, and delicious landscape prevail, whether in Cima, Titian, Giorgione, or Palma, there Bellini lives. It is his art throughout, with every splendid quality full grown—less moral in effect, never spiritual, but developed into the highest sensuous poetry of life. From Venice it spread in a luminous stream all along the head of Italy, upheld in the form of stately altar-pieces and grand portraits by such names as Romanino, Savoldo, and Moretto,—carried into the mountain recesses of the Friuli by fresco painters of the highest order—Pellegrino di S. Daniele and Pordenone—each and all surrounded by clusters of minor

branches from the same parent stock, till the land stretches before us in one vast panorama of colour. Nor can we forbear alluding to one, minor branch as he might be, who, equally a descendant of Bellini, coquetted with every master in succession; by turns the happy counterfeiter of them all; whose very powers of imitation amount to originality; gifted and wayward, brilliant and fantastic, alternately graceful and affected, Lorenzo Lotto is fascinating in every mood he pleases to assume. We are thankful for any light thrown upon one, for whom our authors justly say, 'it is easy to be 'enthusiastic.' Long have other masters borne his sins and worn his laurels; and though beginning to be detected under many an *alias*, yet where is the gallery that does not still exhibit some Lotto in disguise; our own National Collection not excepted?

We have dwelt purposely more on Signor Cavalcaselle's researches than on his opinions. Respecting the first there can be no possible variety of judgment; about the last it is a vain proverb that says there is or should be no disputing. Every connoisseur is entitled to his private predilections and prejudices; there is no such stimulus, as perhaps this very article may have shown, in the perplexing questions of identity, as a few dominant crotchets. But our authors have done what none before have attempted—they have rectified the errors and filled up the omissions of Vasari, and he will be a bold man who undertakes to do the same by them.

ART. VI.—1. *Der Krieg im Jahre 1870.* Von M. ANNENKOFF. Berlin: 1871.

2. *Das Train-Communications und Verpflegswesen, vom operativen Standpunkte.* Von H. OBAUER und E. R. Von GUTTENBERG. Wien: 1871.

3. *La deuxième Armée de la Loire.* Par le Général CHANZY. Paris: 1871.

4. *La Guerre en Province pendant le Siège de Paris, 1870–71.* Par CHARLES DE FREYCINET, ancien délégué du Ministre de la Guerre à Tours et à Bordeaux. Paris: 1871.

SINCE the beginning of the Crimean war the energies of many of our greatest engineers, machinists, and chemists have been devoted to improving the implements of destruction, or to devising fresh means of protection against the new weapons. But we rise from an attentive perusal of the

accounts which have been published of the late Franco-German war, and especially the interesting history of the failures of the French army published by General Faidherbe and General Chanzy, and by M. de Freycinet, with the conviction that the art of war has been changed not so much by the new implements of destruction as by inventions whose object is commerce and whose mission is peace. No doubt the alteration in weapons has done much; the battle is no longer a mere hand-to-hand fight; the needle-gun and the chassépôt leave but little scope for the bayonet. Success now rests with those who can move with the greatest certainty and rapidity, shoot with accuracy, and possess steadiness in open order; and not, as in the old times, with the stalwart soldier whose mere personal energy bore down his opponents in a close fight. The field of battle is enlarged, the general in command is unable to take in the whole situation at a glance as he could do in the old times, and he must therefore revert to new methods for obtaining a knowledge of the varying phases of an engagement. The part which in former times was played by a general's own eyes, or by his *aides-de-camp*, now falls to the electric telegraph.

The operations of an army are mainly regulated by two conditions, viz., the power of bringing forward supplies, and the power of moving troops. In respect of both of these conditions the influence of railways is enormous. In former wars months were often required, after placing an army on foot, to bring it into the desired strategic position to commence warlike operations, and this could only be effected after tedious marches, occasioning loss by stragglers and wear of material. Now, a well-arranged network of railways enables the largest armies to be concentrated, with all their stores and appliances, in a few days. It is not, however, only in the concentration of troops that railways play an important part. They facilitate the supply of the daily wants of an army, and thus impart to it a considerably increased freedom of manœuvring. Thus in former times, especially in the case of extended operations, it was necessary for an army to remain stationary during considerable periods of time whilst a fresh base for supplies was being formed, or whilst new dépôts for reserves of stores and provisions were being established in the rear of the advancing force. But now, with the assistance of a railway, the supply can keep place with the most rapid movements of an army, and food and ammunition can be delivered to it at the required moment, and in ample quantity.

These considerations have been brought forcibly home to our minds by the perusal of the works at the head of this article; for, although they might be classed with the fugitive publications of the day, they are really contributions to military science, and they will be no less valuable to the future historian. M. Annenkoff's pamphlet is a brief but most conspicuous summary of the causes which established the superiority of the German over the French armies; and it may be regarded as the testimony of an impartial observer, for M. Annenkoff is himself a distinguished Russian officer. The second work on our list proves that the lessons of the war have not been lost on the staff of the Austrian army: it is the production of two accomplished members of that corps, who immediately applied themselves to the consideration of the problems raised by the new system of war with reference to the defence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These officers have calculated, with a minuteness and precision which leave nothing to be desired, the exact amount of the demands to be made on the railway system, if it were called upon to support the movements of an army of 300,000 men on the North-eastern frontier. They have ascertained the number of trains which would be required to convey the men, horses, and guns to the theatre of war on the Vistula, and to transport food and munitions of war for such an army in the field. They determine the exact weight and space for which railway accommodation must be provided, and the exact time within which the movement could be effected. Their work is therefore one of singular novelty and instruction to the military student; for similar calculations must henceforth be made by every Power which seeks to place a large army in the field. The French works which we have added to our list are chiefly remarkable for the total absence of any such calculations. But M. de Freycinet demonstrates, nevertheless, how vast and extraordinary were the efforts made to create a fresh army after the disasters of Sedan and Metz, though the generals show that no great use could be made of these raw materials against an enemy who had prepared himself to encounter and defeat all the adverse chances of war in a hostile country. We propose in the following pages to present to our readers a brief summary of the results of these discussions; and in our observations we shall follow principally the course of M. Annenkoff's excellent commentary.

In all great strategical operations there are three essential things to be considered. Supplies must be provided, as far as possible, beforehand, or the means of obtaining them secured,

in the territory about to be occupied by the troops. Thus, before the campaign of Russia, Napoleon created enormous magazines in Poland and North Prussia. The forces themselves must be conveyed to the scene of action. And during the campaign an enormous amount of transport in both directions must be kept up in the rear of the army. For these three purposes a good system of railway communication is of inestimable value.

The principal advantages which railways afford in the special matter of supplying an army may be summed up as follows:

1. Railways enable supplies to be drawn from almost unlimited distances; formerly, an army was dependent for its food upon a small circle of country from which the supplies had to be conveyed by a laborious process of cartage.

2. The loss or damage suffered by the supplies in transit is considerably diminished.

3. The number of reserve magazines or depôts which it is necessary to establish in the rear of an army as it moves forward is materially lessened.

4. The cost of transport is enormously diminished, and especially the number of men necessary as escorts or drivers. It has been calculated, as an illustration, that one day's supply for an army of 85,000 men can be conveyed 400 miles by *one* train in 40 hours. The same amount of supplies conveyed by road would require 275 light carts (two horses each), and from 25 to 30 days on the road. A train would require an engineer and fireman, and three or four breaksmen or guards, whilst each cart, at least, would require one driver. In the concentration of troops it is calculated that railway locomotion has increased the facilities *sixfold*. These calculations have been worked out in detail by Major Obauer.

Railways are, however, equally valuable for an army in the movement of troops. The troops can be rapidly concentrated without fatigue or loss by stragglers, by means of railways, before the commencement of operations. Moreover, they afford a means of bringing masses of troops on to the battle-field, or rapidly moving them from one place to another during a battle. But in such operations the working of the traffic—that is to say, the arrival, unloading, and despatch of the return trains—requires a very complete organisation conducted by well-practised hands. The measures for forwarding the troops by railway had been prepared with great care in Berlin by a mixed Committee of Staff Officers and *employés* of the Ministry of Public Works. It was decided that twelve full and twelve empty trains were to run daily on the single lines of rail

eighteen full and as many empty on the double lines ; besides six or seven goods' trains. Each military train consisted of about 100 axles, and contained a battalion. To convey the fifteen *corps d'armée* of Germany to the frontier, about 1,300 of these trains were required to run in fourteen days, and as many return trains to bring back the carriages. The goods' trains, carrying food and munitions, consisted of 150 covered four-wheel trucks. The rate of travelling was reckoned at twelve miles an hour, including stoppages ; but the continuous use of railways depends also very much on the extent of platform accommodation, and on the supply of water and fuel. These trains employed 3,500 railway servants.

The Prussians have, since the introduction of railways into the country, systematically considered their bearing upon the movements of troops. Their lines are laid out strategically. Every carriage, waggon, or truck is constructed on the uniform plan of being adapted to the conveyance of troops, horses, or guns, according to its nature. The Government itself possesses and conducts the working of several lines of railway ; it assumes, by the agency of its own officials, the working of private lines, and it exercises a very complete and detailed control over the working of lines in the hands of private companies. In all these arrangements the movement of troops has been a matter of important consideration, and the result was that in the short period which elapsed in 1870 between the declaration of war on the 19th July and the 2nd August—that is to say, in fourteen days—the whole German army was not only placed on a complete war footing from a peace establishment, but it was concentrated on a comparatively small portion of the French frontier, with all its artillery and supplies.

We have exercised no such detailed control, and consequently our railway stock is not so well adapted as that of the Germans for the movement of troops. Our government officials, moreover, are ignorant of railway management. The Marquis of Ripon, when Secretary of State for War, in order to guard as far as possible against this deficiency in our system, created the Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps, through whose agency we believe we should, if occasion required, obtain all the benefits of which our railway system admits in the movement of troops. This useful corps, composed of the leading civil engineers and railway authorities, has, we believe, very fully considered, the question of the concentration of an army for the defence of England ; and we understand that it has been calculated that an army of about 320,000 men (if such a force existed in this country), nearly 40,000 horses, and between 300 and 400

guns, and 2,000 waggons and carriages, could be concentrated at a given point on the coast in eighty hours from the time of the order being given, without any previous notice; and that of these about 45,000 men and 7,000 horses could be brought up in twelve hours, and about half the whole force in thirty-six hours. Moreover, that if from such a concentrated force, it were required to move 220,000 men, and all the horses, guns, and carriages, to another given point on the coast at a distance of from 150 to 200 miles, a period of forty-eight hours would be required to complete the operation; but of course the larger portion would be on the selected ground long before that time. These are the calculations of practical men, accustomed to move daily large trains of goods and passengers; and we may feel confidence in the soundness of their conclusions.

One of the most striking features, however, of our English railway system, as compared with that of Germany or France, is the number of duplicate routes which exist between the several places, and the enormous number of junctions. The duplicate routes afford immense facilities for the movements of troops, but the junctions are in many cases a source of difficulty; that is to say, in those cases where the junction is so formed that a train cannot run on to the connected line in the direction in which it was originally proceeding, but must run in a siding or station and then, after the engine has been shifted to what was the back of the train, proceed in the opposite direction to that in which it was originally running. Of this class of junctions there is a very large proportion on the railways of Great Britain; and in many instances they are situated at important strategical points. It would be a wise measure on the part of Parliament to insist on the alteration of these junctions, and, if necessary, to contribute something towards the cost.

The value of railways as a means of bringing troops on to the field of battle and supplying them when there, is not, however, greater than the advantages they afford both to an army and to the individual soldier, as a means of removing the wounded. By their removal they free the general from a great embarrassment which led the First Napoleon to say that he preferred a dead soldier to a wounded one. The railways have saved many a man's life by rendering it unnecessary to agglomerate the wounded in pestilential hospitals near the battle-field. Thus, the loss of the Germans by death from wounds was comparatively small in the late war, and this was due solely to the fact that the wounded of both sides were re-

moved with the greatest care by railway, in specially arranged trains supplied with every comfort, as rapidly as possible, and carried to detached hospitals spread over the interior of Germany. It has also been observed that this produced a most favourable effect on the *morale* of the men. Every soldier knew, when he went into battle, that if he was wounded he would be conveyed home to be tended by his own people, and not fall a victim to the horrors of a field hospital in an enemy's country.

So also the railway materially assisted the victorious general by enabling him rapidly to dispose of prisoners who would otherwise have required as escorts a considerable number of troops. In the late war this was especially apparent, the number of prisoners being unusually large; for the German railways had not only to convey their own armies into France, but also the French armies into Germany. But whilst the special arrangements for the conveyance of the wounded of both armies spared them much of the suffering they would have experienced from any other mode of conveyance, the prisoners necessarily suffered much in the conveyance by railway. The poor fellows were generally obliged, for want of rolling stock, to be conveyed in open cattle-trucks, often with bare standing room, exposed to rain and snow. They could not be allowed as a rule, on grounds of safety, to leave these trucks for any cause from the time they entered them till they reached their destination—a period frequently of seven or eight days; they had only dry bread to eat. Many of the trains which brought prisoners from the interior of France into Germany in the middle of last winter, on arrival at the German stations were found to contain in the trucks the bodies of men frozen to death lying amongst their half-frozen companions, whose own clothes were sometimes frozen so hard that they had to be cut out of the trucks with hatchets; but yet the prisoners probably suffered far less on the railways, as an average, than they would have had to endure by the long march from France to Germany in mid-winter.

The use of railways for military purposes brings with it a necessity for detailed organisation which had been dispensed with, and which probably could not have been carried out, so long as the movements of an army remained dependant entirely on the ordinary road transport. The Germans have exercised great care in the creation and perfecting of this organisation. A special department of the War Ministry superintends the arrangements, and from the time of the declaration of war the regulation of all traffic is undertaken by that depart-



ment. The trains for moving and feeding the troops take precedence of everything else. At each station at which trains are accustomed to stop there is an *Etappen* commandant, a military officer who controls the working of the station, as well as regulates all questions relating to the troops. In addition to this provision for the general regulation of railway traffic, we may mention that the Germans attach to their troops a field railway division, which is of a quasi-civil character. Its duties, assisted by soldiers or other workmen, are either to destroy railways when an enemy is advancing, or to restore for traffic the railways which an enemy has destroyed in his rear.

It is not, however, so much to these matters of railway detail that we desire to call attention as to the effect on the art of war which the railway and the telegraph have exercised, as evidenced in the late campaign.

This is the first occasion on which the movements of armies have been entirely directed from the rear. It is the first time that war in all its details has really approximated to a game of chess. In the wars of the First Napoleon the strategic combinations may have been magnificent, but they were frequently dependent, as at Waterloo, upon the movements of detached bodies of troops whose positions at a critical moment were unknown to the general in command of the whole operation. He could not therefore modify the movements of the force which fought under his own eye, so as to chime in with the successes, reverses, or errors of the troops which formed the other branches of his combinations. Thus the best system of operations was liable to failure from causes of which the general could not be aware till after they had occurred. Under the new system the general may know during each moment of a battle what is the position of every one of his divisions, even without being himself on the spot, and he can thus regulate the movements of all to meet an unexpected success or reverse on the part of one of them.

The introduction of the telegraph and the railway as agents in war, brings with it the necessity of perfecting other scientific appliances. The direction of an army from the rear would scarcely be possible without the existence of good maps. Topography is a necessary adjunct to success. In these days, the maps of most civilised countries are sufficiently accurate to afford a means of judging of the probable general effect of ground on the movement of troops; and every officer, if not every soldier, should be taught to understand a map so as to follow with certainty lines of march laid down upon it. A topographical department is useful as a means of collecting

information in peace; but in war every officer who takes the field should be a topographer capable of supplying the defects of local maps. The Prussians fully appreciated this necessity; maps were profusely supplied to the army in the late war, and officers and men were capable of understanding them. With us this science has been comparatively neglected, and even the maps supplied for the manœuvres last autumn were not very creditable to the department which issued them. The ordnance survey, which is conducted under military auspices, was originally used as a means of educating a large number of engineer officers in this science, but of late years its educational functions seem to have been dropped; and it now only affords permanent places for the few engineer officers who have been fortunate enough to secure appointments on it.

In directing the movement of an army, the first necessity which arises is to keep up its supplies. Formerly, the wants of an army in a distant locality could only be ascertained by the comparatively slow movements of couriers, and be supplied by a laborious process of cartage. Now from every section of the army its daily wants can be announced by telegraph, and the railway is at hand to afford the means of at once supplying them. The Austrian war of 1866 exhibited the disadvantages to which an army was exposed for want of a well-organised system in the rear of the army for insuring that men, horses, food, and ammunition should be forwarded and arrive at the proper time in the required position, and also that sick, wounded, and prisoners should be brought back without delay. Consequently, after the termination of the war, General Moltke drew up a set of rules for directing the management of operations of supply from the rear of the army, and those regulations, which established and laid down the direction of what is termed the department of *Etappen Inspektion* (a word which we have some difficulty in rendering in English except as Department for Supervising the Lines of Communication) were put in force in the Franco-German war.

No doubt the system is not perfect, but we think a brief sketch of the arrangements will afford much food for reflection.

The objects of the Department of *Etappen Inspektion*, which is a department of the General Staff of the army, are laid down as follows:—

1. To watch over the replenishing of the operating army with men, horses, provisions, and ammunition, and other military stores.

2. To see to the removal into the interior of the country of the sick and wounded, the prisoners, and trophies of war.

3. With the assistance of the troops appointed for the purpose and the railway corps above-mentioned, to maintain the lines of communication, viz. railways, roads, bridges, telegraphs, and postal arrangements; to maintain order on the lines; and to undertake the government of the hostile conquered provinces.

At the beginning of the late war the three armies, and after Metz the fourth, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, each had an *Etappen Inspektor* attached to it. These are officers of the Staff of the general in command, but they communicate directly with the Chief of the Staff attached to the Prussian headquarters. Each General *Etappen Inspektor* attached to an army remained one day's march behind the head-quarters of the army; he was informed of all intended marches and movements of the troops, he overlooked all movements in rear of the army, and maintained a constant communication between the army corps and their local districts and garrisons.

The place occupied by the General *Etappen Inspektor* was called the '*Etappen Head-quarters*' or *Haupt Etappen Punkt*, and from this point was carried an unbroken chain of *Etappen Punkten* to the nearest railway station, and thence to the head-quarters of the district to which the army corps was attached. The point at which this chain terminated was called the first *Etappen Punkt*, and upon the officer at this point devolved the business of sending forward supplies. It is worthy of notice that the authorities at these points managed to maintain the various battalions and squadrons of the Prussian army during the war *at nearly the same strength as when they crossed the Rhine*, by continually filling with fresh men the vacancies caused by death, wounds, or sickness. This they were enabled effectually to do by the system of reserves in the Prussian army, by which a regiment always forms part of a particular army corps permanently attached to a district.

The staff of the General *Etappen Inspektor* with the army consists of:—

1. Chief Staff officers and adjutants who superintend the clerical work and distribute the troops appointed to watch over the safety of the lines of communication. In the Franco-German war these troops were never detached from the fighting portion of the operating armies, but were obtained direct from home, being either landwehr or battalions attached to fortresses, so that the strength of the fighting army was not diminished.

2. The Commander of the Police, who, with a corps of military police, maintains order along the lines of communica-

tion, sees to the safety of prisoners, and inquires as to the disposition of the inhabitants, or watches hostile intentions manifested towards the lines of communication.

3. The *Etappen Intendant*, who sees to the supply of the food, ammunition, and stores sent to the army from home. He sees to the arrivals by railway, appoints the most convenient station for unloading, for storing the supplies when necessary, and for arranging their distribution to the army. The Germans took care that each train should contain, not one sort of provisions only, but a proportion of all the various supplies required for an army corps; so as to provide against the chances of failure in the supplies obtained from local requisitions. In the management of the transport and delivery of the supplies to the troops, the greatest regularity was observed, especially in arranging that the actual waggon-loads allotted to a division should be delivered to that division only. Magazines were placed at the farthest extremity of the railway to which the troops had advanced, new magazines being established as soon as the troops moved on; but the former magazines were retained until their supplies were exhausted in the ordinary course of distribution.

We have, however, no space here for details; but nothing could surpass the excellence of the arrangements for supplying the German troops with food, both by means of requisitions and by transport from Germany. The contrast in this respect with the French system was most remarkable. Although they were in their own country, the French were frequently obliged to resort to marauding, in the same districts where large stores subsequently fell into the hands of the Germans.

4. The Surgeon of the *Etappen*, who had the supervision of the hospitals, and the duty of seeing to the removal of the sick and wounded to their own country as soon as possible. It will be interesting to describe the very perfect organisation of the Germans by which this was effected; but in this description we must begin by the battle-field. The regimental surgeon accompanies his regiment into action, and he has under him three *Krankenträger* to every 250 men, who carry and know how to apply the necessary field-dressings. Immediately after the battle, the *Sanitäts* detachment is formed by order of the divisional surgeon of the army. It consists of the surgeons, the *Krankenträger*, and the ambulance waggons. It is under the command of the *Rittmeister*, a captain in the service, who is assisted by a lieutenant. The *Krankenträger* advance on indicated lines by twos, each pair carrying a stretcher. They collect the wounded as rapidly as possible, and bring them to

the places where the waggons are standing. The surgeons who remain with the waggons apply the primary dressings, and place the wounded in the waggons, which, when full, are despatched at a slow pace to the nearest house or other place appointed as a field hospital. The waggons, when unloaded, return to fetch more wounded, and the search proceeds until every hedge, ditch, and hole has been carefully examined. When the wounded men arrive at a temporary hospital, they are placed side by side, the surgeons dress the wounds, and tie to a button of each man's coat a small white card, on which is written a description of the wound. It is moreover noteworthy that each soldier carries round his neck a metal plate, on which is stamped the name of his regiment and his own regimental number, so that his identity can at any moment be ascertained. As soon as the *corps d'armée* moves forward, the wounded are transferred to the *Feld-Lazareth*, and every man who can possibly be moved is then taken to the nearest railway station. He is then placed in a train. The trains were composed partly of first-class carriages for the less badly wounded, and partly of covered goods-vans, all of which have springs and spring-buffers, as in passenger-carriages. In these covered vans were placed beds, formed of boards laid on springs and provided with straw-mattresses. Each van would hold four or five men, and a sister or attendant rode in the van. Moreover to each train were attached one or more surgeons, an apothecary, and a cook, and the whole was placed under the command of an officer. Those most badly wounded were removed from the train into hospitals situated in the towns nearest the frontier, and their places in the waggons filled with men who had previously been placed in those hospitals, and whose wounds were healing, and so on; and thus the wounded were transferred step by step from the battle-field to their homes in the interior of Germany.

We must not, however, omit from this account the vast efforts which were made by private organisation for the care of the sick in Germany, partly by the Prussian Association for the care of Sick and Wounded, partly by the Johanniter or Protestant Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and by other local associations. At every railway station at which trains of wounded stopped, the men were cared for during their stay by local agency. Private houses, palaces, stores, railway sheds, university class-rooms, were turned into hospitals all over Germany, in which the sick were nursed entirely by private individuals locally organised. The want in the late war was not in the care for wounded after they were brought into hospitals,

but in improved facilities and equipment for collecting and moving them from the battle-fields.

5. The *Etappen* Railway Director, whose duty it is to see to the maintenance of a safe and regular railway communication between the army of operation and their own country. He regulates the number, size, and time-tables of the trains. With the assistance of the special railway corps of the army, he sees to the repair of destroyed lines or to the extension of railway accommodation. In the late war this department had to restore from destruction by the French and afterwards maintain between 1,500 and 1,600 miles of railway, and employed in the works at least 3,500 men brought from German railways. Amongst the most notable achievements of the railway corps in the late war may be mentioned the restoration of the bridge over the Marne in fourteen days, and the construction of twenty-two miles of railway round Metz between Remilly and Pont-à-Mousson in thirty days. To protect the lines on the enemy's territory there was established at each railway station a guard formed of detachments of the landwehr under the orders of the general *Etappen Inspektion*. The main body of the guard remained at the railway station, but small detachments were posted in neighbouring villages or towns, and posts were formed at every three or four miles on the railway between which the line was patrolled. There were few accidents to trains, and this was mainly attributed by the Germans to the arrangement they made that every train should carry on the engine some notable French inhabitant of the district, so that he should be the first to suffer from an accident.

6. The Postmaster of the *Etappen* and two inspectors attached to him. His duty was to keep up the communication between the *employés* of the field-post and the postal officials at home. The field-post was a very remarkable institution, and rendered immense service to the German army. The service employed about 2,000 German post officials. It effected the collection and delivery of official and private letters and parcels between Germany and the troops in the field, as well as between the various bodies of troops scattered widely apart and in frequent movement, with as much certainty and regularity as the postal service is performed in Germany in peace time. This could not have been done without the unity of organisation which enabled the *Etappen* inspector to be cognisant of the daily position of every portion of the army to which he was attached, and to ascertain from headquarters the position of other army corps. The moral effect of this arrangement was enormous, because it made the soldier

feel that though separated from his country the eyes of his countrymen were daily upon him. The postal officials performed their duty without too rigid a care for postal rules; for instance, at Christmas it was notified that parcels of a certain weight would be allowed to be sent from Germany to the soldiers, but although this weight was in many cases exceeded, the parcels were all delivered, because the post-office officials knew how precious the gifts they contained from those at home would be to the men in the field fighting for their country.

7. *Etappen* Inspector of Telegraphs who, with his subordinate officials, kept up the communication between the field-telegraph and Germany. The field-telegraph kept up with all the movements of the army; we have, however, not space to describe its organisation, as our present object is to show how the organisation in rear of the army was managed; we may, however, mention that the field-telegraph occupied about 2,500 *employés* taken from the telegraph lines of Germany. By one of the arrangements of the telegraph service, each chief of the *Etappen Inspektion* with an army received daily from Berlin a despatch containing all political and war news, by which the spread of false news was prevented, and all official reports arrived unmutilated at their place of destination.

We have thus briefly sketched out the organisation which has caused the Prussian army to be looked on as a marvellous machine. It will be obvious that none of these arrangements could have been carried on without a very perfect system of railways and railway management. The essential feature of this organisation is the careful division of the duties between the several branches of service whilst preserving an absolute unity of administration; there is thus no collision of functions; every person has his own special duties alone to look to, knowing that the duties of the other branches of the service have been provided for, and therefore, whether the army be advancing or retreating, everything falls into its allotted place. Moreover, the hierarchy of administration is purely military as distinguished from the quasi-civil arrangements of the Intendence in France, or the Control Department with us.

On the moral effect upon the soldier of such a system we have not space to dilate. It had been said that the Prussian is of a nature adapted to act like a machine; that he does neither more nor less than he is ordered. We doubt the correctness of this argument, for we are acquainted with many Prussians who are as hot-headed as any Englishman or even Frenchman. We believe that the machine-like regularity of the Prussian soldier in the late war, which so astonished the French, was simply

due to discipline and to the admirable organisation we have described, which imparted to him a solid confidence in his chiefs. We learned from Frederick the Great the infantry movements which have imparted to the British soldier such admirable steadiness under fire, and which enable our regiments to manœuvre like machines; the moral effect of such discipline on our soldiers was well exhibited in the loss of the 'Birken-head,' where the men went down standing as on parade. The art of war has now advanced a stage; it is not sufficient for us to make our isolated regiments perfect; the army, which is an aggregate of regiments and of the departments which supply those regiments, must be brought to the same machine-like regularity. We must learn from the Prussians this further lesson in military organisation.

The French, after their first defeats, possessed large numbers of men, large stores of matériel and of food, but they had no organisation of the nature of that which we have described; they had not arranged their military operations with reference to their lines of railway; they could not bring their supplies to the required spot at the required time; their means of information were defective. M. de Freycinet's book is the record of their efforts and of their failure.

A main cause of these misfortunes lay in the system which commits the functions of supply to the Intendance; the constitution of that department and its relation to the general staff and to the fighting department of the army, prevents that unity of organisation which contributed to the success of the Prussian armies. One of the important lessons of the late war is that in an army everything must converge to one head. In this respect the British Government has still much to learn; the problem which we have had before us for the last few years is how to develop the fighting power of our troops by perfecting the department of supply, at the same time retaining efficient Parliamentary control. It is a great misfortune for England that in their endeavour to solve this problem, both Sir John Pakington and Mr. Cardwell have committed themselves to the policy of creating the Control Department, based mainly on the model of the French Intendance, but possessing defects even more serious. The Control Department is placed under an executive head, viz. the Surveyor-general of Ordnance, whose tenure of office is political, and whose selection must therefore depend more upon his seat in Parliament than upon his professional ability. We believe this to be a complete error. The executive head of a military department of supply and transport should form an integral part of the general staff



of the army; moreover he should be practically conversant with the management of armies in war; he should possess technical knowledge of the stores and supplies, as well as great scientific attainments to enable him to judge of modern inventions; he should also be personally acquainted with all the officers under him as he selects them for employment or recommends them for promotion. A member of Parliament cannot be invariably found who possesses these qualifications, and if found, would probably be removed by the exigencies of politics when he had become conversant with his duties. The proper function of the Parliamentary head of a department is that of controlling the expenditure of the executive branches.

It would have been far sounder administration, when we abolished the Ordnance and other separate military offices, to have committed the whole executive business of the management of an army when in garrison or in the field (except the mere provision of money) to the Commander-in-Chief. Under such an arrangement, the Surveyor-General of Ordnance would probably have undertaken the regulation of the manufacturing departments, and of the purchases of stores and supplies; but the local detailed management of the stores and transport would have been in the hands of the military Staff, under the general officer in command of the district, subject of course to audit. The supervision of such duties would naturally fall to the Quartermaster-General's department. That officer's true function, in addition to other duties, is to superintend all that in Prussia is entrusted to the Department for Supervising the Lines of Communication. If, instead of creating a Control Department with a rate of pay far in excess of that allotted to military officers, we had placed the local executive business of the supply departments under the Quartermaster-General, and had allotted the purely banking functions to paymasters or civil war-office officials, we should have insured systematic action, financial control, and greater efficiency than we now possess, and we should have obtained it at far less expense. The easiest remedy for the errors of our present arrangement is to place the Control Department directly under the Quartermaster-General, converting the pay division into a branch of the Accountant-General's department of the War-Office, and abolishing the highly-paid ranks of Controller and Deputy-Controller. We are not, however, writing a treatise on the organisation of the British army; we have simply endeavoured to point out the lessons of the late war as bearing on military art.

General Chanzy, in his History of the Second Army of the

Loire, says, 'The cause of our defeats is to be found in the weakness and insufficiency of our military organisation, which has been injured for some time in consequence of blind or erroneous ideas; as much as in the want of concert which was a governing feature of the strategical combinations.' It is curious to see from his account how slowly he obtained information as to detached parts of his own army, and how totally ignorant he was of the movements of Bourbaki and Faidherbe, even when they were all combining to assist Paris. What a contrast was this to the Prussian movements! We have shown how by the electric telegraph and the railway their invading armies were brought into immediate connexion with each other, and with their head-quarters at home. The Uhlans who swept the country in front of the advancing columns were the feelers thrown out from each division, forming the farthest points of the network of information which finally centred in the general sitting over a map in his office, from whom emanated the orders for advancing, fighting, or retreating. This systematic organisation, without which the railways and the telegraph would have remained of comparatively small utility, was an advantage to the Prussian army as great as the invention of many new implements of destruction; and we are confident that no nation can enter successfully into a war with Prussia until it has created an organisation for intelligence, movement, and supply, as effective as that which has converted the German army into so perfect a machine for war in the hands of Moltke. But the genius of Moltke himself would not have enabled him to surpass the achievements of his illustrious predecessors in the art of war, if he had not had at his disposal instruments which none of them possessed; and the triumph of the German armies is due not only to the skill of their commanders and the valour of their soldiers, but to the new and astonishing mechanism placed in their hands by the inventive genius of British science—by George Stephenson and Charles Wheatstone. These men have by their inventions changed not only the art of war but all the social relations of mankind.

ART. VII.—1. *The Pastoral of the Irish Hierarchy on Education.* Dublin: 1871.

2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland.* Presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty: 1870.

IF the time has now come for the readjustment of the higher education of Ireland, it is satisfactory to know that our course is determined by certain definite and consistent principles already adopted by the State, which establish its policy on a sure foundation beyond the conflict of sects and the tumult of fluctuating opinion. We have now been engaged for a period of forty years in reforming the abuses of Irish administration and abolishing those political and social anomalies which maintained the supremacy of a faction and kept the masses of Ireland in chronic discontent. We have cut down the Irish Church Establishment, though it had its roots in three hundred years of national history; and we have reformed the land laws by a measure so exceptional and yet so clearly demanded by the peculiar circumstances of the country, that it has created a new sense of security in the minds of the peasantry, and laid, we trust, the foundations of lasting prosperity and contentment. The next work will be to remodel the machinery of higher education in Ireland in such a way as, consistently with past legislation, to satisfy the just demands and the proper requirements of the Catholic population. Knowing as we do how much our general civilisation depends, not only for its progress but for its permanence, on the completeness of the higher instruction, and consequently of the institutions by which it is communicated, we are all the more anxious that in a country like Ireland, so deficient in general culture, and yet with a traditional love for learning, the provision for supporting literary and intellectual life should be more ample and better organised than it is at present.

In attempting to establish that educational equality which Mr. Gladstone rightly described as the indispensable complement of religious equality, it is evident that the legislature must be careful to deal with the whole question upon a clear and intelligible principle of state policy. For it is only even-handed justice, applying the same principle in each case to similar conditions, that can control contending interests or trim the balance of rival influences. We have already, as a State, decided that the day of sectarian exclusiveness in Ire-

land is at an end, and that all Irish institutions of every class shall be freed from sectarian influences. Now, in carrying out the policy of equal justice between the sects, we did not destroy the privileges of the minority with the mere view of handing them over to the majority, or abolish one ascendancy with the idea of replacing it by another. Our legislative watchword is still justice to all parties; but we shall as firmly resist those who demand more than justice as we have those who heretofore insisted on giving less.

It will be necessary, therefore, to a proper understanding of the Irish University question, that we should exactly see the nature of the demand that is put forward by very influential persons in the name of complete educational equality. The Roman Catholic bishops have published several manifestoes in which they presume to speak for the whole Catholic people, and to deal with their whole intellectual interests; and they deserve our gratitude for telling us so explicitly the precise nature of their demands. They demand, then, in formal and categorical terms, the demolition of the existing system of mixed education, and assert their right to the sole superintendence of both the higher and the lower education of the Catholics of Ireland. They say, 'We will never cease to oppose to the utmost of our power the Model Schools, Queen's Colleges, Trinity College, and all similar institutions dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholics.' They demand in the sphere of primary education that in all schools that are exclusively Catholic 'there shall be the removal of all restrictions upon religious instruction, so that the fulness of distinctive religious teaching may enter into the course of daily secular education with full liberty for the use of Catholic books and religious emblems, and for the performance of religious exercises; and that the right be recognised of the lawful pastors of the children in such schools to have access to them, to regulate the whole business of religious instruction in them, and to remove objectionable books, if any; and in such schools, the teachers, the books, and the inspectors should be Catholic.' There is a further demand, as regards intermediate education, that all existing endowments, whether derived from Protestant or Catholic bounty, shall be thrown into a common fund, and applied to open scholarships or grants in aid of Middle-class Schools, on the principle of payment by results. On the subject of the higher education their language is somewhat more guarded. While they assert a right to have a Catholic University endowed by the State, they are willing to acquiesce in the alternative of one National Uni-

versity, within which 'they shall have one or more colleges, 'conducted upon purely Catholic principles, and at the same 'time fully participating in the privileges enjoyed by other 'colleges, of whatever denomination and character.' They add that, for the security of Catholic principles, it will be necessary that 'the bishops shall have full control in all 'things regarding faith and morals.' They also demand that, in such a National University, 'the Catholic element shall be 'adequately represented upon the Senate, or other supreme 'University body, by persons enjoying the confidence of the 'Catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland.'

We shall not dwell upon the violent and intemperate tone of the several manifestoes in which these demands are put forward by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Certainly, if they wished to impede the cause they profess to advocate, they could scarcely have acted in any way better fitted to attain that end; for their insolence and their apparent defiance of the civil authority have excited disgust and alarm in those very quarters where it was their interest to lay a foundation of confidence and conciliation. But as regards the demands themselves, they are perfectly intelligible, and they reduce these hierarchical claims in the matter of education to perfect absurdity and impossibility. They mean that the State shall surrender its right to control the entire secular education of the country into the hands of ecclesiastics, who are to exercise as absolute and uncontrolled authority over the schools and colleges as they do now over their chapels and their flocks. To listen to their manifestoes, one is almost led to imagine that there is no room for any rights but those of the Catholic Church; in defining the limits of their authority they rather show there are no limits to the power of control they seek to exercise over the education of Irish Catholics. Their demands further mean that this Catholic education shall be provided at the cost of the State; in other words, that the Protestants of the United Kingdom shall be compelled by law to contribute four-fifths, or probably nine-tenths, of the total expenditure required for this extraordinary purpose.

Now, this claim involves very serious issues, and can only be successfully dealt with, as we have already remarked, upon a clear and intelligible principle of state policy, rather than by any special compromise even of the most plausible and liberal character. An attempt has been made to oppose the bishops' demands on the ground that they are not sustained by the opinions or the wishes of the Irish laity; and Parliament may very properly seek to know, whether the claim for denomina-

tional education is put forward by the clergy alone or is the distinct expression also of the desire of the laity. Much may, no doubt, be said on both sides. We know that Catholic after Catholic appeared before the Royal Commission on Primary Education, of which Lord Powis was chairman, to support the system of united education; that till the hierarchy expressed an opinion in favour of denominational education, the laity appeared perfectly content with the present system; and that two Catholic graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, asserted, in a letter to Mr. Fawcett, M.P., that 'the large majority of Roman Catholic laymen are in favour of his views;' while Catholic youths still resort to the Queen's Colleges and the Model Schools, in spite of episcopal denunciations, and 807,330 Catholic children flock to the National Schools. But much may undoubtedly be said on the other side. The fact is undoubted that there is not only no lay movement in opposition to the episcopal demands, but the majority of the laity, as we may judge by a declaration issued a year ago and signed by all the Catholic peers, a large number of baronets, deputy-lieutenants, magistrates, members of Parliament, mayors, and members of the learned professions, seem for the present disposed to follow implicitly the lead of their clergy.\* We must also take into account the large sums the Catholic people contribute yearly to the support of a purely Catholic education, including an annual sum of 8,000*l.* for the Catholic University alone.† The Irish laity are evidently, then, no check

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\* Mr. Quill, a Roman Catholic graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, has published an address which he delivered lately before the Historical Society of the College, containing the following among other noteworthy passages:—'Is the concurrence of the Irish people in such a scheme an intelligent assent, or a mere mechanical acquiescence? True it is that long lists of names have been sent in; but are the vast majority of those names the names of those who have ventured to think even a little for themselves? Are they the names of those who understand what a University should be, and not the names of those who go whithersoever they may be directed? Political influence permeates through hidden channels into the very arcana of family life, and its baleful power is ever working out its ends with tremendous, yet silent and secret energy. When lists of names are filled in public, and when any unfortunate dissident becomes to a certain extent a marked man—when people know that their business depends upon this pseudo-enthusiasm, are we not forced to believe that these lists of names are in great measure practically worthless, and that these advocates of sectarian University education are chiefly men on paper?'

† Somewhat significantly, however, the sum raised for the Catholic University during the past year did not realise 4,700*l.*

upon Ultramontane aspirations; and the fact is in no way remarkable when we remember that no independent politician has any chance of a southern constituency, that the very bread of the physician or lawyer is at the mercy of the parish priest, and that the masses of the people look to the clergy as their political leaders as well as their spiritual guides. There is, no doubt, a small but intelligent minority which persistently refuses to follow clerical dictation, but it is wholly unable to make its weight felt in popular elections: 'Too few in numbers, 'and too scattered,' as one of themselves admits, 'to assert the leadership of their co-religionists, they are utterly powerless 'in any Roman Catholic movement if opposed to the priests.' These are the men whom the 'Dublin Review' stigmatises as 'tepid and disloyal Catholics,' and who are specially obnoxious, because once upon a time they ventured to denounce 'that intolerance which happily exists in Spain.' Their opposition to clerical policy springs not from any mistrust of religion or from any reaction against dogmas, but from their dislike to that Ultramontane tendency which the Catholic hierarchy has of late so strongly manifested, and which is everywhere so intense at the present hour. But, after all, we presume that statesmen will be more disposed to listen to the representations of members of Parliament, returned by Irish constituencies, than to any other considerations. It does not, certainly, speak much for the independence of the Irish laity, that while in most of the distinctively Catholic countries of the Continent the laity are everywhere repudiating the tyranny of their bishops, and appealing to their governments for the protection of a liberal education, the Roman Catholic gentry and middle classes of Ireland are prepared to allow their clergy to decide the very form in which education shall be given to the whole country.

But whether passively or actively they concede the claim of their bishops, or whether, as some affirm, they really dread the success of Ultramontane agitation, it does not follow that the State is bound to hand over to the clergy the absolute control of secular education, even though the demand should be supported by a unanimous vote of the Irish constituencies. Parliament must take account of more than mere majorities. There was a time when more than half of the Irish counties and boroughs were won by Repealers, yet no Government listened for a moment to their demands; and, judging by the present temper of the Irish masses, it would not be difficult to get the same people who are now crying out for denominational education to swell the popular cry for Home Rule. We remember the monster petition signed by

600,000 Roman Catholics and presented some years ago to the British Parliament, praying the Legislature to apply to Ireland the experiment of a *plebiscitum* and recognise its claims to self-government, as it had already done in the case of the Italian kingdom. Nor are the representatives of the Irish people less flexible than the constituencies which elect them. For such is the spirit of deference to episcopal policy on the part of candidates for Irish seats, that if the bishops should resolve to-morrow to demand a stipend of 300*l.* a year from the State for each of the parish priests of Ireland, they would readily find a band of representatives to discuss the question in Parliament and press it with all earnestness upon the Ministry. Now, the present demand of the bishops is not by any means dissimilar in its character; and no Government or Parliament can possibly entertain it for a moment, simply for the reason that the Imperial Legislature has, with the consent of the Roman Catholics themselves, resolved that there shall be no future endowment of religion in Ireland. During the discussions on the Irish Church, the Catholic bishops authoritatively declared that they had no wish to share in its endowments; they fully accepted the principle that the State should neither share old endowments among the different churches nor redress inequalities by granting new endowments. With what consistency, then, can they now ask Parliament to endow religion once more? For there is no difference of principle between supporting a clergyman and supporting a schoolmaster or a professor to teach dogmatical religion. When the Legislature has declared against favouring or endowing all churches alike in the exercise of their proper and indeed their sole function, it would be a supreme absurdity to do otherwise as to churches in a department in which they are, at the utmost, only partners. And why should the Legislature have put Maynooth in the category of institutions to be disendowed, if the State was immediately afterwards to entertain the principle of endowing other denominational colleges or even a denominational University? Does not the drift of recent legislation indicate that, in future, the support of the State must be limited to an education in which all sects can share alike? And that, State support implying State control, no sect can fairly claim a share of the benefits arising from public endowments which does not fully accept the conditions annexed to it by the public authority of the nation? What is done at the national expense must be done on principles applicable to all parties alike. And yet the bishops ask us now to do for their denominational



interests what they always complained of as illegal and unjust when done in the interests of Protestantism. They are very persistent in urging that Mr. Gladstone is pledged to legislate for Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas, but they seem to forget that these ideas are not always consistent. They acknowledge that he legislated in accordance with Irish ideas when he disestablished the Irish Church; and they assume that he is equally bound to respect Irish ideas on the question of education. But precisely the same principle is involved in the settlement of both questions; and neither Mr. Gladstone nor Parliament can sanction the idea of Catholics accepting or rejecting an established principle just as it favours, or as it contravenes, Irish ideas. The policy of Parliament must surely be consistent and decided throughout.

The bishops recently declared their unalterable conviction that 'Catholic education is indispensably necessary for the preservation of the faith and morals of the Catholic people.' We may fully admit this fundamental proposition without admitting the conclusion they proceed to draw from it. Catholic education may be indispensably necessary, but it is not so evident that it is to be supplied at the expense of people who are not Catholics. If Catholic education is required, there are churches and priests to supply it; but to make the necessity of such an education the ground of a claim to control the entire education of the people, and at the sole expense of the State, is a marvellous stretch of presumption. We may be charged with opposing the freedom of education, which, in Catholic mouths, usually means the freedom to carry out whatever their Church calls religious action. We admit their liberty to teach all their doctrines, though the very basis on which we ground our toleration is a principle which their Church condemns along with many other principles of modern civilisation. They are perfectly free to act in the sphere of education. There is no doctrine—not even Papal Infallibility and the propositions of the Syllabus—which their clergy may not teach to the children of willing parents; but that public money as well as public authority, along with the schools and machinery of instruction, shall be handed over to the most exclusive of priesthoods, involves a sacrifice that no principle of religious liberty or religious equality can justify. Surely, the people of the three kingdoms knew what they were doing three years ago, when they consented to the withdrawal of State support from the Irish churches. That great measure of legislative justice would have been quite superfluous and unmeaning, if it had been

passed in expectation of the public endowment of Romanism being accomplished within a few years afterwards.

But the bishops deem it hard that they are compelled to accept a system of mixed education which is dangerous to faith and morals. Now, it must be clearly understood that they are not struggling to secure for their people the privilege of a religious education against the advocates of secularism, nor is the ground of quarrel that the present system of primary education does not allow them ample facilities for instructing their children in the doctrines of their Church; but they proclaim their relentless hostility to the union of Protestant and Catholic children in the same schools, as though the very alphabet and multiplication-table were not to be trusted except in ecclesiastical hands. They have even asserted that a non-religious education—that is, an education in the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic—‘tends to subvert religion and ‘morality in Catholic youth.’ But surely one order of truth can never destroy another order of truth, whatever may be said of its subversive effect upon the various forms of error. If, however, mixed education be so dangerous to faith and morals, why should the bishops have supported the National system for a period of almost forty years, and allowed the children of their people—eighty per cent. of all the children attending the National Schools—to be exposed to the greatest spiritual dangers? We have the testimony of Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, the Resident Commissioner, before the Royal Commission on Primary Education, to the effect that, after twenty-nine years’ experience of united education in Ireland, he had never known a single case of proselytism to take place during the whole of that time; and he expressed his belief ‘that both ‘Protestants and Catholics educated in those schools have ‘become more and more attached to their own religion than ‘before.’ Lord O’Hagan, the present Irish Chancellor, himself a devout Catholic, declared in Parliament in 1864 that no case of proselytism had ever been proved against any National School. If mixed education be dangerous to faith and morals, its evil effects would surely be manifest in forty years; and yet the latest Pastoral of the bishops begins by lauding ‘the ‘love with which the Catholics of Ireland always cherished ‘their ancient faith;’ and they boast that the statistics of crime show that no Catholic country was ever so moral as Ireland. Juvenile crime in particular has been rapidly decreasing. There are, no doubt, many young delinquents still in prison, but they can neither read nor write, so that National Schools could have had no share in the depravation of their

morals. We may well ask, with Professor Maguire, of the Galway Queen's College, himself a Catholic—'Are the Irish Catholics who have been exclusively reared in ecclesiastical schools a bit more moral than Catholics who have not, or than Protestants in general?' But this objection of the bishops is entirely modern. In the face of history, of Parliamentary records, and of the memories of living men, they cannot have the assurance to affirm that Dr. Doyle, Dr. Murray, and Dr. Crolly regarded the mixed system as injurious to faith and morals. If the direct contrary has been not only held but solemnly sworn to, as we shall presently see, by the former episcopal heads of Irish Romanism, the conclusion is irresistible that the principles of the Church have been fundamentally changed in matters vitally affecting salvation itself, and the Doyles and Murrays must have been leading their people downward to perdition. Yet but two months ago, Cardinal Cullen had the temerity to assert that 'no man can approve of mixed education but free-thinkers, infidels, and atheists.'

The modern bishops assure us, however, that they are conscientiously opposed to mixed education, and they protest in vehement terms against the State sanctioning this violation of their consciences. We shall presently see that there was a time when expediency rather than conscience was the guide of episcopal policy. But if the bishops cannot accept mixed education, without a sacrifice of principle, they are surely aware that Protestant consciences are also concerned in the proper settlement of this question. There are Voluntaries who are conscientiously opposed to the endowment of any religion, true or false; and there is the great mass of the Protestant population of these kingdoms who are strongly opposed to the endowment of what they believe to be a false religion; while an extreme wing of Protestantism has already taken up this position:—'Is the Government prepared to recognise, as warranted by the principle of religious equality, the claim that the British taxpayer shall subsidise the agents of a foreign Power for the instruction of the people of Ireland in doctrines scarcely compatible with allegiance to the throne and with the duties of good citizenship?' Suppose the bishops were conscientiously opposed to educating the Irish Catholics at all, being inclined rather to leave them in that wretched ignorance that prevails among the Catholics of Italy and Spain, is the State bound for a moment to recognise the plea of principle or conscience? Surely not, if the State believes ignorance to be a great social evil, threatening the safety of society. It is bound in self-defence to educate the nation.

We are greatly strengthened in our opposition to the demands of the bishops by the fact that they have been already strenuously resisted by every Catholic nation in the world. There is not a country in Europe that would grant what they demand for their order in Ireland. For the issue is not, as they would have us believe, between godless education and religious education, but between education authorised by the State and education controlled by the priesthood. It is this spiritual and moral tyranny, counterfeiting the forms of religious liberty, which the Catholic laity throughout Europe are no longer able to endure, and which is strenuously resisted in France, in Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, and in Austria; the last-named country showing its appreciation of clerical training in 1868 'by suppressing,' to use the Pope's own words, 'all the influence of the Church over education; declaring that the whole superior supervision thereof, of literature, and of science, as also the inspection of schools, appertains to the State, and that school-books shall be submitted to the approval of the civil authorities.' Now it is sufficiently curious to find the doctrines of the Syllabus pressed upon our statesmen, when the oldest Catholic States of Europe are revolting against the pretensions of the Papacy, for one of its doctrines is exactly in these words:— 'The government of the public schools of a Christian State cannot belong, and ought not to belong, to the civil authority.' The second resolution, lately published by the Irish bishops, declares that 'in union with the Holy See and the bishops of the Catholic world,' the assembled prelates denounce mixed education 'as intrinsically and grievously dangerous to faith and morals,' as well as to the safety of society. The language of this resolution implies that the movement now started in Ireland is directed by that aggressive policy which received a direct impetus from the Vatican decrees of 1870.

But we have also a right to urge in this controversy the perfect novelty of these episcopal demands. We may well ask, in the words of Mr. Whittle, an Irish Catholic barrister, When did the bishops first discover that it was their mission to educate at all? 'If it was the peculiar mission of the Church to take charge of education since the Reformation, why did she not set about educating the people of Spain, Italy, and Southern Germany during the last two hundred and fifty years? The Church of Rome gave religion, art, music, but she gave no popular education.\*' Mr. Whittle says the mission

\* Whether she gave popular education or not, the system under which the populations of these continental countries were trained was

to direct education was never discovered till the French Revolution, when the democracy threatened to do it without the Church. It was only when successful opposition seemed hopeless that the idea was taken up of making education subservient to the maintenance of the Church; for the clergy seemed to say, 'Bad as knowledge is, we can no longer prevent its spreading, and therefore we must step in and do our best to narrow its course; the waters will not take their old course; let us prepare a new channel to drain them off, so as to save our ancient walls, whose foundations are threatened by their approach.' Yet the bishops are anxious to persuade us, as their Church usually does when she is about to change her course, that what she now desires to be, she now is and always has been. In their latest Pastoral they attempt to show that they are not proclaiming a new policy, but one consistently followed by their predecessors, sanctioned by successive Popes, and approved by high Catholic authorities in various foreign countries. But the great prelates who can persuade themselves that the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility are doctrines as old as Christianity are quite capable of forgetting that Archbishop Murray worked cordially with Archbishop Whately in founding the system of mixed education in Ireland, and that his name is the third on the list of the original members of the Queen's University Senate. The opinions of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, are well known. When he was asked before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1825, 'Do you consider it desirable that the Roman Catholic laity

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strictly denominational. Let us see the consequences. When the first census was made in Italy, in the year 1861, the number of persons unable to read and write was so enormous as to suggest the inaccuracy of the returns. General Torre has proved, in a report just published, that of the young men born in 1846, 1847, and 1848, who, according to Italian law, were obliged to present themselves for military service, 69 out of every 100 were unable to write. The marriage-registers tell the same tale. During the year 1869 the number of marriages in Italy was 205,287. In 36,923 marriages (18 per cent.) the register was signed by both bride and bridegroom; in 43,116 marriages (21 per cent.) the bridegroom only was able to sign; in 5,243 (2½ per cent.) the bride only could write her name; while in 120,005 (58½ per cent.) neither bride nor bridegroom knew how to write. Thus three-fifths of those who began family life in Italy in 1869 were deplorably ignorant, in a country filled with bishops who now pretend that they have always had a mission to direct education. Spanish statistics recently published disclose the same fact. There are nearly 12 millions of Spaniards who can neither read nor write. These millions were trained under the Roman Catholic system.

‘should be educated conjointly with the Protestant?’—he answered: ‘I see no objection whatever that they should be educated together; on the contrary, if, by being educated together, the harmony of the different sects in Ireland could be promoted, I think that it would be a matter to be desired.’ Being further interrogated—‘If they were so educated at Trinity College, Dublin, must they not have separate professors of their own faith to instruct the young men?’—he answered, ‘That would not be necessary for those who attend college, as many of those who enter there lodge in town, and receive religious instruction where they please; and even those who reside within Trinity College have sufficient opportunities of obtaining religious instruction abroad on Sundays.’\* Thus, what is now a question of conscience was then a matter of expediency. In 1825 mixed education was an open question, and was approved of by Murray, Crolly, Denvir, Kennedy, Haly, and many other dignitaries of the Romish Church; while the fact stands uncontradicted that, even in the Synod of Thurles, twenty years ago, the motion condemning the Queen’s Colleges was carried by a majority of only one—and that the vote, not of a bishop, but of the Cistercian Abbot of Mountnelleray.

There is yet another ground upon which we base our opposition to a denominational system under the control of ecclesiastics, viz., the claims of minorities. The State has adopted the principle of protecting minorities by enforcing the conscience clause, as in the English Education Act, in all Church of England schools, greatly to the disgust of some of the clergy. And it is only just to remark that, in their preference for denominational education, the Roman Catholics are supported by Protestant auxiliaries in Ireland known as the Church Education party, who insist on the Bible being read by all pupils attending their schools. Of course, if the State should dream of supporting such schools, it must also consistently support Catholic schools in which all the pupils must learn the Catechism. The effect would be destructive to Protestantism in the south and west, where minorities are at present protected under the National system; for the Protestant children in many districts must either attend the Catholic schools or go entirely uneducated. Now, every Government, Whig or Tory, has persistently refused to give national support to Church Education schools in Ireland; and what Governments have denied to Protestants in the interests of religious liberty, they

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\* Examination, March 21, 1825.

cannot concede to Catholics. We require, therefore, to watch the Church Education party with as much jealousy as we do their Ultramontane allies; for they seem to set great store by the privilege of forcing the reading of the Bible on all Catholic children attending their schools. Their claim is simply this: they desire to have the right conceded to them, together with the free exercise of their own consciences, of invading the consciences of Catholics. The State, however, possesses no more right to compel a Catholic child to learn the Bible in a school-room than in a church. The Church Educationists refuse to co-operate in a system of education, because others, not of their faith, are not compelled to submit to a practice to which they object; and yet the clerical supporters and representatives of this society have been nearly all educated in Trinity College, Dublin, where Catholic students are not compelled to read the Bible. The State could never allow the Protestant clergy, any more than the Roman Catholic, to convert a right which is given them for the benefit of those committed to their pastoral charge into a wrong against those who are not. The Church Education party may say that whatever such a system as the National may be as regards those whom it permits to receive religious instruction, it is essentially defective as regards those whom it permits to refuse it; but surely the defect, if defect there be, lies not in the system, but in that religious freedom the law has established, in that right the law gives to parents of all communions to have their children educated in the principles of their own Church and not of any other. We know that a change has of late years taken place in the policy or disposition of the Church Education party so far, at least, as to concede that if denominational education be conceded to them, they will have no objection to Government aid being extended to the denominational schools of Catholics. Even the venerable Bishop of Ossory intimated to the Royal Commission on Primary Education his willingness to give schools under Catholic management all he asked for schools under the Church Education Society, just as the Roman Catholic bishops do not object to exclusively Protestant schools on condition they shall have schools equally exclusive for themselves. This makes their demand all the more plausible and dangerous; but it also presents clearly to the country the threatening prospect of a system under which the whole population from youth to manhood will be educated and socially segregated, not as citizens of the same country but as partisans of contending churches.

There is another serious aspect of the question which must

receive the attention of Parliament. The bishops demand to exercise the most absolute control over all the books, secular and religious, used both in schools and colleges. Now, this is a right that the State can never surrender to any body of ecclesiastics. It would be supremely absurd, above all things, for the State to aid the purchase and use of books which inculcate hatred and sedition against itself. We have shown in a former article that this is the character of the books used in the Christian Brothers' schools in Ireland, though Bishop Dorrian had actually the hardihood to tell the Royal Commissioners on Education that these books were 'totally unobjectionable.\*' Cardinal Cullen himself admitted that the Christian Brothers' History, taken from Fredet, was written for Catholics and not for Protestants. We can imagine the probable character of the instruction imparted under a clerical censorship from the following passage taken from a History of England used in the Roman Catholic schools of this country: Philip II. of Spain is spoken of as 'one of the wisest and best kings of his time,' and the Marian persecution is thus described:—

'The whole country was diseased with heresy, and it was impossible to stop it by gentle means. In this case, you know, when men are determined to destroy not only their own souls, but the souls of many others, they have to be treated as malefactors, and are given over by the Church to the law to be punished. It is very shocking that people should be burnt, but it is very much more shocking that they should be leading so many more people to be burnt in the flames of hell for ever.'

We can also imagine the character of the school-books that Cardinal Cullen would prepare for denominational schools, from the peculiar cast of his moral theology. When examined before the Royal Commission on Primary Education, he denounced the supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons, used in Irish national schools, which has a chapter on 'Lying,' as containing unsound theology. One of the statements in this little book is: 'The most important thing is that lying is a vice peculiarly displeasing to God; we are commanded by Him to speak every man truth unto his neighbour.' It appears, however, that a holy man whose authority is of importance to the Church, once had recourse to evasion to save his life, and the rule of the Irish school-books would make the saint a liar. The British Parliament will surely think twice before it commits the preparation of school-books to men trained in all the abominable casuistries of Escobar and



Sanchez, or sanctions the use of books; such as those of the Christian Brothers, which, to use Master Brookes' expression before the Royal Commission, are 'the most direct training for Fenianism that he could possibly imagine.' No books could the State allow to be used in schools or colleges that had not the sanction of an impartial secular board.

We believe we have said enough to justify the British Parliament in refusing to concede to the Roman Catholic bishops the power they claim over Irish secular education. The arguments hitherto employed have had equal reference to primary and to university education; but we must now specially turn our attention to the question of the higher instruction, with the view of suggesting the best mode of placing the Roman Catholics on a complete educational equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

It is well known that the Catholic bishops have for many years demanded a charter with appropriate endowments for the Catholic University; an institution which was founded in 1851 on the model of the Roman Catholic University of Louvain. It is governed by a committee, of whom two-thirds are ecclesiastics, and has a staff of about twenty professors, in the three faculties of medicine, philosophy and letters, and science. It is supported by an annual collection, amounting to rather more than 8,000*l.*, taken up in the month of November in all the chapels of Ireland, and has a large number of small bursaries for the encouragement of students, who usually obtain their degrees from the London University. We need not say much concerning the demand for a separate charter, as the bishops have shown a disposition to accept affiliation with a National University instead of it, but under conditions which render the arguments against a charter equally applicable to the terms and conditions of this new proposal. In the first place, we observe that Parliament cannot listen to a demand for 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* of annual endowment for a sectarian university, after passing the Irish Church Act, for it is bound to carry out honestly and consistently the policy of dissociating the State from every sectarian institution in the country. Trinity College, so far as it is an appendage of the Irish Episcopal Church, must be wound up like Maynooth; and no new denominational college or university can now claim national endowment. The bishops seem to think, however, that religious equality justifies the demand that Roman Catholics shall enjoy large educational endowments now, on the ground that the members of the Irish Church had already enjoyed them for centuries. They might just as fairly demand stipends of 200*l.*

or 300*l.* a year for each Roman Catholic priest, because the Protestant Episcopal clergy had enjoyed such incomes for three hundred years.

But, secondly, if the State has thought fit to take away the privilege of exclusive Universities from the religion of the majority in England, it can hardly be expected to found an exclusive University for the religion of the majority in Ireland. This idea has been very forcibly presented in the address of Mr. Quill, to which we have already referred. After alluding to the tranquillising design of Mr. Gladstone's recent Irish legislation, he asks, whether

'An institution like Trinity College should be struck down for the establishment of another institution, which, in its very essence, by its very *raison d'être*, would be a constant reproach to Ministers, a standing proof of inconsistency, an indubitable confession of weakness, the fatal *faux pas* by which they would lose the renown which has justly attended the grand conception, the unswerving furtherance, and the sound completion of other schemes by other governments?'

He then says:

'Before the abolition of University tests there might have been apparent force in certain objections; but now that those tests have been abolished, how does the case stand? The religion of the majority in England can no longer claim an University for itself; but majority and minority alike must seek the same knowledge from the same fountains. On what principles, then, can the religion of the majority in Ireland claim that which the Imperial Parliament has thought fit to take away from the religion of the majority in England? Is a different principle to be applied to the same state of facts in both countries? Is justice in England to be injustice in Ireland?'

The argument is unanswerable. If Mr. Gladstone were to concede the demands of the hierarchy, the logical result would be that all those educational institutions in the United Kingdom which, after prolonged and exciting struggles, have been opened to the nation, must be again closed. Surely the Imperial Legislature never contemplated, after abolishing religious tests in Oxford and Cambridge, that it would be called upon to endow new colleges with more stringent tests in Ireland. And, after opening the national universities of England and Scotland, that it would have to hand over the national universities in Ireland to become the exclusive property of the priesthood.

And thirdly, we could never consent to place the higher education of Irish Catholics, without check or appeal, at the beck or under the authority of four ecclesiastics. We could have no security for a thoroughly liberal training for the various professions. The Irish bishops are, with two or three exceptions, imperfectly

educated men ; in fact, they have no culture save that of Maynooth ; and they would be totally incompetent to choose such professors or books as would encourage a really liberal education. We all remember Father Newman's ideal of a Catholic University, which was to be ' a centre of restored ecclesiasticism ' and sanctified philosophy to Europe and the younger continents around ; ' and it would only require the adoption of two propositions of the Syllabus to realise the ideal :—' Not only ' philosophers but philosophy can be submitted to the authority ' of the Church, and ought to be so.' ' The methods and principles of the scholastic doctors are not inconsistent with the ' necessities of our times and the progress of sciences.' We have the testimony of Professor Maguire, of Queen's College, Galway, that youths trained in ecclesiastical schools are inferior in scholarship to those trained in public or royal schools. He makes the following significant remark :—

' In the Roman Catholic schools and colleges, and in the Catholic University itself, classics are principally taught by Oxford and Cambridge converts. If so, one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either the born Catholic has been badly taught, which is the fault of his ecclesiastical teachers, or, if competent, he has to give place to a convert, which is worse.'

There is truth in the observation that ' the only case where the ' Catholic University has shown vitality is the medical school, ' which is in the hands of men who have not been trained by ' ecclesiastics.'

Lastly, we must remember that to grant a charter to an exclusive institution like the Catholic University, is to supplant the Queen's Colleges. We know that the design of the bishops has always been to destroy these useful institutions. They wish to carry over to their own sectarian institutes, by all the appliances of spiritual terrorism, all Catholic students from Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, the English Universities, and all other places to which they at present resort. We can well understand the feelings of terror with which the liberal Catholic minority contemplate such a contingency ; for not only is their difficulty of getting on in the world greatly enhanced if they are brought up upon a plan entirely different from that upon which all their competitors have been educated, but there will be nothing to restrain the power of the ecclesiastics in every walk of life. As one of themselves has said, the laity will be reduced to utter slavery, as the bread of the barrister, the physician, and the attorney will, as seats in Parliament do now, depend on the parish priest.

Having now shown the utter impossibility of either char-

tering or endowing a Catholic University, we are naturally led to consider the various plans that have been proposed for solving the difficulty of University Education in Ireland on the basis of complete religious equality. Before the Irish Church Act was passed, a proposal was made to maintain three separate Universities in Ireland, viz., Trinity College, for the use of Protestant Episcopalians; the Catholic University, for the Roman Catholics; and the Queen's University, on its present non-sectarian basis, for all such members of various denominations, whether Presbyterians, Methodists, or liberal Roman Catholics, as disliked sectarian colleges. It was strongly urged, in addition to the other advantages supposed to characterise this plan, that the multiplication of Universities in a country is a great intellectual advantage, as is seen in Scotland and Germany, which owe so much of their prosperity and greatness to the completeness of their higher education. But there are considerations peculiar to Ireland that would limit their number, such as the requirements of the country and the means of sustaining a number of Universities with efficiency; while it is generally conceded, at least in Scotland, that the competition between Universities in granting degrees has greatly deteriorated the value of those distinctions. An eminent Scotch professor has himself said: 'As regards University degrees, which in Scotland have never been representative of the benefits which have been derived from them elsewhere, one method of introducing uniformity and giving value to them would be to combine the colleges of Scotland into one University.' It is only just, however, to mention that the Scotch Universities Commission reported in 1863 on the impolicy and inexpediency of merging all the Universities into one. It is not necessary now, under the altered circumstances of the country, to discuss the merits of this plan.

Another plan recently proposed is as follows:—Dublin University, as reconstituted by Mr. Fawcett's measure, is to be opened to the nation as an unsectarian institution; the Queen's University, after some modifications are introduced into the constitution of its senate and the mode of appointing Professors to its colleges, is to preserve its present unsectarian character; and a new Irish University is to be founded on the model of the London University, as a mere examining board, with power to confer degrees, but so constituted as to command the confidence of the Roman Catholic clergy. This plan owes its origin to the fact that a large number of students, belonging to Irish Roman Catholic colleges and seminaries, are found to avail themselves of the facilities for obtaining degrees presented

by the London University. The list of the undergraduates of this institution, as we are informed by Sir Dominic O'Corrigan, M.P., contains the names of eighty-six students from Stoneyhurst College, in England, and of nineteen students from St. Patrick's College, Carlow, in Ireland, while eleven from the same College, including three Catholic clergymen, have taken the degree of A.B. from the same University. It is somewhat singular, indeed, that though the London University is just as unsectarian as the Queen's University, which is always invidiously classed among 'institutions dangerous to faith and morals,' it has not only escaped the ban of the Church, but has actually received a sort of official recognition. Our principal objection to this plan is that the new University, with its mixed board of Catholics and Protestants, would gradually sink into another 'Catholic University,' for it could not possibly command the confidence of the Catholic hierarchy unless—to use the words of the author of this proposal—'the senate had a preponderance of men, lay and clerical, whose leanings were toward a more mediæval spirit of teaching.' If it is founded with a special consideration for Catholic scruples or Catholic wants, it must necessarily be moulded more or less after a mediæval pattern, or, at least, in such a way as to command Episcopal approbation. Then the question will arise, Is the nation prepared to expend thousands upon a new Irish University, in erecting suitable buildings, and endowing competent professors? We know how the late Sir Robert Peel carried out the recommendation of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (1838), over which Sir Thomas Wyse, an eminent Catholic, presided, when he established the Queen's Colleges at great cost to the country, for the use of all sects and classes. Parliament will surely be cautious in consenting to any future experiment of this costly order, before it can clearly understand all its conditions. If, after thousands should have been expended in such a work, a new Thurles decree should be issued, denouncing the Irish University as unsafe for Catholic youth, the British Parliament might feel it had made an awkward mistake. But if, after all, the Roman Catholics wish for a mere examining board, with power to confer degrees, like the London University, we shall presently show them that they can easily obtain what they want without the establishment of an additional University.

Two other plans have been put forward for settling the Irish University question, and they both merit careful consideration. One is to open the University of Dublin to other

colleges besides Trinity, thus transforming it into a National University, and affiliating to it Trinity College, the three Queen's Colleges, 'the Catholic University,' or rather Catholic College, and Magee Presbyterian College, of Derry, the two last being denominational colleges. The other plan is to allow the Queen's University to stand, with its three colleges, in all their present integrity, and to affiliate to the University of Dublin 'the Catholic University,' the Magee Presbyterian College, and such other collegiate institutions as deserve affiliation. The chief recommendation of the second plan is rather political than educational; for it is supposed that a measure which will leave the Queen's Colleges undisturbed will be likely to excite less opposition from those who have always been loyal to the cause of unsectarian education. These are really the only two practical plans before the country for discussion; for Mr. Fawcett's Bill merely provides for the reconstitution of Trinity College, and does not seem to contemplate the wants of a class who may desire to obtain education in denominational colleges.

It is evident that the great interest of this discussion centres in the Dublin University. That is an institution that has a degree of interest to all classes of Irishmen, partly because, as one of its professors remarks, it is the only English institution that has succeeded in Ireland, and partly because it counts among its pupils a large proportion of those Irishmen who have attained distinction in literature or public life during the last three centuries. It can point with justifiable pride to Ussher, King, Magee, and Archer Butler among its divines; to Berkeley, Grattan, Hamilton, Reeves, Todd, and Lecky among its philosophers and thinkers; and to Swift, Goldsmith, Burke, Plunket, and Cairns among those it has given to politics, literature, and oratory. It was founded by the last of the Tudors in 1591, eight years after the foundation of the University of Edinburgh, and has always been closely identified with the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose ministers were usually trained in its halls. Trinity College has always been animated by a more tolerant and enlightened spirit than the late Established Church of Ireland; for nearly a century ago it adopted the unsectarian principle, so far, at least, as to admit Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to its lectures and degrees, and some of its smaller endowments were opened without religious tests. This liberal policy, which placed it in this respect more than sixty years in advance of Oxford or Cambridge, contributed greatly to its popularity and success. The principle of exclusiveness had still to be limited

to such honours and emoluments as were intended for the benefit of the Established Church alone, or were essential to its maintenance. The chair of Political Economy has been twice filled by a Roman Catholic; and if the last restriction were removed, namely, that affecting the Divinity chairs, and those reserved by their foundation for Fellows, a Roman Catholic will be eligible to any one of thirty-one chairs in a college of the highest class. We may mention a few facts concerning its financial position. The land-grants of the State amount to 31,000*l.* a year, not much more than Maynooth received from the Consolidated Fund; it has, besides, about 6,000*l.* a year of private bequests; and it earns 27,000*l.* a year more by the fees of students, chamber-rents, and the fees for degrees; making in all about 64,000*l.* a year. Thus, we discover that the Irish University does its work for one-tenth of the income of Oxford, which is set down at 600,000*l.* a year, and in a manner so effective as to put its graduates in the foremost places in all the great competitions for the public service at home and abroad. About 1,200 students are on the books of the College, of whom 160 are divinity students, and, religiously classified, they stand thus: Episcopalians, 1,077; Roman Catholics, 70; and Protestant Dissenters, 53. Trinity will always, under any scheme of reconstruction, hold the first place in Ireland on account of its age, its metropolitan position, its fine library, and its deservedly high reputation.

We have now to consider the position of Trinity College as affected by recent events. During the debate on the Irish Church, Mr. Gladstone intimated that so far as it was an appendage of the dominant Church, it would be wound up on the same terms as Maynooth. It reflects great credit on the authorities of the College, that as soon as they saw that it could not maintain its former position, when the Establishment had ceased to exist, they submitted with good grace to the ascertained will of the nation, and intimated their readiness to give up the denominational character of the College, and apply to its organisation that principle of public policy then definitely adopted in relation to Irish affairs, namely, religious equality. The measure introduced by Mr. Fawcett was intended to give effect to this arrangement, by removing all existing restrictions on the enjoyment of prizes and emoluments, and distributing the governing powers of the present Board of Trinity College between two newly-constituted bodies, so as to open its government, as well as its professorships and prizes, to Roman Catholics and Dissenters. We believe that is a step in the right direction; but, as we shall presently show, the

reconstruction of Irish University education can be effected in a far more complete and simple way.

It is an interesting historical fact, that the affiliation of colleges to the University of Dublin was not only contemplated, but actually provided for, by its founders. The phrase in the charter—*Unum Collegium Mater Universitatis*—is supposed to imply a future affiliation of colleges.\* But the probability of the future existence of these colleges is expressly referred to in the charter of James I. (A.D. 1613), in which it is assigned as a reason for giving the University the power to send two members to Parliament, that measures were likely to be brought before the House—‘*pro dispositione et preservatione reddituum, revenditionum, et possessionum dicti Collegii, ac aliorum Collegiorum sive aularum, in dicta Universitate in posterum erigendarum et stabiliendarum.*’

Suppose then that we separate the University from the College; the next question is, what colleges will be affiliated to the University, and on what footing will they stand to the University and to each other?

There will then be two classes of colleges—the unsectarian and the denominational. The unsectarian will be Trinity College and the Queen’s Colleges of Belfast, Galway, and Cork; the denominational will be the Catholic ‘University,’ or Catholic College, and the Magee Presbyterian College.† But are the two classes of colleges to stand on exactly the same footing? The answer is easy. The State must necessarily restrict its educational endowments to the one class, and not to the other, for it must limit its support to an education in which all can alike share. But there can be no inconsistency, no breach of principle, and no reversal of recent State policy, in the State

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\* A pamphlet has been circulated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Napier, Vice-Chancellor of the Dublin University, with the title ‘The College and the University.’ The object is to prove, in opposition to the views of the late Dr. Todd and others, that the University is a distinct body from the College. The learned writer says: ‘If the Charter of Queen Elizabeth be looked at, without reference to what was done under its provisions, it is likely to be, and it has often been, misunderstood, to have merely founded a College with University privileges. But when the whole matter shall be duly considered, it will appear that the University designed by and constituted under this charter, was intended to be, and was, a distinct incorporation.’

† In 1846, Mrs. Magee, the widow of a Presbyterian minister, left 20,000*l.* for the erection and endowment of a Presbyterian College. The trustees selected Londonderry as the site. It was opened in 1865, and has two faculties, viz. Arts and Theology, and has a staff of eight professors. The Arts Faculty is open to students of all denominations.



allowing the students of denominational colleges, which are supported by their own private endowments, to compete for the Fellowships, scholarships, sizarships, bursaries, and prizes which belong to the National University, and which are now to be thrown open to the competition of all sects. Such colleges will retain their own system of religious training and discipline; but their affiliation will compel them, in the interests of true science, to maintain a high standard of teaching, or else expose their intellectual poverty to the world whenever their students shall present themselves for University honours.

It is exactly at this point that we encounter the very confident demand of the Catholic bishops for a large endowment for one or two colleges affiliated to the National University. It is generally supposed that the bishops have their eye on the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway. The State, however, cannot for a moment concede such a demand; for the Presbyterians would immediately claim a still larger endowment for the Magee College, which is already endowed; the Wesleyans would demand an endowment for their new college in Belfast; and the Independents and Baptists might be encouraged to establish colleges in the expectation of similar benefits. Suppose, however, the nation were prepared to concede the demand of the hierarchy, the question would arise, From what source is this large endowment to come? We remember how Mr. Gladstone, in attacking what he called Lord Mayo's 'phantom notion' of a Catholic University, affirmed in the House of Commons the principle that educational grants for the exclusive advantage and enjoyment of a single sect should not be charged upon the Consolidated Fund, or upon any other portion of the Imperial revenues. In accordance with this principle, the grant to Maynooth was abolished by the Irish Church Act; and in recommending that step, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that its adoption would make it impossible to maintain the present exclusive application of the revenues of Trinity College to the purposes of one religious body. Now, it is almost impossible to imagine Parliament, immediately afterwards, granting a yearly sum of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*—for this is the modest demand presented by Mr. Heron, M.P. for Tipperary—to endow one or more sectarian colleges, especially when it is resolved to throw open the University of Dublin to the country, without distinction of rank, sect, or property. It is clear that unless this large sum were paid out of the Consolidated Fund, it could not be obtained from the revenues of Trinity College, which amount only to 31,000*l.* a year; for no

other body can have any claim to a share in its 6,000*l.* of private endowments, or its 27,000*l.* of substantial earnings. Mr. Quill very properly condemns such a course, when he asks—‘Should the funds and revenues of an institution such as Trinity College, which is to all intents and purposes unsectarian, be applied to the establishment of a sectarian University? To put the matter more clearly still: Should an institution such as Trinity College, which now strives with all its energies to further and complete the scheme of tranquillisation—the scheme of the abolition of all ascendancy, originally propounded by Ministers—should such an institution be struck down for the establishment of another institution’—which he has elsewhere described as sure to be a standing reproach to Ministers—as ‘set up for the avowed purpose of thwarting that Imperial policy, of baulking all honest efforts to effect a happy fusion of interests, of making sectarianism its primary, and education its secondary, object?’

The question must necessarily come up for settlement,—what emoluments and prizes, at present in the hands of Trinity College, should be retained for its own students, and what should be open to the competition of students from all the affiliated colleges? It is evident that the State cannot touch its 6,000*l.* of private benefactions, any more than it can interfere with the private endowments of the affiliated colleges; but the State has a clear right to determine the national application of the fellowships, scholarships, sizarships, and such other scholastic prizes as have accrued from college possessions through State endowment. We think we can see our way to a considerable increase in the number and value of the Fellowships. There are at present thirty-two fellowships—seven held by Senior Fellows, and twenty-five by Junior Fellows. The value of a senior fellowship is about 1,300*l.* a year, and of a junior fellowship 40*l.* Irish. We would propose to abolish the distinction between senior and junior fellowships, and to equalise the incomes of all Fellows; and we would also apply to the increase of fellowships the large sum estimated at 100,000*l.*, that will accrue from the lapsed patronage of Trinity College livings. Of course, the Fellowships must be separated from Trinity College proper. It is well known that they have long since ceased to be mere temporary rewards of merit, being now life-offices held on condition of the performance of certain administrative and educational duties within the College. They would become the highest prizes of the University of Ireland, the rewards of literary and scientific study, and the stepping-stones to success in professional life. It must, however, be

understood in winding up Trinity College, that a good sum will have to be allowed for the erection of suitable college buildings for the Divinity school, which must be removed outside the walls; for it is essentially necessary to the unsectarian character of the college that the Divinity staff should be dissociated altogether from the ancient structure of Elizabeth.

We have now to consider the two great difficulties that are assumed as standing in the way of the proposed settlement, viz. the constitution of the University Senate, and the regulation of the curriculum of study. It is asserted that, as the Roman Catholic element must be largely represented in the senate, there will be a lowering of the standard of education, or there will be no possibility of agreeing upon a satisfactory standard. Two eminent professors, one of Trinity College, and another of the Queen's College, Galway, object to affiliation on this ground, though they see no objection to a charter to a Catholic University, to degrade the education of Irish Roman Catholics. They say, how can a mixed senate of Protestants and Catholics agree upon a curriculum of history and moral science? The difficulty is partly met by the fact that in most of the Universities at present, the study of history or moral science is not compulsory for a degree in arts. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent the adoption of the well-known plan of allowing alternative books for Roman Catholics. In the Dublin University, Logic and Ethics, which always entered into the undergraduate course, are rather taught in connexion with the history of opinion, and many Catholics have obtained the highest distinctions in the degree examinations for Metaphysical and Ethical Moderatorships. It is a remarkable fact that the curriculum of the Catholic University does not differ very widely from that of Trinity College, or the Queen's University, so that whatever sectarian bias may be imparted in its halls, is likely to come from the prelections of the professors.

The other difficulty is the constitution of the University Senate. Great objection is taken to a State-appointed senate, on the ground that, being altogether independent of the colleges, and removed from the details of university education, they would be incompetent to prescribe the curriculum for decrees, appoint examiners, confer the titles awarded by these examiners, and decide upon the many weighty questions that must come before them. Well, we would also object to a State-appointed senate, with this proviso, that the State should, at the starting of the new university, appoint a provisional

senate, under the peculiar circumstances of the case. The Roman Catholic element could easily be obtained from the ranks of Her Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic judges, who are all distinguished by their culture, their independence, and their honourable feeling. We would object entirely to the principle of nomination as regards the permanent senate, for it inevitably leads to the selection of men chosen as the mere representatives of sects. In a word, it should not be composed, either in whole or in part, of persons nominated by any external authority, because if we deny to Protestant Episcopal bishops and to Presbyterian moderators the right of nomination, we must deny it equally to Roman Catholic bishops. How, then, would we constitute the senate? We know how Mr. Fawcett's Bill proposes to reconstruct the government of the Dublin University. The control of the whole course of studies, of the examinations and lectures, and the appointment of professors, are given to a council consisting of eight permanent members—the Provost and seven Senior Fellows—and twelve representative members chosen every three years, of whom four are to be elected by the Junior Fellows, four by the professors, and four by the graduates of the University. Mr. Fawcett proposes to apply to the last selection the cumulative vote, so that the Roman Catholics, who are in a minority among the graduates, may be able to elect one representative out of four. It was in that case supposed that if his Bill had passed, one of the two Catholic professors would be chosen at once to sit on the Board, and the probability was that, tests being abolished, two or three other Catholics might immediately take their places among the Junior Fellows. Thus, the objection of Mr. Gladstone that the abolition of tests would fail to secure immediate religious equality, because it takes about twenty-five years for a man to rise to the grade of a Senior Fellow, is effectively met. Our proposal, then, amounts simply to this—the senate of the National University should be composed of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor; then of the Provost of Trinity College and the corresponding official of all the other affiliated colleges, according to the Oxford and Cambridge plan; then of a certain number of Fellows elected by the Fellows; and then a certain number elected by the graduates, the cumulative vote being applied in the last case, or in the last two cases, to prevent the exercise of unfair exclusion by the present Protestant majority. Strong objection has been made to the representation of the heads of colleges in the senate, on the ground that the Roman Catholics might multiply the number of their colleges, so as to secure within a few years a

working majority in the body. But Parliament must lay down certain definite and stringent conditions for the affiliation of colleges, so as to secure the requisite supply of high professorial ability in all these institutions. There are about forty Roman Catholic grammar-schools in Ireland, but not one of these could be affiliated to such a National University as we propose. We think, also, that the number of Fellows on the senate should be larger than that of heads of colleges. Now, when we consider the large number of Roman Catholic students attending Trinity College, the three Queen's Colleges, and the Catholic University, as well as the number that would shortly make their way successfully into junior fellowships, there can be no difficulty in predicting the constant presence of several Roman Catholics on the University Board. It is not to be for a moment entertained that because the Roman Catholics of Ireland are as four to one of the Protestants, that therefore this numerical proportion should determine the amount of their representation on the Board. This is not our idea of educational equality. We are rather to consider the fact that, as the less educated and opulent class of the whole population, they cannot expect—at least for a considerable time—to send as large a contingent to the colleges as the Protestants, who have enjoyed for centuries greater wealth and social position. As they rise in social position, they will avail themselves more and more of the higher education; and the time may come when the majority of the nation may be represented by a majority in the governing body of the Irish National University.

We are strongly of opinion that it is in the direction indicated in this article that the Government must seek the solution of one of the most difficult questions of the time. There is no use in concealing the fact that the difficulty is quite as much political as educational. Let us now try to estimate the part which the various political sections of the United Kingdom will be likely to take in the settlement of this perplexing controversy. There can be little doubt that the Independent Liberals of England and Scotland, together with the Liberal Presbyterians of the North of Ireland, will resolutely oppose any attempt to endow sectarian colleges or a sectarian University. Indeed, the attitude of the whole House of Commons on the ill-advised motion of Mr. Heron last year, which was defeated by a majority of a hundred and two to fourteen, ought to show the Irish Ultramontanes how slender is the chance that they can cajole or coerce any English Government, at least with the assent of a Liberal majority, into retrograde

legislation in the matter of mixed education. The resolutions of the Catholic bishops since published are an additional warning to the Liberal party to take their stand publicly, and, once for all, upon some definite and comprehensible principle of State policy. The Liberals know that this movement to subject all education to clerical control has its counterpart in every Catholic country in Europe; and, however willing they may have been in the past to work side by side with Irish Catholics in obtaining equality, they will now be their most strenuous opponents in any attempt to establish a Catholic ascendancy instead of that which has been overthrown. It is becoming daily more evident that the spirit of Liberalism is absolutely irreconcilable with the pretensions of Ultramontane authority, and that the labour is lost which attempts to maintain a permanent alliance between them. There is much ambiguity in the position of the Protestant Episcopalians of Ireland on the question before us. It is well known that so long as they thought it possible to preserve a great monopoly for themselves in Trinity College, they were prepared to grant other monopolies, including a charter and endowment to the Catholic University, to less privileged bodies. It is also right to remember that the Roman Catholic prelates now ask only what the clergy of the Church of Ireland have always claimed as a right and acted upon for centuries. The first opposition to the National System of education came from Irish Episcopacy, and the first cry of the 'godless colleges' came from the lips of Sir Robert Inglis, the most genuine representative of English Toryism in the last generation. But in the year 1866 nearly three thousand influential Episcopalians, including the Primate of all Ireland, noblemen and bishops, magistrates, clergymen, and professional men, signed a paper in favour of the principle of mixed education as opposed to the denominational system. Since the passing of the Irish Church Act, it has become a question of great interest what course the Episcopalians, in their altered circumstances, will take in regard to the education question; and especially what decision or injunction will be given forth by the representative bodies which are now constituted. We regret to know that, at three most important synods, viz. Derry and Raphoe, Down, Connor and Dromore, and Dublin, held during the past year, the question of education was entirely evaded, on the ground that, in the divided state of Church parties, the discussion of such an exciting subject might imperil the success of the new Sustentation-fund, or, perhaps, shake the Church itself to its foundations. The explanation is not in itself reassuring. The Synods

of Armagh, Clogher, and Cork have, however, distinctly condemned the denominational system, and a considerable number of noblemen have given in their adhesion to the National Education League of Ireland. It must never be forgotten that the whole condition of the Education question in Ireland is the exact reverse of what it is in England and Scotland. In Ireland, education has been founded by the State on a national and secular basis; in England and Scotland, nine-tenths at least of the existing schools have been founded by members of the Church and of various sects in great part out of their private means.

There can be no speculation with regard to the part the Irish Catholics will take in the coming struggle. The members of Parliament returned by Catholic constituencies will support all the demands of the prelates without shrinking, and even Nationalists, like Mr. John Martin and Mr. Mitchell Henry, though both Protestants, will be found to have given in their adhesion to the latest Pastoral. There was some expectation at the time of Mr. Martin's return, that if he should have the spirit to assume an independent attitude in Parliament, he might raise his country in the estimation of England, even though he might not succeed in advancing the Nationalist cause. But the men who have always been loudest in condemning the base subservience to British Ministers have shown that they are capable of an equally base subservience to Irish dignitaries, in return for priestly exertions in their favour. We showed some time ago, when people could hardly believe in the possibility of an understanding between the Nationalists and the Ultramontanes, that they formed the two strongest powers in the country, and that, so far from being mutually destructive, as on the Continent, 'they are actually engaged 'at this moment, with certain well-understood reservations, 'in influencing to a powerful degree their mutual interests, 'and, for the present, their common cause.' These Nationalist members will now receive, at the hands of the British community, neither more nor less consideration than other mouth-pieces of the priests. It is quite evident, from a hint dropped by Dr. McHale more than a year ago, that if the Government refuse the demands of the bishops for the unlimited control of education, we may expect to see the whole power of the priesthood used to stimulate the Home Rule movement. They know well that a compact body of Irish members, over whom they can exercise unbounded control, might, while nominally contending for some phantom of Home Rule, struggle with practical advantage for the great objects

the Catholic Church has at heart. In any case, the clergy will try to turn the scale between contending political parties, not perhaps without some warrant in past experience that English administrations can be manipulated by the promise of political support or the threat of political opposition. This educational crisis will, at all events, test the real power and influence of the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom more than anything else, as a well-known Romish ecclesiastic is reported to have said that the question involved was of far more vital importance than any question of civil disabilities or Church disestablishment itself. The fact cannot be disguised, that it is an extremely critical question for the Ministry. Members of the Cabinet have at times admitted or seemed to admit, the right of the Catholic clergy to complain because the State did not provide institutions in which they might teach their faith. Their language may have been ambiguous; but it is clear that Mr. Gladstone cannot make any grave concessions to his Irish supporters without causing a mutiny among Scotch and English Liberals. The difficulties that surround the question are like the difficulties which so long prevented a settlement of the Irish Church question, originating, as these did, in unwillingness to grasp and firmly to adhere to a principle, instead of adopting a temporising and tortuous policy.

It is a curious fact that Protestant hands should have been at work for nearly three generations in taking away barrier after barrier of separation between the Protestants and the Catholics of Ireland, and that Catholics should now be the parties to revive the ancient policy of isolation, exclusion, and social war which for ages kept them apart. It was the dream of the great Protestant patriots, Lucas, Molynaux, Swift, Burke, Grattan, and Flood, to draw Irishmen of all opinions together. Can it be possible that the Catholic laity have so soon forgotten these venerable names that they refuse now to be educated side by side with their Protestant countrymen? It is surely full time that all Irishmen should be brought up as one nation, and cast off the ancient heritage of mutual scorn and hatred. Has this social isolation which Ultramontaniam wishes to stamp on education some secret relation to that other isolation in which Home Rule orators hope to realise the future greatness of Ireland? We cannot bring ourselves to think that there are not thousands of liberal-minded Catholics who have no sympathy with such projects, who know how fully their country has shared in the successive triumphs of English liberty, and who would deplore the success of any movement that would sever them from the civilising influences



of a greater community, in the present infancy of Irish political education. Let the words of Professor Maguire be a warning to those who would turn Ireland into a nursery of Ultramontane action:—‘It may come to pass that the intolerance of the clergy will effect what the craft of Elizabeth, the will of Cromwell, and the oppression of the Georges could not accomplish—the permanent alienation of Ireland from the See of Rome.’ Meanwhile we must be content to hold on our path of equal justice and fair-play between contending sects, removing year by year every excuse for popular disaffection, for angry assumption, and for disrespect to the sovereign authority, in the earnest hope that Ireland will seek the natural development of her powers within the circle of the Imperial Union, trusting in the wisdom of Parliament and the healing influence of Time for the cure of all her disorders.

ART. VIII. 1. *A Memoir on the Indian Survey.* By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM. Published by order of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. London: 1871.

2. *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India.* Edited by CHARLES GRANT, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Nágpur: 1870.

LITTLE, comparatively speaking, is known by the public at large in England in regard to the progress of the great Indian surveys; and yet, as a national work of the highest scientific importance and utility, they rank among the most arduous and successful of the many great measures which have been carried out by our countrymen in that vast continent. Under the orders of the Secretary for India in Council, Mr. Markham has recently compiled a memoir on the whole of the operations completed, and now in progress, which supplies a want that has long been felt, and this task has been executed with great industry and skill from the official reports and other documents in the India Office. Such official reports are of necessity imperfectly known to the public, and are supposed to be generally of a dry and monotonous character; but in the present instance the work abounds with most interesting details and anecdotes of hardships endured, of perseverance, ingenuity, and scientific progress, which render it

unusually attractive ; and it is on this account, as well as to invite attention to the subject in general, that we purpose to make it the leading portion of this article—and an appropriate introduction to the second. It is impossible, however, with the space at our disposal, to enter at any length into the many divisions of the memoir as classed by Mr. Markham, which embrace the marine, route, and trigonometrical surveys, the geological and archæological surveys, meteorological, tidal, and astronomical observations, with other matters connected with them ; forming a complete compendium, in fact, of all that has been effected, and of all that has to be done, before the great surveys of India are concluded. Mr. Markham has not only availed himself of manuscript official reports, but of all printed papers, whether separately published or in the form of contributions to scientific periodical literature in India and England, which have relation to the subject at large ; and the notes to his memoir will enable the general reader or student to consult details of which he could necessarily only furnish condensed abstracts.

The earliest surveys in India were those of the coasts, and were commenced from the first period of English intercourse with the country. Lancaster's fleet of four ships and a 'victualler' sailed from Torbay on the 2nd May, 1601, bound for the Eastern Spice Islands. In 1607, after the third voyage, Capt. Keeling was despatched with his ship to Surat, and established a factory there. Other voyages followed continuously, other factories were established on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the 'plots' and charts compiled by the several captains were reduced to form by Mr. John Davis, of Limehouse, who had made five voyages himself. These charts were accompanied by sailing directions, and became the foundation of further surveys. Davis was succeeded by Richard Hakluyt, Dean of Westminster, who made the maps and journals of the sea-captains popularly known at Oxford and to the public at large, by means of lectures ; and Edward Wright completed, as far as possible, what had been begun up to the period of Hakluyt's death in 1616. They were followed by 'Purchas his Pilgrimes,' published in 1625 ; and the logs of ships to India from 1606 to 1708, and from 1708 to 1832, are at present existent in the India Office, though in 1860 'tons' of records were destroyed, and among them much that was interesting and valuable in regard to early Indian voyages and surveys. Gradually the necessity for and interest in the marine surveys increased, and the operations became more connected and scientific. The complete hydrography of the Indian seas was

not however to be accomplished by the desultory proceedings of its commencement, and a Marine Surveyor-General, Captain Court, was appointed, and held office from 1806 to 1823, during which time Capt. Daniel Ross made surveys of the coasts of China, which, with other surveys of the Bay of Bengal and the Red Sea, were compiled and drawn up by James Horsburgh, who, originally a cabin-boy, became perhaps the greatest hydrographer of his age. In India, Court was succeeded by Daniel Ross, who executed surveys of the Persian Gulf.

In 1832, what had before been termed the Bombay Marine, became the Indian Navy: and under Sir Charles Malcolm, its Commander-in-chief, a new impetus was given to marine surveying. The complete and interesting survey of the Red Sea, of which comparatively little was previously known, was undertaken on a scientific basis by Capt. Moresby, and his subordinate officers were all picked men. They determined that their work should be 'as perfect as hands could make it,' and they succeeded admirably, although the subject was most intricate, and the difficulties which lay in the way of measuring and sounding all the reefs and shoals, with the almost countless islands, were at first deemed almost insurmountable. This survey was nevertheless completed by 1834, and many of the details of the proceedings in the gulf of Akaba, and on the eastern coast will be found related in 'Wellsted's Travels in Arabia,' and a memoir by Lieut. Carless, published in the 'Journal of the Geographical Society of Bombay.' The survey of the Red Sea was perhaps the greatest consecutive work of the Indian marine surveys. That of the Maldive Islands, almost unknown, followed, with the coasts of Ceylon, of Kattywar and Cutch; and by Lieut. Wood of the Indus from its mouth to Attock. Thence this distinguished and adventurous officer travelled to Kabool, and crossing the mountainous chain to Koondooz, discovered the sources of the Oxus, and was rewarded by the gold medal of the Geographical Society. Meanwhile, the surveys of the mouths of the Indus had been connected by Selby and others with the Cutch and Mekran surveys, and these with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. This period, from 1832 to 1838, may be well considered the most brilliant and important of marine surveying in India. It may scarcely be said to have been exceeded, even by Capt. Carless' survey of the Somali coast, or the completion of that of the Concan, or by the operations in the Eastern archipelago, or the surveys of Babylonia and Mesopotamia by Felix Jones, which were continued by Selby in 1855. We might increase the detail of work performed by the Indian marine to a great

extent; but enough has been said to give an idea of its variety and comprehensiveness. In 1862 the Indian navy ceased to exist; and previously, in 1860, the materials for its complete history were destroyed at the India House, the charts and copperplates being alone preserved and made over to the Admiralty. Of all the documents, only fragmentary details and isolated reports remain, from which Mr. Markham has compiled his present memoir.

The land surveys of India were commenced in 1763 by Major Rennell, who had fought under Clive at Plassey. Up to this time, the only geographical knowledge of India had been collected by the great French geographer D'Anville, from the works of travellers; and he compiled a map from the best materials then extant. It is needless to state how defective and erroneous in every point of view these materials were; and Rennell set to work on a plan of his own, by surveying routes between principal towns in Bengal, and laying down the courses of its noble rivers. He retired from India in 1782, and was succeeded by Colonel Call, under whom the route survey system was made more efficient by astronomical observations by himself and his assistants; while other officers, during the wars in the Carnatic and Mysore, made valuable contributions towards an atlas. Mr. Reuben Burrows was also employed in correcting, by observations, the positions of the chief towns on the Ganges, from Calcutta to Hurdwar. Though the route system was necessarily incomplete, and open to many inaccuracies, it was nevertheless the pioneer, as it were, of geographical advancement; and led to the commencement of the great triangulation of India as the only system upon which a true scientific result could be attained. The labours of Condamine and Bouguer in South America in 1735, had proved the practicability of undertaking great surveys by triangulations. In 1745 the idea of a trigonometrical survey of Great Britain was conceived by General Watson, and was commenced in 1784 by General Roy, who measured his base on Hounslow Heath, and continued the work till his death in 1790. The science of trigonometrical measurements had now progressed very considerably, and was known to William Lambton, a man entirely self-educated, but possessed of the highest qualifications for extended operations. In 1797 he belonged to the 33rd Foot, and distinguished himself by his bravery in leading the left column in the storming of Seringapatam. The fall of Mysore opened out a new and vast area of territory to the English, of which Lord Wellesley was not slow to take advantage. Colonel Colin Mackenzie

took up the topographical departments; to Dr. Buchanan was allotted the descriptive and ethnological; and Lambton submitted his plan of a trigonometrical survey of the peninsula, which was accepted. From the want of proper instruments, his proceedings could not be commenced until 1802; and on the 10th April, the first base-line was measured near Madras, from which the measurement of an arc of the meridian was successfully carried out. Thence the triangulation was prolonged to the Mysore plateau, but it was afterwards discovered that most of the work done was incorrect, and had to be rectified. Gradually, however, the east and west coasts were connected: and the error discovered in the old route survey maps, no less than forty miles, proved the necessity for more scientific proceedings. When the two sides of the peninsula were determined, another meridian arc was measured; and what was termed the 'great arc series' of triangles were commenced. In 1815, these triangles, progressing northwards, had reached Beeder in the territories of His Highness the Nizam, where a new base-line was laid down. 'In twenty years,' wrote Lambton to a friend, 'I have scarcely experienced a heavy hour;' yet he had many vexations and trials to contend with. Apart from his own occasional mistakes and corrections, Major Rennell still maintained in England the superiority and economy of his theory of the route surveys, and Lambton's work was 'starved.' He proceeded with it, however, nothing daunted, as best he could, and in 1813 his work was reviewed in this Journal by Professor Playfair.\* In 1817 he was created a corresponding member of the Institute of France, and the year after a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In the winter of 1822, the triangulations of the great arc series had reached Berar; but the fine old man was now broken. Constant hard work and exposure had affected body and mind, and on the 20th January, 1823, he died at Hingunghât, where he was buried. In his last report, when he was failing, he wrote, 'I sincerely hope, after I relinquish this work, somebody will be found possessing zeal, constitution, and attainments, wherewith to prosecute it; and it would indeed be gratifying to me if I could but entertain a distant hope that a work which I began should, at some future period, be extended all over British India.' Colonel Lambton's wish has been fulfilled. British India is larger now than it was when he wrote those words, but his Great Arc Series has been

\* Ed. Rev. vol. xxi. p. 310.

carried up to the Himalayas, and Assam connected with the Indus, while the intervening portions of unsurveyed area grow smaller year by year.

Captain, afterwards Sir George Everest, Lambton's assistant, succeeded him, and carried on the triangles to Sironj in Central India, when his health broke down, and he was obliged to leave, after having measured and laid down a new base-line; but the triangles during his absence were carried on to Calcutta by Mr. Olliver. Everest returned in 1830, bringing with him from England all the improved instruments necessary for his work; and taking up the series at Muttra, to which point northwards it had progressed, he worked on till he reached the southern base of the Himalayas in 1834, where a new and the most northern base-line was measured and fixed. It is impossible here, however, to follow up the details of these operations, interesting as they are. In 1841, the progress of all concerned admitted of two arcs being tested—that between Kaliaua and Kaliaupoor was  $5^{\circ} 23' 37''$ , and from Kaliaupoor to Dummurgidda, near Beeder,  $6^{\circ} 3' 55.9''$ , where the old base-line was re-measured: and the difference between the actual measurement of the base-line, and the computation of that measurement from the vast triangulation, was only 4.296 inches! It is impossible to conceive a greater scientific triumph. It was the actual verification of the great arc series which connected Cape Comorin with Banog in the Himalayas, in a perfectly direct line from south to north.

Under this result, what is called the gridiron system was now established. Other lines of departure were fixed, and lines of triangulations taken from north to south, crossed by others from east to west. The system was Everest's own conception and invention, and, to quote Mr. Markham (p. 79), 'He had completed one of the most stupendous works in the whole history of science. He entirely altered and revolutionised the old system of Lambton by substituting the gridiron for the network method. He introduced the compensation bars which have measured every base in India down to the present day. He invented the plan of observing by heliotrope flashes, and the system of ray tracing, and designed the plan for the towers. There have been modifications and improvements since his time, but nearly everything in the surveys was originated by this great geodesist.' Sir George Everest died in 1866. He was succeeded in 1843 by his chief assistant, Colonel, now Sir Andrew, Waugh, a man of like attainments in science, and equal perseverance. We only regret that our limited space prevents any specification of his able work, and

that of his assistants, among which Captain Strange's operations in the desert lying east of Sind are perhaps the most remarkable for skill, endurance, and perseverance. Before his retirement as Major-General in 1861, Sir Andrew Waugh had the satisfaction of having included in the great gridiron series the Punjab and Cashmere, with a host of other enterprises, of which Mr. Markham gives ample detail. Since then the survey has progressed on the same principles in the filling in, as it were, of the areas between the bars of the 'gridiron' which will continue till the whole is finished.

Along with the great trigonometrical proceedings, those of the topographical survey were unremittingly carried on. The work between the points of triangles, marked by cairns of stones and other means, was executed by plane table, on a scale of two miles to an inch; and every village, every hill, every river and its tributaries, to their very sources, were laid down with extraordinary minuteness and accuracy. But into the details of this work, arduous and interesting as it was, we cannot enter; enough has been said to define the origin of the great survey of India, and to trace its gradual development to its present perfection by the great minds by which it has been directed. The revenue survey is following the trigonometrical and topographical operations. By it, the lands of every village are measured field by field, plotted, classified, and assessed for revenue, according to the quality of the soil; and the record of landed property throughout India will eventually be as perfect as that of the Ordnance survey of Great Britain. Every point agrees with the triangles of the trigonometrical survey, and thus the whole of the operations are reduced to exact harmony. It may be hoped that nothing will occur to prevent or delay the completion of the whole in all its parts, though many years will necessarily be required for the purpose. We cannot leave Mr. Markham's work without expressing our sense of the patient industry and skill with which it has been written from the widely scattered and often incomplete matter at his disposal. His style is terse and clear, and the memoir, as a record of scientific skill, endurance, and success in one of the greatest national undertakings on record, should find a place in every library. It is too soon perhaps to review the work of the geological and archaeological surveys, which are in satisfactory progress; and the subjects to which they relate have so wide a scope and interest, that they would, in any case, require independent illustration.

During the progress of the first of the great arc series of triangulation, the Central Provinces were intersected by the

line taken from south to north, on the meridian of Jubulpoor, or, as now written, Jabalpur. This wild country was then comparatively little known: and the hardships of the survey operations amid tracts of mountain and unbroken jungles are almost unprecedented. A topographical survey for revenue purposes was completed in 1842 by Captain Wroughton on the trigonometrical points laid down by Captains Waugh and Renny in 1832, but comparatively little was known of the district, which, from its wild character, its savage aboriginal population, and, in some portions, extremely unhealthy climate, appears to have been then considered almost irreclaimable. The lapse of time, however, has brought great change and amelioration to the Central Provinces. They are no longer shunned as deadly tracts of malaric jungles; their formerly wild people have become infinitely more civilised in the course of two generations; and in the excellent 'Gazetteer' edited by Mr. Charles Grant, we have a record of one of the most interesting and hitherto imperfectly known portions of British India. Its local history is varied and well-defined, its scenery for the most part grand, beautiful, and diversified; its productions valuable; and its people, owing to the large admixture of the aboriginal classes, different in most particulars from the population of more continuously civilised and more settled localities of the plains, and infinitely more interesting.

The Central Provinces were the refuge of many aboriginal, or non-Aryan, tribes which were driven into their mountains and forests by the conquering Aryans many thousands of years perhaps ago, and they dwelt there, undisturbed and unconquered, till the later period of the Mohammedan power, and the more persevering and more effectual predatory invasions of the Mahrattas. As the conquerors of both powers in succession, these provinces passed under British rule, and were formally taken possession of; settlements for payment of revenue were made with the hereditary chieftains, and there were collectors and magistrates, who, with their native subordinates, performed their usual duties; but information, such as was freely afforded from more settled localities, there was none. Even to a comparatively late period, stories were currently believed of wild men who inhabited the forests and lived in trees; of others who were cannibals; and again of tribes who sacrificed human victims to their 'gods,' and 'who remained ever fierce and intractable. The rugged defiles, mountain fastnesses, and forests were inaccessible to the officers of government; they were believed to be pestilential to



all others except their rude inhabitants, to reclaim whom no attempts were made; and thus until a comparatively recent period, nearly the whole tract was in a great degree unknown and unexplored, except by the dauntless officers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. In the official reports of Sir Richard Jenkins, the former Resident at, and Commissioner of Nágpur during the minority of the Bhóslay Raja, and of Sir William Sleeman, and Sir Donald Macleod, both Commissioners of the Ságor and Narbada territories, some interesting details of the country and the people are to be gathered; but it was not till the junction of Nágpur with the other central provinces of Ságor and Narbada under the incumbency of Sir Richard Temple, that any effectual investigation was made, or the previous disconnected systems of local administration united into one practical and harmonious whole.

Sir Richard Temple threw the whole of his great mental and physical energies into this work. He travelled by almost incredibly rapid journeys through all the sections of his charge, which included an area of about 250,000 square miles. He made the personal acquaintance of every chieftain and landholder of note, ascertained their wants and desires, as well as those of the inferior proprietors and peasantry; he projected roads, bridged rivers, improved the government stations, and established schools and dispensaries in every practicable locality. In 1865 he held a large Industrial Exhibition at Nágpur, which all classes of the people from all districts, rude as well as civilised, attended in crowds; and thus not only gave an impetus to the dull stagnation which had previously existed, but by his ready tact and ability invited the people themselves to assist in efforts of improvement and advancement hitherto utterly unattempted. In England such exertions are comparatively little known; yet it is impossible to overrate them; and in paying a passing tribute to the energy, judgment, and unflagging perseverance of Sir Richard Temple, we can direct attention to their result, while similar effects from the administration of other able officers have been in simultaneous progress throughout India.

What are now termed the Central Provinces consist of two great portions, the Ságor and Narbada territories, and the former Mahratta state of Nágpur, which were united under one head administration in 1861. To the north they touch upon the great Gangetic plain; to the east upon Bengal and Cuttack; to the south upon the territories of his Highness the Nizam; and in the west the dominions of Sindia and the districts of the Bombay Presidency form the frontier; thus in

any map of India the reader will be able to trace their general situation with sufficient distinctness. In this area are contained several considerable mountain ranges, the Vindhya, the Kalibhit, the Mahadeo, and the Satpúra, which, though never rising much beyond 4,000 feet above the sea, are broken into rugged and most picturesque groups and masses, separated by fertile valleys and deep gorges, which form the channels of several great rivers and their affluents. The sacred Nerbada or Nerbudda, and the Tapti to the west, the Sóné and Máhá-nádi to the east and south, receive the drainage of the great ranges of the Central Indian mountains; and though little more than torrents in their upper portions, are yet navigable to some extent as they approach the sea, and their courses abound with some of the most picturesque scenery in India.

We are sorely tempted to linger among the Vindhya and Satpúras, and to describe, with their beautiful scenery, many a group of ancient temples, many a thriving town, many a stronghold and mountain fastness, memorials of the rough mediæval ages, and the power of local princes and barons as free, as powerful, and as independent as their contemporaries in Europe. It is in such localities that legends live among the people, and the various articles in this Gazetteer give many of very interesting and curious character. Some belong to warlike feats of local heroes, and the vicissitudes of families; others to witchcraft, sorcery, and supernatural influences; but the majority, perhaps, to the religious beliefs of the people mingling the aboriginal with the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Jain, and the more modern Mohammedan. As Mr. Campbell observes in his Introduction, p. xix:—

‘It would be endless to multiply instances. From this hill is heard the sound of fairy drums—in that lake are seen reflected the ruins of a buried city: here the hill-sides have been hollowed into rude temples—there the confluence of two rivers is marked by some solitary temple on the bluff below which the waters meet. In short, almost every spot of eminent natural beauty or interest has been appreciated by a religion which, however debased, still retains something of the form, if not of the spirit, of Nature-worship.’

In so wild a tract, much of the country is necessarily uncultivated, and covered either by true forest or by scrub jungle, which is difficult to eradicate or suppress; yet there is no want of evidence that many, even of the most inaccessible and deserted portions, were at no very distant period in a high state of cultivation, affording considerable revenue to the Mohammedan governments. The district of Mandlá which forms the upper valley of the Nerbada, is said ‘to have once

‘ returned a revenue of over ten lakhs of rupees, or 100,000*l.*, ‘ per year, but its total assessment is now only 56,516 rupees, ‘ or little more than 5,600*l.* per year’ (p. xxi). What causes have led to this desolation in the course of centuries, it is impossible to conjecture; but the amazing increase of tigers in some localities has been one cause of their abandonment, and the rapid growth of the jungle, which soon obliterates even the traces of once populous villages, is another. Of the mischief which can be effected by tigers when they take to ‘ human food,’ a notable instance is given at p. xxii, when a tigress in the Chánda district, destroyed in 1867 and 1868, no less than 132 men and women. Despite tigers and malaria, however, in the Satpúrá ranges, many localities of the utmost fertility abound, which are thus described by Mr. Grant :—

‘ The hills are higher and more abrupt, the black soil deposits are deeper, and the water supply is more abundant. Hence in the grain-growing plateaus of basalt, there often may be found little valleys cultivated like gardens :—crops of sugar-cane and opium, which, but for their inaccessibility, would tempt away the best cultivators of the plains. It is thought that in some of these upland basins, where the winds are cooled by passing over miles of natural vegetation and the air, even in May, is clear and light, that coffee and other delicate plants might be raised with success : but obstacles which have so long retarded the settlement of these provinces, though partially smoothed away, still exist, and can only be surmounted by patient and continued energy. . . Much has been done to open out the country of late years. . . Year by year something is added by the forest department to its system of roads ; something is done by district officers to smooth the most difficult ascents, and to improve the crossing of streams.’ (Pp. xx, xxi.)

Wherever the land is cultivated, the return of productions given in the various district reports show the cultivation to be of the most valuable description. Cotton is not much grown, but the upper valley of the Narbada and other localities produce immense quantities of wheat of the finest quality, with other cereals : ginger, turmeric, sugar-cane, opium, and other ‘ garden ’ crops ; Chattisgurh produces rice ; while the poorer lands only, and the cleared forest patches, yield the minor grains and millets, which form the subsistence of the real aboriginal tribes. In short, the whole of these provinces, so long neglected, are a fair and most beautiful tract, which, under the earnest means applied to its improvement, cannot fail of immense development and advancement.

Chapter iii. of the Introduction relates to the history, both ancient and modern, of the various provinces and districts which are now united, and forms a most valuable and interesting contribution to the general history of India. The chief

interest centres in the Gónds, so long isolated and almost unknown, who, as one of the so-termed aboriginal tribes of India, probably retreated into the fastnesses of the Vindhya, Sátpúra, Mahadeo, and other Central Indian ranges of mountain before the Aryan conquerors of the North-west Provinces. The earliest traditions of the country relate to the invasion of Rama king of Oudh; when, on his expedition against Ceylon, as related in the Ramayan, he traversed the gloomy forests of 'Dandaka,' and with difficulty forced his way through them, and the wild gibbering savages who inhabited them. By degrees Aryan hermits and devotees established themselves in secluded spots: and though sorely tormented by the rude inhabitants, still contrived to hold their ground. We may imagine that these persistent and fearless missionaries gradually made some converts, and joined by warriors, artisans, and cultivators of their own races, established village communities, and obtained portions of the country.

Thus from the ancient Hindu writings we find the Narbada valley peopled by 'Kshatriyas,' the Aryan warriors, whose capital was Mahéshmati, now Mahéshwar. They are of the Háiháya tribe, and preserved their connexion with Góndwana\* till the last century. Other Kshatriya or Rajpoot tribes or clans, the Pramáras and Chauhans, held sway over other portions of the mountain tracts; built castles, and maintained strong garrisons in them. Of all, however, the Háiháyás were the most ancient. A copper-plate found near Mandla, with a Sanscrit inscription, gives a date corresponding to A.D. 144, and one of their rajahs is commemorated in an inscription on a temple in Chattisgurrh, of Samvat 160, corresponding to A.D. 103, according to the era of Vikramáditya. The branch of the tribe which ruled over Chattisgurrh ceased to reign only in 1740, when they were deposed by the Mahrattas. Other inscriptions and copper-plates show branches of the tribe which held local power, and a genealogical table given at page lii, explains not only their descent and succession, but gives most valuable dates for the guidance of any future historian of ancient Indian dynasties. The whole of the historical detail which follows, as regards the Jabalpúr and Chedí dynasties, the Pramáras of India, and the Yavanas, all of whom are masters of extensive kingdoms, is especially valuable as a record of detached facts, dynasties, and dates, now brought together; but they are only broken fragments after all, and as Mr. Grant observes:—

\* Wilson's 'Vishnu Parána,' vol. iv. p. 56.

'Divested of their dress of pompous panegyric, they shrink down to dry lists and unmeaning symbols. . . . Through the froth and glitter of these inscriptions all that can be really ascertained is, that in the fifth century A.D., a race of foreign (Yavana) origin ruled over the Sâtpûra plateau, and that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the country round Jabalpur was governed by princes of one of the most distinguished lunar Rajpoot races; while a territory south of the Sâtpûras was held by the fire-descended Prânarâ princes of Mâlwa.' (P. lviii.)

Whether the true Rajpoot races died out, or were overthrown by the Gonds and Gaulis (herdsmen), is not to be solved by tradition; but there is no doubt that princes of both these tribes held power in Gondwana, and with the Nâgbansis, or 'Snake-descended,' shared the mountain tracts between them. The whole of the details given in chapter iv. of these dynasties is very complete and important, and evinces great research. Serpent-worship in Central India has already been discussed by Mr. Fergusson in his great work on tree and serpent-worship; and the accounts of the Nâgbansi rulers, and their existence for a long period as a really powerful dynasty, suggests the probability of the construction of serpent-worship temples by them, and of their commemoration in the great Boodhist topes of Sanchi and Amrawnti. Sanchi, indeed, would be close to the seat of their dominion. The Naga tribes were most probably Bactrian Scythians; the Gaulis may have been members of the Indian aboriginal races; and both being civilised to a great extent by their ancient Aryan (Rajpoot) conquerors, gradually acquired settled habits, with the arts of war and peace, and in time supplanted their predecessors. Nor can there be much doubt that the Nâgbansis were, and still are, the representatives of the snake-kings mentioned in the Mahabharata and other of the earliest Hindu writings.

'The old snake-worship has not, indeed (Mr. Grant observes), died out altogether among the highest classes of Gonds. It is said that among the Raj Gonds of the Raipur districts, a solemn service is performed every seven years to the snake gods; but it is kept intensely secret, and may only be witnessed by married worshippers. In fact, it seems that serpent-worship was among the Gonds an aristocratic faith, unknown to the mass of the people, and that now in the highest classes, where it has not altogether died out, it is carried on in stealth and secrecy.' (P. lxviii.)

Their snake-descent did not, however, prevent the local Rajpoot princes from an alliance by marriage with the Gond Nâgbansis, and the example was probably followed by their retainers; thus a mixed race arose, which, partly original Gond, and partly Aryan Rajpoot, now claims to be wholly

Rajpoot, and is represented by perhaps the greater number of the existing local chieftains.

Up to a comparatively late period the Mohammedan kings of Northern India, though they conquered and possessed Málwa, seem to have made no attempts to subdue Góndwáná, or to reduce its local princes to feudal tributaries. But after some vicissitudes, the province was conquered and annexed to the kingdom of Málwa, by Sooltan Hooshung, under a convention with Ahmed Shah Bahmani, king of the Deccan. Gurha Mandla, another powerful Gónd dynasty, met with similar vicissitudes. In 1560, Rani Dúrgâwâti was the queen-regent, a woman of more than ordinary mark in the record of Indian celebrities. She improved her country by fine irrigation works, one of which is the great reservoir near Jabalpur, called the 'Râni Talaó,' and her memory still lives in the traditions of the country. Her fate was a sad one. In 1564, Asaf Khan, the Viceroy of the Emperor Akbar, at Manickpoor, invaded Góndwáná, and after an obstinate engagement with the queen, who led her own troops with great gallantry, she was defeated, and a river in her rear having risen in flood, she was unable to fly, and in her despair plunged a dagger into her breast. Henceforth the independence of Mandla ceased, and its princes became feudal subjects of Delhi. In 1742, the Peshwah invaded Mandla at the head of a Mahratta force; the reigning prince, Maharaj Sá, was killed, and the country mercilessly plundered, being not long afterwards incorporated by the Bhósleys with Nágpúr. The history of these local dynasties need not perhaps be sketched, as they are of comparatively little interest; but they are given in detail in the various local district reports, with many curious particulars.

Nágpúr forms the southern division of these provinces, and is composed of many districts. Its original capital was Chanda, where a powerful local dynasty of the Gónd-Rajpoot character established itself in 870 A.D., and reigned in uninterrupted succession till 1751. In 1758-9 the Peshwa of the Mahrattas, during the Mahratta mission to Delhi, endeavoured to obtain from the Emperor Ferókhshar a cession of Chanda; and not succeeding in this, afterwards despatched Kanhoji Bhósley to invade the provinces of Góndwáná. The Mahrattas were at first unsuccessful, but after the death of Ram Sá, the Raja of Chanda, in 1735, the internal dissensions of the Chanda kingdom afforded the Mahrattas the opportunity they had so long desired, and the ancient local dynasty was overpowered. 'When they fell,' writes Major Leslie Smith, the author

of the very full and interesting article upon Chanda, 'they left, if we forget the last few years, a well-governed and contented kingdom, adorned with admirable works of engineering skill, particularly great irrigation reservoirs, one of which is seventeen miles in circumference, and prosperous to a point which no after time has reached.' We need not pursue the later history of Nágpur, which in fact is part of that of modern India.

One of the remarkable peculiarities of the Central Provinces, as already stated, is the large admixture of aboriginal tribes with the genuine population of Hindus and Mohammedans. They have been divided by the Ethnological Committee of Nágpur into two divisions—Kolarian or northern, and Dravidian or southern. We spare our readers the enumeration of these tribes.

'The Central Provinces (according to the report of the Ethnological Committee of Nágpur) have been aptly compared to a "thick bit of cover in the middle of an open country"—a thicket in which when the plains all round have been swept by hunters or cleared by colonists, you are sure to find all the wild animals that have not been exterminated. But even this (adds Mr. Grant), one of the last refuges of the aboriginal races, has been so largely invaded by people of Aryan descent, that out of a population of nine millions of souls two millions only are classed under the head of Hill and Aboriginal Tribes; three-fourths of whom are Gonds.' (P. cvi.)

This tribe inhabits, for the most part, the Satpúra Plateau: the others are more widely distributed, and are of a wilder and more savage character. Thus the Kurkus, about 40,000 souls, inhabit the Pashnari group of hills; the Bhils, about 25,000, the forests of the Nimaur district. To the east the natural fastnesses of the sources of the Sóné and Nerbada, unexplored till of late years by Europeans, shelter the Baigás, the wildest of all the hill tribes, who do not exceed 17,000. The Gonds belong, according to recent classification, to the Dravidian section: and besides the Satpúra range, they occupy most of the great southern wilderness between the plains of Chattisgarh and the Godavery, but they are mingled with Kolarian tribes, as Kóls, Dhangurs, Gádbás, and others in the forests of Bustar.

The origin of the Gonds is lost in mythic tradition, but their belief is that they had a northern origin, 'for till lately they buried their dead, head to south and feet to north, in order that the corpse might be ready to be carried to the northern home of its people.' The late Rev. Mr. Hislop, who led the way to investigations of the local aboriginal tribes, was of opinion that the Dravidians, entering India by the north-west, met the stream of Kolarian immigrants

from the north-east; and it is perhaps a curious and strong corroborative fact, that in the vicinity of Nágpur, Jabalpur, and other localities, large numbers of flint knives, stones from which they have been chipped, celts, stone axes and arrow-heads, precisely the same in appearance and character to those found in Europe and other countries, have also been found; and not only these stone implements, but cairns, dolmen, &c., of a similar construction, and containing the same remains, in pottery, weapons, and skeletons, as their European prototypes. That such remains belong to the Dravidian (Turanian) section of India there can be no doubt, as they exist all over the southern portion of India, and so far as examples have been found, the comparatively recent discoveries in the Central Provinces are the most northern. Can it be said, therefore, that the Gonds, with their unmistakable Mongolian features, and among whom snake-worship prevails, are descended from the early Scythian nomadic tribes, and were followed by the more civilised Aryans? However this may have been, there can be little doubt that they were driven from the plains into their present fastnesses, and thus present the same points for consideration as the Santals and other hill tribes so fully described by Dr. W. W. Hunter in his *Annals of 'Rural Bengal.'*\* In many parts, the Gonds, in their contact with Hindus, have adopted many of the customs of the Hindus. In these changes, however, they lose much of their national or hereditary independence and strength of character, and are but lightly esteemed by real Hindus; and they still practise in secret the rites of their ancient faith.

The able report on Mandla by Captain H. C. E. Ward, one of the most interesting of the whole series, has a large space devoted to the customs and superstitions of the local Gonds which affords many most curious particulars. The forest in which the Gond lives is peopled by him

‘with spirits of all kinds, most of them invested with the power of inflicting evil. To propitiate them, he sets up *páts* in spots selected either by himself or by his ancestors, and there performs certain rites, generally consisting of small offerings on certain days. These *páts* are sometimes merely a bamboo with a piece of rag tied to the end, a heap of stones, or perhaps only a few pieces of rag tied to the branches of a tree. However, the spirit is supposed to have taken up his abode there, and on the occasion of anything of importance happening in the Gond's family, the spirit has his share of the good things going in the shape of a little spirits, and possibly a fowl sacrificed to him.’ (P. 275.)

Thakúr Deô is held in great reverence by the Báiga Gonds.



At one village, Játá, Captain Ward was shown a few links of a roughly forged chain, which the superstition of the people had gifted with the power of voluntary motion. This chain looked very old, and no one could say how long it had been at Játá; it was occasionally found hanging on a *bér* tree, sometimes on a stone under the tree, and at others in the bed of a neighbouring *nálá*. At the time of Captain Ward's visit it was on the stone under the tree from which it was said to have descended four days before. Each of these movements is made the occasion of some petty sacrifice, of which the attendant Báiga priest reaps the benefit:—

‘Ghansyám Deo is considered the protector of the crops, and in the month of Kartik, November, the whole village assembles at his shrine to worship him; sacrifices of fowls and spirits, or a pig occasionally, according to the size of the village, are offered, and Ghansyám is said to descend upon the head of one of the worshippers, who is suddenly seized with a kind of fit, and after staggering about for a little, rushes off into the wildest jungle, where, the popular theory is, if not pursued and brought back, he would inevitably die of starvation a raving lunatic; for as it is, after being brought back by one or two men who are sent after him, he does not recover his senses for one or two days. The idea is that one man is thus singled out as a scapegoat for the sins of the rest of the village.’ (Pp. 275-76.)

Among the Báiga, and indeed all other Gónnds, the belief in witchcraft is very strong, and in Mandla and Chattisgarh down to the coast, the country is deemed to be so infested by witches, that Mr. Grant states no prudent father would let his daughter marry into a family which did not include among its members at least one of the dangerous sisterhood. But Mr. Grant's account of the whole system and method of dealing with it is too curious and interesting to be omitted, as the following extract, in which is condensed all the matter of other reports, will testify:—

‘The non-Aryan belief in the power of evil here strikes a ready chord in the mind of their conquerors attuned to dread by the inhospitable appearance of the country, and the terrible effects of malarious influence upon human life. In the wilds of Mandla there are many hillside caverns which not even the most intrepid Báiga hunter would approach for fear of attracting upon himself the wrath of their demoniac inhabitants; and when these hillmen, who are regarded holy by themselves and by others as ministers between men and spirits, themselves fear, the sleek cultivators of the plains must feel absolute repulsion. The suddenness of the epidemics to which, from deficient water supply or other causes, Central India seems so subject, is another fruitful source of terror among an ignorant people. When cholera breaks out in a wild part of the country, it creates a perfect stampede—villages, roads, and all works in progress are deserted; even the sick are abandoned

by their nearest relatives to die; and crowds fly to the jungle, there to starve on fruits and berries till the panic has passed off. The only consideration for which their minds have room at such times is the punishment of the offenders; for the ravages of the disease are unhesitatingly set down to human malice. The Police records of the Central Provinces unfortunately contain too many sad instances of life thus sacrificed to a mad unreasoning terror. The tests applied are very various; as a commencement, either a lamp is lighted and the names of the supposed witches being repeated, the flicker of the light is supposed to indicate the culprit; or two leaves are thrown upon the outstretched hand of the suspected person, and if that which represents him or her falls uppermost, opinion goes against him. In Bastar the leaf ordeal is followed by sewing up the accused in a sack and letting him down into water waist deep; if he manages in his struggle for life to raise his head above water, he is finally adjudged to be guilty. Then comes the punishment. He (or she) is beaten with tamarind or castor-oil plant rods, which are supposed to have a peculiar efficacy in these cases; their teeth are knocked out, and the head is shaved. The extraction of the teeth is said in Bastar to be effected with the idea of preventing the witch from muttering charms; but in Kamāon the object of the operation is rather to prevent her from doing mischief under the form of a tiger, which is the Indian equivalent of the Loup Garou. The shaving of the head is attributed by an acute observer to the notion of power residing in the hair; and it seems clear from the record of instances that it is done rather as an antidote against future evil than merely as a punishment to the offender.

'Sometimes the suspected persons escape these trials, accompanied as they are by abuse, exposure, and confinement—with life. But often the tests are too severe for them, or the fury of the villagers is so roused by the spectacle that they kill their victims outright. The crime is not yet quite extinct; but it has been much checked of late years by the expedient of executing the misdoers on the scene of their misdeeds.' (Intro. pp. cxxxi-ii.)

Defaced as it is by superstitions like these, yet the natural character of the Gônd stands high in comparison with many other classes, both of aborigines and Hindus.

'Wild, uncivilised, and ignorant (writes Captain Ward in his Land Settlement Report on Mandla), the Gônds are among themselves honest, faithful, and trustworthy, courageous in some points, and truthful as regards faults they have committed. (As a rule they plead guilty when brought before the courts.) As a race they are now well behaved, and very amenable to authority, however turbulent they may have been in former days. They occasionally exercise their talents in cattle-lifting; but when the innumerable opportunities which they have are taken into consideration, and the facilities with which crime of this sort may be committed, it is wonderful that there is not more.' (P. 274.)

And again:—

'Fearless, trustworthy, independent, ready enough to give their

opinion, and very willing to assist, they manage their communities in a way deserving of high praise. Social crimes, such as the abduction of women, are more or less prevalent among them, but these cases are always decided by the village elders, generally to the satisfaction of all parties. Thefts among each other seem unknown.' (P. 279.)

Unflagging and fearless sportsmen, they attack all game, even tigers, and soon clear the forest around their settlements of every wild beast, using poisoned arrows, which never fail of effect. Their original language has been much supplanted by Hindi; but the Gónds retain theirs, which is unquestionably of Turanian origin.

Another interesting notice of a section of the aboriginal races is that of the Chamars of Chattisgurh. 'The Chamars are an outcast tribe found all over India as shoemakers and leather-dressers, and are classed among the lowest of 'Mlécha,' or outcasts. In Chattisgurh, however, they have become cultivators, and now own 362 villages peopled by themselves, which are in a highly prosperous condition. Subject previously to the priestly control of Brahmans, a religious movement was begun among them about fifty years ago by Ghasi-das, one of their number, under the appellation of Sutnámi. They have thrown off Hinduism entirely, and with it the worship of idols. Their moral rules are simple and excellent, and the movement has had the effect of raising them greatly in the social scale. They are proud of their emancipation and independence, and as the new faith is professed by 250,000 people, the importance of their advancement from despised outcasts into a now recognised portion of the people, cannot be overrated. A very interesting detail of the movement is given in the article 'Bilaspúr,' pp. 100-103, and it is satisfactory to know that a Christian mission has recently been established among these Chamars, or, as they now term themselves, Sutnamis, to which they are very favourably disposed.

Very different are the purer Gónds of Bustar—the Márias, Máris, and other tribes. Shy and secluded in their almost impenetrable forests, they shun civilised persons with horror; 'the sight of a horse is a terror to them.' Their villages are difficult to find, and only known to the local tax-gatherer or to traders who exchange what are required by them—cloths, beads, and salt—for coarse grain and bees' wax. They wear scarcely any clothing, possess no cattle, and use only a hoe for their rude tillage. These are aborigines in their original condition, unmixed with, and unaffected by, Aryans, Hindus, or Moham-medans. They are cheerful and honest when known, and

harmless among themselves and to others. These Bustar forests are, we are glad to observe, being gradually explored, with a view to making a high road through them. In the course of his travels Colonel Haig, as we learn from a recent Indian paper, discovered the falls of the Indrawati, which almost rival Niagara. The fall is ninety-four feet in perpendicular height, and the river 500 yards in width. The volume of water being estimated at thirty millions of cubic feet per hour, the scene being one of the wildest and grandest imaginable. The forests of Bustar provide some of the best teak wood in India, with other valuable timber, and from them the wants of Hyderabad in the Deccan, Coringa, and other Eastern ports are supplied. This trade was first developed by Messrs. William Palmer & Co., of Hyderabad, and was in active progress when the transactions of their firm were prohibited by Government in 1823. Since then it has only been partially carried on by native adventurers.

Of the entire population of the Central Provinces, which amounts to nine millions, the aboriginal tribes furnish two millions, the rest 'almost amounts to a microcosm of the people of India.' What may become of the Gonds time and progress alone can determine; they may either be gradually incorporated with Hindus, or, like the Sâtnami Chamars, attain a more enlightened faith, with decided advancement in character. At present their connexion with the more civilised Hinduism does not certainly improve them, but the contrary. Mr. Grant observes—

'Everything tends to show that civilisation in the only form in which he (the Gond) knows it, is the most fatal of all influences to the semi-savage aboriginal. He tries to match with the Hindu in cunning, and loses his simple-minded honesty without gaining a step in the race of life. He learns a more careful method of cultivation, but only to exercise it as the tool of the superior intelligence by which he has been instructed. His brute courage survives, but it only serves him to become a cat'spaw in dark enterprises which bring profit to his master, to him risk and demoralisation. In this dull, helot life the spirit of the Hillman, who in his own wilds knew no restraint but the easy sway of vague supernatural powers, becomes cribbed and confined; the constant sense of inferiority wears away his self-confidence, and he sinks to the condition of a mere besotted animal . . . If he is too far behind the Hindu to enter into competition with him successfully, it may be that the only means of fitting him to hold his own would be to develop his character and strengthen his abilities, in isolation from deterioration.' (P. cxix.)

We most heartily concur in this sentiment, and there is no doubt that some means have been already undertaken by the

local Governments to advance the Gonds; some are employed in the police, some of their youths attend Government schools, but much time must inevitably pass before the mass of this curious and interesting tribe can be affected. Hindu (Aryan) civilisation has not changed them. Mohammedan conquest did not subdue or convert them. What they were at the earliest period of Hindu history, three thousand years ago, they are now, with little or no advancement; the same in language, in religion—if what they believe can be called religion—in social habits, in ignorance and superstition, in occupations, and in character. If they can be raised in the social scale, and not depressed by the civilisation with which they are now in contact, the result will redound to the credit of the most beneficent Government which has ever ruled over their country.

The administration of these wide provinces is admirably constituted. It consists of a chief commissioner with a secretary and an assistant. By him the executive and the revenue administration are conducted. The courts civil and criminal are under the control and superintendence of a chief judge, with the title of judicial commissioner, and the Central Provinces, though termed non-regulation, have had extended to them considerable portions of the regulations or laws of the Bengal Presidency:—

‘In almost every respect then (writes Mr. Grant, p. cxxxviii), the legal procedure is as distinctly defined as in the oldest provinces, and the only distinguishing feature of the system in its present form is the combination of judicial and executive functions in the same officials—a method which has more than a formal value among a simple people unaccustomed to the divisions of authority or to the intricacies of law.’

The administrative staff consists of four commissioners, nineteen deputy commissioners, seventeen assistants, twenty-four extra assistants, and fifty tehsildars or sub-collectors, who are distributed over nineteen districts grouped into four divisions. There is a separate department of police, which numbers 7,417 petty officers and constables. Education, forest conservancy, and vaccination are also amply provided for, as also jail management, sanitation, and registration. The medical department includes eighteen civil surgeons, nine assistant surgeons, and ninety-five hospital assistants, or native doctors. Few people in England have perhaps any idea of the extent and variety of work to be performed, and it could only be described at great length; but the functions of a deputy commissioner are so well described by Mr. Grant, that we cannot help quoting the passage from his Introduction:

'But the unit in the executive scheme is the Deputy Commissioner, whose duties are very various. He is chief magistrate of a district, averaging in these provinces 4,316 square miles in extent, with an average revenue of 6,30,000 Rs., 63,000*l.*, and an average population of 420,000 souls, and he has special criminal powers of imprisonment up to seven years in certain cases. His original civil jurisdiction is unlimited in amount, and he hears appeals from his assistants up to 1,000 Rs. He is also chief of the police, chief collector of revenue, conservator of the district forests, supervisor of popular education, marriage registrar, ex officio member of all municipalities in his district, and head of the local agencies for the management of roads, ferries, encamping grounds, public gardens, stock-breeding establishments, rest houses, and other public buildings not of imperial character. These duties branch into many others too numerous to mention; but it may safely be said that the miscellaneous work of a Deputy Commissioner in a Central District often occupies more time than his more regular functions.' (Introduction, p. cxxxix.)

The total revenue of the Central Provinces amounted in 1868-69 to 1,04,74,669 rupees, or 1,047,466*l.*, of which the amount received from land was 59,30,603 rupees, or, in round numbers, 593,000*l.*, the rest being made up of taxes on salt, sugar, excise, stamps, and miscellaneous items. Education is partly provided for by subscriptions, fees, and a tax of two per cent. upon landholders. About 50,000*l.* per year is expended, about one-half being met from local sources, the rest contributed by the Imperial Exchequer. There are two high schools, sixteen middle class schools, and six normal schools. These are extra to the district schools. The returns for all the districts do not appear, but in six, the number of schools is 571, and the number of scholars 34,409. There are, besides, some girls' schools, of which Nāgpūr possesses eight, with 256 scholars. In the wild hill districts, education would appear to have been almost unknown up to 1862. We find by the report, p. 157, 'when our educational system was commenced, there was nowhere to be found, in Chattisgarh, save in the town of Raipūr itself, one institution that could be called a school, or a single person who could be called a schoolmaster.'

A striking proof of the improvement in local trade is afforded by the fact that in 1863-64, the exports and imports were valued at about four millions sterling; in 1868-69, they had increased to six and three-quarter millions. Yet the railway was not then completed; and there can be no doubt that the present and prospective increase will be in an extraordinary ratio.

The Central Provinces appear to have no minerals but coal and iron; but until the country is better explored and known,

it is impossible to be precise on this point. Coal, however, there is in profusion in several localities—in the valley of the Narbada, in the districts of Betúl and Chindwara, and in the newly discovered immense coal-fields of Chanda and East Berar, in communication with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. It appears also at Chitarewa, Sahwara, on the banks and on the bed of the Morán, in Jabalpur, on the banks of the Mahanadi, on the Sunkar, near Sihora, and at Ghugur—localities widely dispersed, yet proving the existence of this valuable mineral over a very large proportion of the country. That, however, in East Berar appears to be the most extensive and valuable: and the last Administration Report for Hyderabad, which includes Berar, states that the area of the coal-field is upwards of a thousand square miles, including both banks of the Wurda river. The coal is at an easy working depth—seventy-seven feet below the surface; and at a trial near the village of Pisga, no less than thirty feet of seam in thickness was passed without finding the bottom of it. In the adjacent Damada field of 149 square miles, the seam was forty feet thick, and the estimated contents 4,840,000,000 tons, a supply sufficient for 800 years of consumption! The value of these great deposits can now only be imperfectly estimated; but their situation at one of the most important points of railway communication in India, and their connexion with iron ore and limestone, points to results hereafter which can now only be dimly conjectured.

In concluding his admirably written Introduction to the 'Gazetteer,' Mr. Grant records the results of the latter portion of the local management, from which we shall now quote some striking and eloquent passages:—

'Without then insisting too much upon the share which the efforts of Sir Richard Temple and his successors have had in forcing the country forward, it is evident that in the rapid extension of trade and communication with the outer world during the last five years, the Central Provinces have been under the influence of stimulating agencies which would have disturbed the sleep of barbarism itself. Under the heights on which the half-tamed aboriginal kings perched their rude strongholds, has grown up a large commercial city, and the centre of the railway system of India. Chattisgarh, till lately only known to orthodox Hindus as a hateful abode of witchcraft and dissent, is now "the land of the threshing-floors," the granary of Central India. Hingunghát, in the valley of the Wardha—a country so obscure as to be absolutely without a history till within the last century—has become a household word in the markets of Liverpool. Chanda, the most remote and wild of all the Gónd principalities, is now a familiar name, not only with Government officials, but among men of science and men

of business, and, with a rare combination of coal, iron, and cotton, bids fair to become one of the chief industrial centres of India.

‘All these changes—all this rush of light and air—have taken place within the last decade. The first four-fifths of our half century of rule—after we had once learned that the country was no *El Dorado*, but needed careful nursing to restore it even to moderate prosperity—passed in a sort of conservative quiescence, which, in its dread of interference, stereotyped existing customs and institutions. For better or worse, our ideal has changed. It was indeed impossible that as Western civilisation crept up by degrees from either coast, even these secluded valleys should in the end escape its influence, and when, owing to that very central position which had so long retarded access to them, they all at once became the keystone of the system of communication between the Eastern and Western seas, the first tumultuous throbbing and pulsations of new life came upon them with almost overwhelming rapidity and suddenness. Within the last ten years the conditions of life of the people have undergone a complete revolution. . . . On the other hand, if prices are high, they are regular; food, though seldom superabundant, at least never runs short, as in the old days of alternate waste and famine; foreign luxuries and adjuncts of civilisation are comparatively accessible, and the standard of wages has fully kept pace with the cost of living. Thus the people have gained new powers of resistance, and live easily under a burthen which would have crushed their fathers.

‘But it matters little now to balance the passive delights of a life of brutish ease, chequered only by the whims of nature, against the higher, if more hardly-earned, advantages which not even toil and forethought can win till a field is opened for their efforts. Events have decided the question for themselves. The interests of the Empire required the connexion of the two seaport capitals; the empty factories of the world demanded access to the only cotton-fields which bid fair to replace the devastated plantations of the Confederate States. The day had passed even for the most retrograde policy to attempt any check on the advancing tide and struggle for life. It only remained to fit the people for the new order of things, and to insure them their share in the benefits which it brought by providing for them an education which should give them fair standing-ground in their dealings with intellects sharpened in a more stirring school, and by showing them practically that the issues of health and prosperity were not altogether beyond human grasp. No criticisms can be more misplaced than those which brand the administrative efforts of the last eight years—made to meet changes so sudden and so great as those through which the country is passing—with the charges of precipitancy and over-ambitiousness. If the schools, the hospitals, the post-offices, the roads, the railways, the courts, and the numberless other public institutions which have sprung up since the formation of the Central Provinces, could be doubled in number and efficiency; if the measures of reform to which the governing staff of the Provinces have devoted their energies and abilities—nay, sometimes their health and their very lives—could be enlarged and intensified beyond the most sanguine hopes of their



originators, the guardians of the young province would still have but a very incomplete account to render of their stewardship; and indeed they may well feel content if the foundations laid by eight years' labour with untrained instruments, and in a difficult soil, prove wide enough for the wants of a growing people, and stable enough to bear a structure of a more advanced civilisation.' (Pp. clv-clvii.)

To our perception the administration, of the effects of which this volume gives such ample and satisfactory proof, hardly needed apology or defence. A great work in a heretofore neglected province has been carried on with, even in India, a singularly rare and skilful devotion by all concerned, of which the fruits are already so palpably manifest as to give the liveliest hope of increase in years to come, and we are thus tempted to exclaim, *O si sic omnia!* One thing is at least certain, that wherever such exertions are made, those who make them may be well assured of the entire and hearty sympathy, admiration, and encouragement of their countrymen in England.

In a former article of this Review\* we brought to notice the existence of many valuable reports by local officers in all parts of India which would illustrate the annals of provinces now subject to British rule, and their former and present condition, and the importance, not to say the absolute necessity, of their publication so as to be acceptable to English readers at large. The work now before us completely fulfils all the objects which we there enumerated as far as the provinces to which it relates are concerned. It is complete as to local history, antiquities, and archæology, to geology and ethnology, to descriptions of scenery, and of the varied peoples and conditions of the country. The articles and reports are well written and full of matter, relating to the administration—judicial, revenue, education, and police—as well as to details and tables of trade, export and import, local manufactures, cultivation, and land assessment. In Mr. Grant's excellent Introduction a careful summary is given of the most material points which, while it adds to their value, directs the general reader to the details of those on which he requires more extended information. This Introduction is in fact an epitome of the whole work, and will be read with equal pleasure and advantage. It is evident that throughout Mr. Grant has been the moving power of the whole undertaking; and the patient industry, lucidity, and skill with which the voluminous records have been classed and arranged

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\* Ed. Rev. No. cclxiii. art. viii.

by him, in the midst of his own distinct and multifarious duties, reflect the highest credit upon him. Altogether the work is most creditable to all those concerned in it: and we trust is one of a series which, with this as an example, may be gradually extended over all India. We learn, indeed, with pleasure that the adjacent province of Berar has already been illustrated by a similar publication; and it is satisfactory to know that Dr. W. W. Hunter, the author of 'Rural Annals of Bengal,' is now employed with a special staff for the purpose, in the North-west Provinces.

We had marked many passages for comment and extract relating to natural scenery, great native works of irrigation and architecture, curious rites and customs, means of civilisation in extension of schools, dispensaries, roads, as well as in regard to the great improvements which have been made in local administration; but any, even the most cursory, notices of these subjects—or to do the justice they demand and deserve, to the many able reports by district officers with which it abounds—would necessarily prolong this article to an inconvenient length, and must be dispensed with.\*

ART. IX. — *Balaustion's Adventure: including a transcript from Euripides.* By ROBERT BROWNING. London: 1871.

IT is possible that many of Mr. Browning's admirers may have experienced some disappointment on ascertaining the character of this poem; for 'Balaustion's Adventure, including a transcript from Euripides,' means neither more nor less than a translation with comments of the drama of *Alcestis*, one of the best known remains of Greek tragedy. Nothing can better prove the intrinsic greatness of that touching story than the hold it has retained in all instructed minds during the prodigious interval—so full of change, and so infinitely momentous in human affairs—which has elapsed between Euripides and ourselves. But the poetry of a nation must belong rather to its own history and modes of thinking; and the most effectual way of imitating what is best in Greek art is to shape our work, as it did, to the needs of our time and

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\* Throughout this article we have retained the orthography of Indian proper names and names of places as we have found them. But we cannot agree with the system. 'Nerbudda' can never be correctly read or pronounced by an Englishman ignorant of Indian languages, as *Narbadá*, *Jubbulpoor* as *Jabalpur*, and *Poona* as *Puna*. It would be needless to multiply examples.

the manners of our people, rather than to a heroic legend or an outworn creed.

Our alarm, however, in respect to Mr. Browning was premature. Such is his fecundity of invention, that criticism toils after him in vain; and before we can bring him to our bar for the work before us, another poem of a totally different kind has appeared to show that his excursion into classical literature was a mere episode in his industrious life. The 'Prince of Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society,'—for that is the title of Mr. Browning's latest production—is a rhapsody, without much metre or meaning, for the glorification of Napoleon III.—the 'one wise man'—and the Second Empire. We regret that Mr. Browning should entertain and express such false and unworthy sentiments and opinions on modern politics; and we prefer to see him in the classical garb of antiquity.

Of all ages in the world this is the one which has taken most deeply into its consideration the force of idiosyncrasy, the power of circumstances, the complications of thought and feeling which lend to human nature a constantly varying interest, and fill it with those picturesque uncertainties and contradictions which are peculiar to itself and distinguish it from all the rest of creation. Into the constantly arising problems of a life thus conscious that scarcely one of its sentiments or emotions possesses perfect unity and singleness, the distinctive intellectual development of our age delights to enter; and of all the writers who have given expression to this general tendency Mr. Browning is perhaps the most subtle. He is the embodiment of the intellectual instinct of his generation—its curiosity, its power of patient examination, and, above all, of its imaginative sympathy. In this last expression, indeed, we may sum up in a breath the character which we desire to indicate. It is its nature and ambition to look at everything, not from without but from within. It is not content to accept only what it sees, but has set its heart upon learning what are the secret springs from which any visible result proceeds. This, in its strength and weakness, is Mr. Browning's chief characteristic. His sympathetic imagination throws itself into the nature even of the very villain whom he detests, with an attempt to enter into the working of his thoughts, and say the best that is to be said for him. We need not say how this principle reigns, and indeed luxuriates and runs to riot, in the 'Ring and the Book,' and may even explain the 'Prince of Hohenstiel-Schwangau.' It is this which gives its chief value also to the poem before

us. In 'Balaustion,' however, it answers a new purpose and assumes a different office. The power of sympathetic exposition, which is the modern poet's crowning gift, here comes into contrast with the broader and simpler forms of ancient art. Mr. Browning's object is no longer simply to tell his story, for that has been already done in the noblest way; but to exhibit in contact and contrast the two worlds of ancient and of modern thought. To do this effectually it was necessary for him to take the old poet's work, and set it before us in all its grand pictorial perfection—its great simplicity of conception—and that impartial historical calm which belongs to all primitive story. By so doing he can discriminate with an art which is far higher than criticism, the excellence of both, the diversity between them, and the way in which one, in the exercise of its peculiar gift, can complete and perfect the other. This, it will be seen, is very different from any servile repetition of the old strain. Mr. Browning does not long and pray like one of our new classicists for the 'clear calm vision of 'Hellenic eyes,' but on the contrary, he employs his own instinct with the changed light of his century, and full of reflections of all that has come and gone between this and Euripides, to warm and fill that blue Greek horizon with its white-draped figures, full of grand monotonous of colour, but as much unlike our varied and ever-varying modern existence as the intense lights of the South are unlike the doubtful climate of Northern skies. This is what Mr. Browning has done. It is an undertaking much higher than the very noblest repetition which could be made of any ancient poem. It is such an exposition as the great masterpieces of Greek dramatic art are eminently susceptible of; and the task is one for which Mr. Browning has a special qualification.

The story which he has chosen is that of Alcestis; and the choice has been made with true poetic instinct; for there is perhaps no other tale treated by the dramatists of Greece which comes so near to us in intelligible human interest, or is so far from us in the mode of treatment. But there are two other personages on the stage—two great figures—shadowing over the actors, and making even the drama subordinate, who are the two poets—the old and the new, the past and the present, exponents of life and the soul, who stand, as it were, at the antipodes of time, and answer to each other through the mists of the ages. Here Euripides stands, and weaves his wondrous tale before our eyes, on the one hand; while, on the other, stands the poet of to-day, who does not seek to abjure his birthright, or to see with the eyes of his predecessor, but to

whom the perennial essence of humanity is more than all the differences of place and time. The first, by very necessity of his art, explains nothing. He sets the personages of his drama upon the stage, and leaves such exposition of their acts and motives as he sees needful to be given by themselves; but the other plunges into the depths and explains everything. The manner in which a modern poem is thus made the vehicle of elaborate and delicate criticism on an antique drama deserves the attention of the reader. We are not aware that any attempt of the kind has ever been made before.

The story of *Alcestis* is well known. *Admetus*, King of *Thessaly*, has by some unexplained accident fallen under the sentence of early death. By the intervention of *Apollo*, however, who had done penance for some celestial offence by serving as a shepherd in *Admetus*' household, the boon is obtained for him that he may escape if anyone will consent to die in his stead. This *Alcestis*, his wife, at once undertakes to do; and after an indefinite period of waiting, during which time her substitution becomes known to all the kin and kingdom, the penalty is exacted. She dies, and is carried with much lamentation to her burial. But in the meantime *Hercules*—or *Heraclēs*, according to the new spelling—always wandering about the world, comes suddenly to the palace doors. He sees the signs of mourning about, and proposes to ask shelter elsewhere, but is stopped by *Admetus*, who, carefully veiling from him the fact that it is his wife who is just dead, throws open the guest-chambers to him with urgent kindness, and charges his servants to wait upon the stranger with the most punctilious observances of hospitality. When *Hercules*, after rest and refreshment, finds out the real reason of the gloom which is in the faces round him, he is so moved by the welcome given him under such circumstances, that he sets off instantly to confront *Death*, whom he rightly judges to be lurking about the burial-place of *Alcestis*, to try whether his strength is not sufficient to vanquish that grim potentate, and rescue the body. Few people who have seen Mr. Leighton's noble picture in the last exhibition of the Royal Academy will fail to remember the pale mystery of that figure—blue-black, bloodless, and shadowy, a crouching horror—with which the hero is engaged in deadly struggle. But not even *Death* can resist that generous onslaught, and *Hercules* conquers and restores to his princely entertainer—in acknowledgment of that magnanimous hospitality which would not turn a stranger away, even in the anguish of personal grief—his rescued wife.

This, in all its austere nobility of outline, with its inconceivable mingling of great and petty motive, its confusion of good and evil, cowardice and magnanimity, is the original story. To the modern mind, taking it as a whole, nothing can be more bewildering. That which at the first glance seems the chief incident, the sacrifice of Alcestis, is not in reality the chief incident. It would seem to be really in honour of the supreme virtue of hospitality that the tale is framed. Alcestis and her sacrifice occupy only the first part of the drama, and do not affect its future action, which centres entirely in Hercules. In short, Alcestis' sacrifice is but the fact upon which that action is founded. She is saved, not because of any virtue in her, but simply because her husband's hospitality kindled the demi-god's gratitude, and moved him to fight, not so much for her deliverance as to reward Admetus. This reversal of all those foundations of human action which to us seem reasonable and natural, fills the reader who considers the matter on its own merits with a confusion too great for words. The poet himself is not without a full sense of the greatness of Alcestis. His picture of her is as much superior to all the maudlin conceptions of woman's love which have been founded upon it as it is possible to conceive. He sees the wonder, the nobleness, the ineffable sorrow of the sacrifice—but as if his own mind was not capable of following out that lofty ideal—or, which is perhaps more probable, as if the mind of his age was unprepared for fathoming it—he breaks off, leaving Alcestis wrapped in the great mystery and sadness of her destiny, and saves her by something entirely unconnected with herself, by a grand antique mythos which takes away our breath in its sudden introduction, and the utter inadequacy of its lighter strain to balance the passion and intensity of the beginning of the drama. The moral of the entire tale is—not that it is the loftiest effort of which humanity is capable that a woman should lay down her life for her husband, but—that it is excellent and most profitable to cultivate at all hazards the virtue of hospitality, since by that some have not only entertained angels unawares, but provided for themselves deliverers in emergencies which they had neither the courage nor the power to face for themselves. Shall we not rather say that the poet himself had become aware, in one of those glimpses which are the privileges of genius into the depths of nature, of a possibility hitherto undreamed of in fiction—a situation and character of the profoundest interest, yet inexplicable by all the rules of art. He saw the wonder, and he saw the

power there was in it, of moving the heart; and with the daring of his time he put the problem on record without concerning himself with its solution.

It is curious to notice how this story of *Alcestis* has been taken up by modern hands, and travestied out of all resemblance to the original. It has become a tale of love, passionate and effusive, framed on a model unknown to ancient art. From Mrs. Hemans, gentle songstress, singing after the manner of her kind, down (we speak chronologically) to Mr. Morris and Mr. Palgrave, it is a wife dying in a triumph of love and devotion, proud and happy beyond measure to be permitted the privilege of redeeming her lord, who represents to us the fated and stern, though beautiful, heroine of Euripides. Such was not the conception of the Greek. His *Alcestis* speaks in impassioned words of the life and happiness she is putting by, and of the children whom she is leaving; but on her husband she has no passion to bestow. The anguish of her cry over the bride-bed which she is leaving, and which has brought her to this pass, is made sharp by the deepest pain which love can suffer, a sense of the unworthiness of the being loved. She does not say so, but neither does she say one syllable about *Admetus*. Not a word of that overmastering and servile love which it has become the fashion to put into a wife's lips comes from those pale lips of the martyr. 'That husband because of whom I die' is all she calls him. 'Nowise do I hate thee,' she says, when bidding farewell to the nuptial chamber—

'Me alone

Hast thou destroyed; for shrinking to betray  
Thee and my spouse, I die; but thee, O bed,  
Some other woman shall possess as wife—  
'Truer, no! but of better fortune, say!'

There are no passionate embraces—no outcries of happiness that she is allowed to be his saviour. Even Mr. Tennyson's ballad of the 'Victim,' which partially embodies the same story, goes into raptures which are altogether unknown to the Greek woman who did this thing in that awful sadness of martyrdom, bitter love, mixed with a sore and fatal contempt, which no such victim, unless she be a fool, can keep out of her mind. The sting in such a case is not the sacrifice, but the terrible shame of knowing that the sacrifice will be accepted; and that the man, miserable wretch, will buy life, and ease, and the light of the sun, at the price of her whom he professes to hold dearest. Did Euripides perceive that the heart was killed in the bosom of his heroine when her husband ac-

cepted her as his substitute? and yet there are many to whom this deepest soul of the matter is not apparent even now, and who still babble about woman's love, as if it were the passion of a slave possessed of a blind adoration for the master whom she is incapable of judging or estimating one way or another. Pardon, young and gentle enthusiast, to whom this view of the matter comes naturally! Alcestris, no doubt, had she died suddenly for her love, without his knowledge, would have died in something like the ecstacy so often attributed to her; but the sight of the man's content and acceptance of her substitution could not but be a much harder trial than death.

We are, however, lingering upon our own conception of the matter rather than upon Mr. Browning's, though it is his poem which has given force and substance to thoughts which must have crossed the mind of every reader of Euripides. The Alcestris is set in the comment of 'Balaustion,' like a picture in a carefully wrought frame, rich with sculptured groups and bas-reliefs which enclose and elucidate its meaning. The prefatory story is bright and sweet in colour and animation as the story of an eager and happy young poet, a 'lyric girl' should be, and it is of a triumph of poetry that she tells us. Balaustion herself is a girl of Rhodes, moved to the warm depths of her poet-heart by indignant distress that her people should turn against Athens

'in that unhappy time  
When poor reluctant Nikias, pushed by fate,  
Went haltingly against Syracuse,  
And there shamed Athens, lost her ships and men,  
And gained a grave, or death without a grave.'

Unable to change the resolution of her country, she stirs up her kinsfolk to leave the treacherous island, and take refuge in Athens, the 'heart's true harbour.' On the way, however, the little ship of the exiles is pursued by a pirate, and it is necessary to row for life to escape their murderous hands. 'Furiously the oarsmen rowed and rowed,' but strength began to fail them as the critical moment drew near:

'And when the oars flagged somewhat, dash and dip,  
As we approached the coast and safety, so  
That we could hear behind us plain the threats  
And curses of the pirate panting up  
In one more throe and passion of pursuit,—  
Seeing our oars flag in the rise and fall,  
I sprang upon the altar by the mast,  
And sang aloft,—some genius prompting me,—  
That song of ours which saved at Salamis.'



" O, sons of Greeks, go, set your country free,  
 Free your wives, free your children, free the fances  
 O' the gods your fathers founded,—sepulchres  
 They sleep in! Or save all, or all be lost!"  
 Then, in a frenzy, so the noble oars  
 Churned the black water white, that well away  
 We drew, soon saw land rise, saw hills grow up,  
 Saw spread itself a sea-wide town with towers,  
 Not fifty stadia distant.'

This town, however, proves to be Syracuse, and the wanderers are hailed by a boat which questions them of their country. 'From Rhodes' is the reply:—

" Rhodes that casts in her lot now with the League,  
 Forsaking Athens—you have heard belike!"  
 " Ay, but we heard all Athens in one ode  
 Just now! we heard her in that Aischulos!"'

cry the Syracusans; and the hunted fugitives are denied entrance, and are about to turn sadly again to the sea and the pirate who hangs outside the harbour waiting for them like a bird of prey, when suddenly deliverance comes in an unexpected but most truly Greek shape:—

' So were we at destruction's very edge,  
 When those o' the galley, as they had discussed  
 A point, a question raised by somebody,  
 A matter mooted in a moment,—“ Wait!”  
 Cried they (and wait we did, you may be sure)  
 “ That song was veritable Aischulos  
 Familiar to the mouth of man and boy,  
 Old glory: how about Euripides?

Might you know any of his verses too?"'

There is a stir and flutter among the crew; they are saved. The captain cries out, ' Enoi, praise the God,' and shouts across the water a joyful assent, describing how this ' lyric girl'

' Fast as snow in Thrace, the voyage through,  
 Has she been falling thick in flakes of him!'

while she herself answers for herself still more fully:—

' But I cried, " Brother Greek! better than so,—  
 Save us, and I have courage to recite  
 The main of a whole play from first to last;  
 That strangest, saddest, sweetest song of his,  
 Alkestis; which was taught, long years ago,  
 At Athens, in Glaukinos' archonship,  
 But only this year reached our Isle o' the Rose.  
 I saw it at Kameiros; played the same,  
 They say, as for the right Lenean feast

In Athens ; and beside the perfect piece—  
 Its beauty and the way it makes you weep,—  
 There is much honour done your own loved God  
 Herakles, whom you house i' the city here  
 Nobly, the Temple wide Greece talks about !  
 I come a suppliant to your Herakles !  
 Take me and put me on his temple-steps,  
 To tell you his achievement as I may,  
 And, that told, he shall bid you set us free !”

Then, because Greeks are Greeks, and hearts are hearts,  
 And poetry is power, they all outbroke  
 In a great joyous laughter with much love :  
 “ Thank Herakles for the good holiday !  
 Make for the harbour ! Row, and let voice ring,  
 ‘ In we row, bringing mere Euripides ! ’ ”  
 All the crowd, as they lined the harbour now,  
 ‘ More of Euripides ! ’—took up the cry.  
 We landed ; the whole city, soon astir,  
 Came rushing out of gates in common joy  
 To the suburb temple ; there they stationed me  
 O’ the topmost step : and plain I told the play  
 Just as I saw it ; what the actors said,  
 And what I saw, or thought I saw the while,  
 At our Kameiros theatre, clean scooped  
 Out of a hill-side, with the sky above  
 And sea before our seats in marble row :  
 Told it, and, two days more, repeated it,  
 Until they sent us on our way again  
 With good words and great wishes.

Oh, for me—

A wealthy Syracusan brought a whole  
 Talent and bade me take it for myself :  
 I left it on the tripod in the fame  
 —For had not Herakles a second time  
 Wrestled with Death, and saved devoted ones ?—  
 Thank-offering to the hero. And a band  
 Of captives, whom their lords grew kinder to  
 Because they called the poet countryman,  
 Sent me a crown of wild pomegranate flower :  
 So, I shall live and die Balaustion now.’

This then is the occasion of the tale. She repeats the whole adventure to her friends in beautiful Athens, when she is safe and has seen the poet, and is now about to be wedded to a youth who has followed her from Syracuse. This preface is full of Mr. Browning’s wonderful power (when he pleases) of brevity and conciseness. The narrative is as rapid and bright as if it were itself a lyric—though we will not deny that the strain is

weighted with an occasional long simile, which ought to be a parenthesis, and which is break-neck work for anyone who reads aloud, and who has to catch his breath, for instance, while he interposes this in the very heart of a most animated bit of narrative, so as to take up the melody of the strain again without losing the measure :

‘ As some tired bird  
Barbarians pelt at, driven with shouts away  
From shelter in what rocks, however rude,  
She makes for, to escape the kindled eye,  
Split beak, crook’d claw, o’ the creature, cormorant  
Or ossifrage, that, hardly baffled, hangs  
Afloat i’ the foam, to take her if she turn.’

There could not be a more striking image of the pirate-boat hanging outside the harbour waiting for her possible victim, but if *Balaustion* had to deliver this in a parenthesis with all its hard words, holding all the time the other note, we, having tried it, sympathise with her. This inclination towards the parenthesis is Mr. Browning’s great weakness, and costs him more readers among that portion of mankind which dislikes trouble even in its delights (and it is a large portion) than could be easily estimated.

It is thus that Mr. Browning introduces us to the drama of ‘*Alcestis*,’ and here we will so far interfere with his plans as to dismiss the preface and its narrator. The reader would do what comes to the same thing—he would forget all about *Balaustion*, without any assistance from the critic. We step with a certain increase of gravity without further pause, straight into the presence of the great ancient bard, and of the gods whom he places on the stage. It is ‘*Pherai* where King ‘*Admetos* ruled the land,’ and we are in front of the ‘silent ‘palace in the sun,’ within which already the tragedy of *Alcestis* has begun to be accomplished. The first figure on the stage is *Apollo*, who gleams out into the portico, bow in hand and quiver on shoulder, and gives, according to the necessities of dramatic art, a sketch of the position, his own share in which, so far as concerns the immediate story, is, that he has procured from the dreadful goddesses of Fate the safety of *Admetos* on condition that he should be able to

‘ exchange lives, find some friendly one  
Ready, for his sake, to content the grave.’

This condition, however, only his wife would consent to. His father and mother, though both old, declined to take his place, and only *Alcestis* was ready to be the victim. That very day destiny is to be accomplished, and she is to die ; and

the god, lest the pollution of death should touch him, is ready equipped to depart. He is arrested, however, by the sight of Death stealing towards the palace; and here the commentator comes in and describes the figure, 'half in, half out the 'portal'—

'Eyeing his fellow : formidably fixed,  
Yet faltering too at who affronted him,  
As somehow disadvantaged, should they strive,  
Like some dread heavy blackness, ruffled wing,  
Convulsed and cowering head that is all eye.'

Then comes a sharp wrangle between the two; Death being spiteful and triumphant, and Apollo indignantly expository and appealing. He is the superior, but he must stoop to argue and almost plead, for the grim demon has right on his side. The argument between them is rendered into English with extreme force and truth, losing nothing of the sharp interchange and staccato distinctness of the original. It is evidently from the beginning one of those hopeless arguments, quick rain of stinging phrases, by which neither hopes to move the other. It is ended by the rush of the dark figure through the doorway—

'Apollo stood a pitying moment-space :  
I caught one last gold gaze upon the night  
Nearing the world now ; *and the God was gone,*  
*And mortals left to deal with misery.*'

In these latter words breathes one of those deep undertones of meaning of which Greek poetry is full. But it is Mr. Browning, not Euripides, who says it, putting into words the very soul of an earlier philosophy. Thus he takes up his part of interpreter. He is spectator too; he stands by and watches while the chorus collects, 'the friends of Admetos' melancholy house' to their place on the stage, where they are so important. They gather silently, and at length begin their song and mutual questioning, asking each other what has happened—if the doom is yet accomplished? They, too, like Apollo, are aware that this is the day of fate; but while the god departs to keep himself free from pollution, the old servants and neighbours come together with sad human curiosity to witness everything and see the worst. Then a maid-servant (translated, for no apparent reason, a matron by Mr. Browning) appears crossing the stage, and they question her anxiously how far the tragedy has gone. It is she who tells them the affecting story of Alcestis' preparation for death—her farewell to her chamber—her visit to every altar in the mournful palace, and prayer for her children—a narrative

which draws new laments and new moralities from the chorus. While they are thus condoling with each other a sad procession comes upon the stage—Alcestis herself in the centre of her family and servants, attended by her weeping husband. The chorus laments the inevitableness of Fate, and Admetus moans and maunders forth his grief—neither of them, however, as Mr. Browning eloquently reminds us, perceiving that the whole matter is in their own hands, and that all that is wanted to save Alcestis is but her husband's resolution to bear his own burden, or the devotion of one vassal to make the sacrifice unnecessary. The attitude of Alcestis herself through this scene is grand in the extreme. In its tragic power and unity it goes far beyond all the rest of the play. The doomed woman lifts her dim eyes to heaven and takes farewell of sun and skies; she looks into the darkness before her and sees Charon hastening towards her in his two-oared boat; and then her heart melts at the thought of her children. Euripides gives not a word of explanation, not even by means of his chorus, of this strange reserve and severity. He never tells us why it is that the woman who can die for this man has nevertheless not a word to spare for him, and makes neither answer nor remark upon his maudlin lamentations, which interrupt her from time to time. But what Euripides has not done Mr. Browning does with a sympathetic perception which goes to the very heart of the great and moving picture.

It is thus he explains the austerity of the martyr wife:—

' We grew to see in that severe regard,—  
 Hear in that hard dry pressure to the point,  
 Word slow pursuing word in monotone,—  
 What Death meant when he called her consecrate  
 Henceforth to Hades. I believe, the sword—  
 Its office was to cut the soul at once  
 From life—from something in this world which hides  
 Truth, and hides falsehood, and so lets us live  
 Somehow. Suppose a rider furls a cloak  
 About a horse's head; unfrightened, so,  
 Between the menace of a flame, between  
 Solicitation of the pasturage,  
 Untempted equally, he goes his gait  
 To journey's end; then pluck the pharos off!  
 Show what delusions steadied him i' the straight  
 O' the path, made grass seem fire and fire seem grass,  
 All through a little bandage o'er the eyes!  
 For certainly with eyes unbandaged now  
 Alkestis looked upon the action here,  
 Self-immolation for Admetos' sake;  
 Saw, with a new sense, all her death would do,

And which of her survivors had the right,  
 And which the less right, to survive thereby.  
 For, you shall note, she uttered no one word  
 Of love more to her husband, though he wept  
 Plenteously, waxed importunate in prayer—  
 Folly's old fashion when its seed bears fruit.  
 I think she judged that she had bought the ware  
 O' the seller at its value,—nor praised him,  
 Nor blained herself, but, with indifferent eye,  
 Saw him purse money up, prepare to leave  
 The buyer with a solitary bale—  
 True purple—but in place of all that coin,  
 Had made a hundred others happy too,  
 If so willed fate or fortune ! What remained  
 To give away, should rather go to these  
 Than one with coin to clink and contemplate.  
 Admetos had his share and might depart,  
 The rest was for her children and herself.'

When at last she is roused by Admetus' endless murmurs, she turns upon him in that candour and solemnity of approaching death, and the address she makes to him is very remarkable. She has still not a word of love to say, but she reminds him with a grave severity that she could live if she would—nay, was still free to choose, even now, to return to her existence, and wed some man of Thessaly, and dwell a queen in her own house. She reminds him too, that this which she is about to do for him is such a service as neither father nor mother would undertake; and then she asks one thing in return. This favour is, that he should promise never to give a stepmother to her children. No wifely jealousy of another woman, last refuge of love, is in this speech. It is austere as the utterance of a goddess, as far as Admetus is concerned, but full of the tenderest human yearning over her children. Admetus replies, with all the fluent readiness of his character, with sobs and tears making a long speech full of his inconsolable sorrow, and the impossibility of such an idea ever entering his mind. All the joy is emptied out of his life, he says. He will have her image made by the wise hand of the artist, and that will be all the wife he wants. Were he gifted like Orpheus, he would go down to Hades to rescue her, but failing that, he will wear out his life in sadness, and when he dies he will be laid 'in the 'same cedar,' side by side with her. (It is perfectly apparent that if left to himself he would have married again within a month.) The critic has much ado to repress a very nineteenth century irritation with this weak flood of protestation; but Mr. Browning regards him with a just yet gentle eye.

' So he stood sobbing : nowise insincere,  
 But somehow childlike, like his children, like  
 Childishness the world over. What was new  
 In this announcement that his wife must die ?  
 What particle of pain beyond the pact  
 He made, with eyes wide open, long ago—  
 Made and was, if not glad, content to make ?  
 Now that the sorrow he had called for, came,  
 He sorrowed to the height ; none heard him say,  
 However, what would seem so pertinent,  
 " To keep this pact I find surpass my power :  
 Rescind it, Moirai ! Give me back her life,  
 And take the life I kept by base exchange !  
 Or, failing that, here stands your laughing-stock  
 Fooled by you, worthy just the fate o' the fool  
 Who makes a pother to escape the best  
 And gain the worst you wiser Powers allot !"  
 No, not one word of this : nor did his wife  
 Despite the sobbing, and the silence soon  
 To follow, judge so much was in his thought—  
 Fancy that, should the Moirai acquiesce,  
 He would relinquish life nor let her die.  
 The man was like some merchant who, in storm,  
 Throws the freight over to redeem the ship :  
 No question, saving both were better still.  
 As it was,—why, he sorrowed, which sufficed.  
 So, all she seemed to notice in his speech  
 Was what concerned her children. Children, too,  
 Bear the grief and accept the sacrifice.  
 Rightly rules nature : does the blossomed bough  
 O' the grape-vine, or the dry grape's self, bleed wine ?'

Thus the scene goes on. The mother bids her children  
 remember their father's promise, and then, still interrupted by  
 his plaints and adjurations, dies, sternly and sadly, vouchsafing  
 him no further word. The tragedy is thus wrought to the  
 very highest point with a lofty unity and grandeur. Nothing  
 can be more striking than the intense sadness of the central  
 figure. There is no joy of martyrdom in her. She goes  
 unsolaced, unsupported, wrapt in the solemnity of her resolu-  
 tion, but with nothing else to sustain her, into the darkness  
 through which Charon comes to meet her with his boat. She  
 leaves the light of the sun without taking any warm glow of  
 human love with her to make up for the sacrifice, any reflec-  
 tion from the rose-tints of the kindly earth. With this the  
 first and noblest part of the play ends. Alcestis, in whom  
 exist higher possibilities of emotion than are common in an age  
 concerned with the primitive and practical, is over and ended,  
 Her dead form, and the still more awful resuscitated presence

wrapped in veils of silence which comes back from the grave, crosses the stage again; but this passionate and beautiful figure—passionate in its very death of passion—appears no more.

The corpse is carried into the house to be prepared for the grave. Admetus follows, after making proclamation of the mourning to be observed for twelve months in all Thessaly; and the chorus around the sad doors sings its tribute of sorrow and applause to the best of womankind. The chorus is very frank in its comments upon the father and mother of Admetus—‘white-haired wretches,’ who had declined to die for their son, and who are hardly treated, it must be allowed, throughout the play—and give full praise to Alcestis, wishing for themselves, and no doubt with perfect sincerity, ‘so wonderful a wife’—when suddenly their lamentations are interrupted by the sound of a voice ringing into the heavy silence. With a swell of manly consolation and delight Mr. Browning thus introduces Hercules—a strong and splendid figure, whom it does him good to spy approaching all lifelike and majestic through the somewhat dreary calm.

‘A great voice—

“My hosts here!”

Oh, the thrill that ran through us!

Never was aught so good and opportune

As that great interrupting voice! For see!

Here maundered this dispirited old age

Before the palace; whence a something crept

Which told us well enough without a word

What was a-doing inside,—*every touch*

*O’ the garland on those temples, tenderest*

*Disposure of each arm along its side,*

*Came putting out what warmth i’ the world was left.*

Then, as it happens at a sacrifice

When, drop by drop, some lustral bath is brimmed:

Into the thin and clear and cold, at once

They slaughter a whole wine-skin; Bacchos’ blood

Sets the white water all a-flame: even so

Sudden into the midst of sorrow, leapt

Along with the gay cheer of that great voice,

Hope, joy, salvation: Herakles was here.

Himself o’ the threshold, sent his voice on first

To herald all that human and divine

I’ the weary happy face of him,—half God,

Half man, which made the god-part God the more.

“Hosts mine,” he broke upon the sorrow with,

“Inhabitants of this Pheraian soil,

Chance I upon Admetos inside here?”



'The irresistible sound wholesome heart  
 O' the hero,—more than all the mightiness  
 At labour in the limbs that, for man's sake,  
 Laboured and meant to labour their life long,—  
 'This drove back, dried up sorrow at its source.  
 How could it brave the happy weary laugh  
 Of who had bantered sorrow. "Sorrow here?  
 What have you done to keep your friend from harm?  
 Could no one give the life I see he keeps?  
 Or say there's sorrow here past friendly help;  
 Why waste a word or let a tear escape  
 While other sorrows wait you in the world,  
 And want the life of you, though helpless here?"

'Clearly there was no telling such an one  
 How, when their monarch tried who loved him more  
 Than he loved them, and found they loved, as he,  
 Each man, himself, and held, no otherwise,  
 That, of all evils in the world, the worst  
 Was—being forced to die, whate'er death gain :  
 How all this selfishness in him and them  
 Caus'd certain sorrow which they sung about,—  
 I think that Herakles, who held his life  
 Out on his hand, for any man to take—  
 I think his laugh had marred their threnody.

"He is i' the house," they answered.'

At the sound of this brief conversation Admetus comes forth—to the surprise of the spectators—with hair clipt and all the emblems of mourning, but for the first time with self-control. The courteous king can let his wife die, but he cannot let a weary guest be turned from his doors. He holds a brief discussion with Hercules, insisting that his hospitality should be accepted, and so playing with words in respect to the death which has occurred that the god is deceived and believes it to be some 'alien woman.' Hercules enters accordingly into the guest-chamber. Then the chorus, according to its nature, being ready to break off at a tangent at any moment, comes in with a fine outburst of song in praise of hospitality—'Oh thou 'house—harbour of many a stranger!' they sing, bewildered by such an extraordinary instance of this primitive virtue. The scene that follows is full of sharp humour and tragic sarcasm. While the corpse of Alcestis is brought upon the stage there enters Pheres the father, who refused to save his son by the sacrifice of his own life, and upon whom Admetus turns with sudden fury. The old man has brought decorations for the dead, who, he tells us complacently, has not only saved his son's life but kept himself from being childless,

and raised the house from sinking. She was a good wife; she has proved by this act that women are worth more than some suppose; and, in short, this is the only kind of marriage which men who are wise should make. Upon the old Philistine's speech his son breaks with fury, and fiercely upbraids him for having permitted the young Alcestis, 'an alien woman,' to die for his own flesh and blood—his son, who had already succeeded him in his kingdom, and was naturally to be preserved at his cost. There is something extremely whimsical in the wrangle as it stands in the original, in the son's utter contempt of the father's wretched moment of life, which he will not part with, and the father's sturdy defence of his right to live as long as he can. Admetus wildly protests that nothing shall induce him to bury the parents who were content to outlive him, while Pheres, for the first time, throws the name of coward in his face, and twits him with taking advantage of his wife's love for her 'handsome spark,' with all the coarseness of a commonplace mind roused to fury. Finally Pheres goes his way hard and triumphant, having at once conquered in fact and in argument, and the funeral procession is set in motion, Admetus carrying his dead wife to her burial, with evidently some new thoughts, such as had not previously occurred to him, rankling in his heart. Mr. Browning treats this episode with all the force and insight which are natural to him. Such a contrast and comparison of character, like yet unlike, brings forth all his strength, and old Pheres and young Admetus stand forth before us in perfect revelation, no longer distant Greeks, but human creatures near to us, and only too easily comprehensible. Thus another scene is completed, and the stage again changes and receives other actors.

The first new speaker, a personage upon whom Mr. Browning seems to us quite unnecessarily severe, is the servant who was charged by Admetus with the care of Hercules. Disturbed by such easy grief as falls upon a retainer of the house to which death has come—sorry for his mistress, sorry, too, for himself to be kept here in this very different occupation, without any share in the sombre festivities of the funeral—he rails at the want of feeling shown by Hercules in entering this house of sorrow. Mr. Browning, as we have said, is very hard upon this sulky fellow:—

'This sage, who justly hated Herakles,  
Did he suggest once "Rather I than she!"  
Admonish the Turannos—"Be a man!  
Bear thine own burden, never think to thrust  
Thy fate upon another, and thy wife!"'

But this, we humbly suggest, was rather too much to expect. Such an admonition might have injured himself without doing any good to Alcestis; and when feeling was so dull in the head of the house, it was very unlikely to be so keen in his servants. This is, perhaps, the only instance of over-refining in all Mr. Browning's powerful commentary and elucidation. Hercules, however, comes upon the man while he indulges in those animadversions, and learns the truth from him. The effect of this discovery upon the jovial giant, who presents himself to us fresh from his meal with a wreath of myrtle-sprigs twisted round his mighty brows, is great. But it is not exactly the effect which the modern reader would anticipate. It is not Alcestis whom Hercules thinks of—not her sacrifice, but the much less sacrifice of Admetus fills him with admiration.

‘My host that housed me, never drove me off,  
Though stricken with sore sorrow, hid the stroke,  
Being a noble heart and honouring me,’

he cries, and immediately resolves that Admetus shall not go unrewarded. He will rush forth and fight Death, and win the prize from him, or, failing that, will go down to Hades itself and ask Alcestis back—never for her own sake, be it remembered; not for the wonder and greatness of what she has done, but for the virtue of Admetus, his self-control and princely hospitality. Hercules, however, is a figure after Mr. Browning's own heart. He delights in his strength, his mightiness, his jovial simplicity, his unhesitating and light-hearted devotion. If he adds to these qualities a higher soul than the great athlete had yet been supposed to possess, that is an addition which we can well pardon; and it is no way at variance with the part he plays in this drama. Here is the trumpet-blast with which Mr. Browning sends his god forth to the fight:—

‘So one look upward, as if Zeus might laugh  
Approval of his human progeny,—  
One summons of the whole magnific frame,  
Each sinew to its service,—up he caught,  
And over shoulder cast, the lion-shag,  
Let the club go,—for had he not those hands?  
And so went striding off, on that straight way  
Leads to Larissa and the suburb tomb.  
Gladness be with thee, Helper of our world!  
I think this is the authentic sign and seal  
Of Godship, that it ever waxes glad,  
And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts  
Into a rage to suffer for mankind,  
And recommence at sorrow: drops like seed  
After the blossom, ultimate of all.

Say, does the seed scorn earth and seek the sun ?  
 Surely it has no other end and aim  
 Than to drop, once more die into the ground,  
 Taste cold and darkness and oblivion there :  
 And thence rise, tree-like grow through pain to joy,  
 More joy and most joy—do man good again.

So, off strode to the struggle Herakles.'

When Hercules goes away Admetus returns. He comes slowly back in all the still depression of a mourner returning from a funeral. A change has passed upon him. From the miserable remonstrances against a fate which he knows to be inevitable with which he began, and the contention of furious mutual self-regard with his father, which he had so fiercely maintained before the funeral, he has now sunk into real grief. Mr. Browning's anxiety to make the best of the hero has made him miss a point here. He is anxious, with all the foresight of the modern mind—knowing that Alcestis is to be restored, and eager to mend matters before she appears, and to make the husband to whom she is returning more worthy of her—to work out Admetus' reformation with all the speed possible. Consequently he presents him to us as altogether changed by the effects of grief. Up to this time he has not realised his loss. But now he sees fully what it is that has happened. 'The whole woe billow-like broke on him,' when he came to the vacant doors of his house, where everything, except Alcestis, was as of old. He is hushed into a solemnity like that in which his wife died, by the terrible certainty of the blow—

'We felt how deep had been descent in grief,  
 And with what change he came up now to light,  
 And left behind such littleness as tears.'

This is Mr. Browning's view of the question; but then he is full of anxiety to provide an answer for the natural modern misgiving as to how this pair will manage to live together, after all that has come and gone. Euripides, however, who has no such care, has mingled, we think, another agency along with grief to make his hero at once ashamed and sorry. Those last words of Pheres have evidently rankled in his son's heart. He has been called coward; he has been held up to his own contempt with all his poltroonery unveiled, and the suggestion has stung him to the heart. It comes out all at once mingled with the natural heaviness of his sorrow. 'Whenever a foe meets me, he will say, "There is the most ignoble  
 "man alive, who kept himself out of Hades by the sacrifice of  
 "his wife,"' he says in his misery. 'This is the reputation I

'have, besides all other ills. What do I gain by having life 'for death?' Thus shame seizes hold of him along with sorrow, and he is humiliated, bowed down to the ground. Of himself perhaps he might never have perceived it, but the sting of another man's scorn has pierced him through and through. Thus it is not solely love and grief, but pride and the horror of ill-fame, that move him. He is broken down by this stinging overflow of all evils coming together. He stands, sunk in shame and misery, while the chorus sing their ode to the stern goddess Necessity, Fate, who hears no prayer and accepts no sacrifice. This song is broken off abruptly by the re-entrance of Hercules, whom once more Mr. Browning, taking the welcome theme out of the very hand of Euripides, celebrates over again in his triumph:—

'Ay, he it was advancing! In he strode,  
And took his stand before Admetos,—turned  
Now by despair to such a quietude,  
He neither raised his face nor spoke, this time,  
The while his friend surveyed him steadily.  
That friend looked rough with fighting: had he strained  
Worst brute to breast was ever strangled yet?  
Somehow, a victory—for there stood the strength,  
Happy, as always; something grave, perhaps;  
The great vein-cordage on the fret-worked brow,  
Black-swollen, beaded yet with battle-drops  
The yellow hair o' the hero!—his big frame  
A-quiver with each muscle sinking back  
Into the sleepy smooth it leaped from late.  
Under the great guard of one arm, there leant  
A shrouded something, live and woman-like,  
Propped by the heart-beats 'neath the lion-coat;  
When he had finished his survey, it seemed  
The heavings of the heart began subside,  
The helping breath returned; and last the smile  
Shone out, all Herakles was back again,  
As the words followed the saluting hand.'

We need not go through the dialogue which follows. Hercules requests his friend to take charge for him of the woman whom he has just won in battle. Admetus, with a somewhat prudish reluctance at first, but afterwards with true feeling, declines the charge. He has found himself out to be less trustworthy than he thought, and now he takes the wise way of fleeing from temptation. He will not receive her; then reluctantly he yields, most reluctantly stretches forth his hand to take her from the victor; but it is not until the irritation of grief has broken forth, and Admetus, resentful and angry, has

exclaimed, ' May I die when I betray her, though she is no  
' more '—that the revelation comes :—

' The thing he said was true.  
For out of Herakles a great glow broke.  
There stood a victor worthy of a prize,  
The violet-crown that withers on the brow  
Of the half-hearted claimant. Oh, he knew  
The signs of battle hard fought and well won,  
This queller of the monsters!—knew his friend  
Planted firm foot, now, on the loathly thing  
That was Admetos late ! " would die," he knew,  
Ere let the reptile raise its crest again.  
If that was truth why try the true friend more ?

There is no telling how the hero twitched  
The veil off ; and there stood, with such fixed eyes  
And such slow smile—Alkestis' silent self ;  
It was the crowning grace of that great heart  
To keep back joy : procrastinate the truth  
Until the wife, who had made proof and found  
The husband wanting, might essay once more,  
Hear, see, and feel him renovated now—  
Able to do, now, all herself had done,  
Risen to the height of her : so hand in hand,  
The two might go together, live and die.'

With this restoration the drama concludes. The Greek goes no further. Virtue being thus rewarded, and the god's gift of gratitude to his entertainer bestowed, what was there more to say ? Euripides had no further message for mankind. He makes his chorus sum up everything, taking the solid Greek view of the matter, a view at once pious and practical, without any metaphysical refinements :—

' Manifold are thy shapings, Providence !  
Many a hopeless matter Gods arrange.  
What we expected, never came to pass ;  
What we did not expect, Gods brought to bear ;  
So have things gone, this whole experience through.'

In this sober-minded and abstract way Euripides is content to end ; but not so Mr. Browning. The nineteenth century is not so easily satisfied with the action of the gods, nor so ready to believe that all will be well. Throughout all our poets anxious descriptions of Admetus' repentance, the painful foresight of his age has shown itself. How are they to get on together after ? asks the uneasy reason of to-day—a troublesome inquiry with which Euripides had nothing to do. Will Admetus ever be able to raise his eyes again to the woman whom he allowed to die for him ? Will Alcestis ever succeed

in banishing from her mind the great anguish of disdain with which she gave up her life? How are they to resume existence together? These questions work upon Mr. Browning's mind in a way the Greek never knew. They give a certain character of special pleading to his anxious revelation of the husband. They give force to his picture of Pheres, the warning, and Hercules the example, but they bring in a certain tremor of eagerness and suspense, a thrill of anxious life, which marks the difference between the ancient and the modern. Euripides takes it calmly, but Mr. Browning cannot take it calmly. He must lay a foundation for the future; he must account for, and to some extent atone for, the past. He has thrown himself back into the Greek world, the Greek stage, the strange atmosphere, the scene all full of mingled gods and men, the majestic fulness of action, the doubtful or trivial motive, the modes of conventional comment and explanation. But he cannot put himself back for these thousands of years into the moral atmosphere of the Pheraian land. His own age and those special intellectual tendencies of which he is himself an embodiment, require something different from him, and the generous effort with which he labours to piece together the broken strands of that thread which the older dramatist simply ties with arbitrary beneficence, is one of the most remarkable things in the book. He has thus shown us in the most vivid manner the difference between his own moral standing-ground and that of Euripides. In revealing the one he has lighted up the other. Thus the first aim of the book is thoroughly accomplished. It is an exposition by contrast, and as such it is completely successful. How far his second great aim is fulfilled, and whether Mr. Browning has been successful in solving the moral problem of Alcestis, is a very different question, and one to which it is not so easy to give an answer.

We have said scarcely anything throughout, and we have especially refrained from quoting Mr. Browning's version of the text of Alcestis. There are verbal emendations, no doubt, which might be made. For instance, in the very beginning, Apollo is made to apostrophise 'the Admeteian domes'—surely a most infelicitous expression, and one which suggests to us the mere trick of sound which must have caught the poet's ear. This is a weakness which is repeated again and again throughout the poem. But to direct the reader's attention to such small verbal flaws, when he has really presented to him a most vivid and life-like 'transcript,' of a great poem, full of all the spontaneous force of an original, and yet true to both

form and substance of the ancient drama, would be to turn the office of critic to a very poor purpose. What he has here is true Euripides, more true than anything he is likely to get elsewhere, almost the rarest work that is to be had, the translation of a poet by a poet. The drama is true Euripides—and the framework in which it is set, the original and powerful exposition with which it is accompanied, is true Browning. We do not think our poet has ever been more happy than in his vivid pictures of the three great figures he illustrates. Want of space has imposed a wholesome restriction upon him; he has been compelled to be brief, and no man can, when he pleases, put so much meaning into a few lines, as no one can, on the other hand, extend a story into more convolutions of detail. The brief but noble picture of Alcestis—the more prolonged and subtle drawing of all those different shades of feeling, the growing convictions, the overwhelming flood of sorrow which make and mould the character of Admetus—and the splendid sketch, all glowing with life and colour, of Hercules, are as fine as anything he has as yet done. Never has his wonderful skill in character and power of discriminating its differences, nor his deep reflective consciousness of the mysteries and complications of human nature, shown to more advantage. For here he has revealed without exhausting—he has lifted the curtain from a heart without peering down into its most hidden depths. And the whole poem bears about it an impression of ease which we scarcely recollect to have found before in Mr. Browning. He has delivered himself with less difficulty than usual of the great thoughts with which he is brimming over. If he still, like Demosthenes, keep a few stones in his mouth to cure him of that confusing stammer which once was in his voice, they are so few as to make little obstruction to the full torrent of eloquence when it breaks forth. Those difficulties of style which so many readers have found fatal to their appreciation of one whom few people now refuse to acknowledge as a great and real poet, bulk less largely in this volume than in any which has preceded it. These very difficulties, no doubt, are, as being more Browning than Browning himself, esteemed as beauties by that most intimate and inmost circle of worshippers which always does its best to injure a poet. But they are a continual stumbling-block to the ordinary reader; and more than a stumbling-block, an offence and irritation, to many excellent judges who are disturbed by them out of that equanimity of impartial listening which is the only fit way of hearing a new poem. In this way



Mr. Browning has erred less in 'Balaustion' than in any of his previous works.

We have, however, accompanied him only to the close of the drama, and that is by no means the close of his poem. After Euripides has been wound up and ended, Mr. Browning takes the golden thread of poetry into his own hand; and striking a different key-note altogether, gives us over again the story of Alcestis as it might have been. It is a story a great deal more satisfactory to the moral imagination, if we may use such an expression—an ideal tale of love and worth. But, in the first place, it is not original, having already been given to us by several poets, including Mr. Morris; and the softened and sentimental version it gives of the great tragedy strikes us with considerable surprise after the stronger repast from which we have just risen. Admetus, in this new rendering, is a patriot king of the highest aims, vowed

‘to rule thenceforth

In Pherai solely for his people's sake.

In the very beginning of his noble work he hears that he is to die, and hearing of it, sets his mind to the stern necessity, but yet breaks forth with a somewhat bitter complaint: All who had gone before him had lived and ruled for their own ends—yet they lived, and he must die. To this wail Alcestis suddenly answers with a burst of love and triumph—‘Nay, ‘thou art to live!’ and relates to him the secret bargain she has made with Apollo—how for the sake of the great work which he alone is able to carry out, she is to sacrifice herself, while he at the same time joins with her by making the sacrifice of his happiness for the sake of his people. ‘So,’ she says—

‘So was the pact concluded that I die,  
And thou live on, live for thyself, for me,  
For all the world. Embrace and bid me hail,  
Husband, because I have the victory:  
Am, heart, soul, head to foot, one happiness!’

Admetus refuses with ‘a passionate cry,’ but the wife pleads, implores, takes him by surprise, and seeing that not a moment is to be lost, dies in his arms then and there, leaving him no time to think. Here is the issue, sweet as the story itself of this refined and gentle tale:—

‘Therewith her whole soul entered into his,  
He looked the look back, and Alkestis died.  
And even while it lay, i’ the look of him,  
Dead, the dimmed body, bright Alkestis’ soul  
Had penetrated through the populace  
Of ghosts, was got to Koré,—throned and crowned

The pensive queen o' the twilight, where she dwells  
 For ever in a muse, but half away  
 From flowery earth she lost and hankers for,—  
 And there demanded to become a ghost  
 Before the time.

Whereat the softened eyes  
 Of the lost maidenhood that lingered still  
 Straying among the flowers in Sicily,  
 Sudden was startled back to Hades' throne,  
 By that demand : broke through humanity  
 Into the orb'd omniscience of a god,  
 Searched at a glance Alkestis to the soul,  
 And said—while a long slow sigh lost itself  
 I' the hard and hollow passage of a laugh :  
 " Hence thou deceiver ! This is not to die,  
 If, by the very death which mocks me now,  
 The life, that's left behind and past my power,  
 Is formidably doubled. Say, there fight  
 Two athletes, side by side, each athlete armed  
 With only half the weapons, and no more,  
 Adequate to a contest with their foe :  
 If one of these should fling helm, sword, and shield  
 To fellow—shieldless, swordless, helmless late—  
 And so leap naked o'er the barrier, leave  
 A combatant equipped from head to heel,  
 Yet cry to the other side, ' Receive a friend  
 Who fights no longer ! ' ' Back, friend, to the fray ! '  
 Would be the prompt rebuff : I echo it.  
 Two souls in one were formidable odds :  
 Admetos must not be himself and thou ! "

And so before the embrace relaxed a whit,  
 The lost eyes opened, still beneath the look ;  
 And lo, Alkestis was alive again,  
 And of Admetos' rapture who shall speak ? '

A beautiful idyll ! pure imagination, sweet as any Utopian dream ever born in a poet's brain—a drama in which all is lovely light and pensive shadow—shadow scarcely lasting as long as the darkness lasts in a northern midsummer night, before the sun breaks out again in the ineffable glow of morning. But how strangely different from Euripides ! The soft vision fades like a thin modern German fresco, with its pretty colours and shadowy forms, when placed beside some grand unfinished Michael-Angelo. It is much more comforting to contemplate. No gulf of unrevealed and unrevealable emotion could open up between that re-united pair. Their new life would begin in even a sweeter harmony than the past. Mutual generosity, love and truth had been proved in them beyond all possibility of doubt. And as the sacrifice had been mutual

so would be the joy of the re-union. The suddenness of the action saved the husband from all possible shadow of pusillanimity in accepting his wife's substitution, and the suddenness of her return saves the reader from too much strain of anxiety on Admetos' account. It is all beautiful as a dream—but as unsubstantial. Turn instead to that other wonderful picture, painted in palest monotones, destitute at once of all modern prettiness and of all satisfactory moral explanation, a fragment of a reality, full of awe and pain—but full at the same time of a terrible truth. A world of curious speculation is possible as to how it happened that the Greek mind demanded no elucidation, but was content to accept this picture, either from want of perception of all that was implied in it, or from a primitive indifference to moral problems, and content with the superficial and visible arrangements of life by which on the whole existence is made bearable, and many a hopeless matter is put right by the gods; but in reality the difference between the Greeks and ourselves lies simply in the fact that we are aware and moved by this necessity for an explanation—not that we are able to give it. For the modern world is as much below the level of this wonder as was the ancient; and our superiority consists only in an uneasy attempt at a solution. The very attempt, which is of high and continued interest, proves how much more daring than the modern was the ancient poet, who ventured to put upon record the mystery he saw, and to leave it as he saw it. Thus, after all, the difference we so much enlarge upon proves to be a difference of feeling and not of insight. We have more curiosity, more anxiety about spiritual problems, but we are no nearer a solution of them. The patriot-king and his self-sacrificing bride, even in Mr. Browning's glowing verse, are ghosts in comparison with the elder and less ideal figures. What a revelation is that which Euripides makes of the veiled and only half-conscious selfishness of Admetus, a selfishness evidently accompanied by so much amiability and even affectionateness. He allows his wife to die for him; but then how tender he is to her down to the very last moment, almost persuading himself, not to speak of the bystanders, that he is the best and most loving of husbands, as she is the very best and most wonderful of wives! How pious and reverential he is—how magnanimous and liberal—concealing his own suffering rather than disturb his friend; behaving, in short, in every way like the most finished gentleman—a credit to everybody belonging to him! It is only when he is confronted with a selfishness ruder and more rampant than his own, that he betrays the sharp temper which he can

keep so perfectly under control. And then how fine is his moral indignation, his virtuous rage against the father who had refused to die for him! Is there any difficulty now in identifying Admetus, or is his a character which has passed out of human ken? Pheres, too, is as real and genuine as if he had taunted his son in good round English instead of classic Greek; and there is true though grim humour in the scene between them. And while these are so true to that humanity which in its essence scorns all distinctions of ancient and modern, what shall we say of the Greek Alcestis—the woman who dies for love after love has been killed in her? Are there no such women now? Does it never happen in these days to any soul to see through and through some gentle, amiable, kind, weak, cowardly, and tender companion, and to be crushed out of life or love of life by the vision? That inherent gentle falsehood which reaches the very deepest depths of unvaracity by being unaware of its own falseness—has it ceased to exist, or to be found out? We all know better than to believe so. Patriot kings and devoted brides are few; but are there not both men and women living who can realise what that stillness of despair meant which envelopes the Greek wife, and understand her reserve, her severity, her strange silence to the man for whom she was about to die? In life we do not ask how they endure it, how life is possible under such circumstances; or rather we do ask, but there is no reply—and neither is there any reply possible to the mystery of Alcestis. Never was a bolder or truer picture made by any mortal hand; its boldness, indeed, is as unparalleled as it is inexplicable; it is a sudden burst of revelation afforded to the old poet we cannot tell how; a glimpse of heights and depths which he traces for us, but does not attempt to give a reason for. One moment of tremulous insight comes to him—an unaccountable illumination; and then the softer veil of ordinary marvels falls around him, and himself confused by the wild temporary light, he flies to take refuge in wonders less real and consequently more manageable. Humanity and its mysteries were not to be understood; therefore Euripides betook himself calmly to the intervention of the gods, a set of authoritative meddlers beyond the reach of moral laws. His age did just this much for him, that it never questioned, any more than he himself thought of questioning, but accepted in perfect good faith this arbitrary settlement of affairs.

And we cannot accept it; here lies the difference—not that the problem has ceased to exist, or that any answer has been found to it. Mr. Browning has treated the question as truly according to his age as Euripides has done it after the usages

of his. The modern poet, too, has made one last desperate effort to re-arrange *Alcestis* in the place which the arbitrary intervention of the god has compelled her to resume: but we put aside his last version of her tale as a thing scarcely worthy of his genius, and return to his noble comment upon the original. Here he has taken up a labour greater than that of *Hercules*, and worked at it like a man. He has done all for the heroine of *Euripides* that mortal can do. He has made an almost passionate effort to drag her husband up to her level and make her and the reader forget his ignoble weakness. He has put him through a process of reformation elaborate and anxious, letting slip no chance of improvement for him. He has brought all possible influences to work—the sudden reality of loss which stuns him, the sharp fire of anger which burns away the veil over his eyes, the sense of void and vacancy in his life, the ‘hateful entry, hateful countenance, of the widowed walls.’ All these he masses together with subtle touches of description and accumulation, labouring to work us up into a belief that the slight soul of the man had grown deep and true, and that his own meanness and misery had become intolerable to him. But with all this great strain and effort, we are compelled to admit that Mr. Browning has not been successful. *Admetus* remains *Admetus* still. It is not easy to change nature; and the vehement desire which the poet has to do so is often attended with very little result. *Admetus* finds out that the price he has paid for his life is a very heavy price indeed, and that the existence he has thus secured is full of drawbacks as well as advantages. He is sorry and he is ashamed, and has a certain consciousness that he has not come through the transaction with much credit to himself. But this is not reformation. Even his contrast between the fate of *Alcestis* and his own, which Mr. Browning accepts as showing a real sense of her virtue and his own shame, might bear a much less amiable interpretation:—

‘Her, indeed, no grief will ever touch,  
And she from many a labour pauses now,  
Renowned one! Whereas I, who ought not live,  
But do live, by evading destiny,  
Sad life am I to lead, I learn at last!  
For how shall I bear going indoors here?  
Accosting whom? By whom saluted back,  
Shall I have joyous entry?’

Mr. Browning accepts these words, we say, in his anxiety, as proof of the change that has taken place in *Admetus*; but we cannot agree with him. To us it seems evident that at the best

it is his own suffering which is the only thing that has moved him. Somehow or other (he seems to feel) it is his wife who always has the advantage of him. Even when the world supposes she has been made a sacrifice of, is it not he who is the worse sufferer still—left to bear grief, while she is past all grieving? This is not repentance; it is rather the last stronghold of selfishness, and shows that the man is really unchanged. But Mr. Browning at least has the satisfaction of feeling that he has reformed him and made him fit to stand once more by Alcestis' side, and be her closest companion. We do not share this charitable opinion, but the conversion is as good, no doubt, as many a one which an anxious wife has trusted to, and which has passed muster with the world.

But this is all that can be said. The modern poet, with his subtler reasonings, has not succeeded in bridging over that gulf between Admetus and Alcestis. And the ancient poet has not attempted to bridge it over. He has left it as human problems have to be left so often, without explanation, a revelation of the dread gaps and breaks that come into life, without any suggestion of a cure or even any strong sense of its necessity. He goes off into the easier arbitrary world of gods and miracles with a light heart, ignoring all the difficulties. But not so Mr. Browning. To him, as to his age, it has become the chief of wonders, the greatest of griefs, that such a mystery should be left unsolved. But the mystery exists and baffles the observer, notwithstanding his anxiety. It is a difficulty which with all his intimate and universal knowledge of humanity he has not been able either to harmonise or to explain.

ART. X.—1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Local Taxation.* 1870.

2. *Report of the Right Honourable George J. Goschen, M.P., President of the Poor Law Board, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the Progressive Increase of Local Taxation, with especial reference to the Proportion of Local and Imperial Burdens borne by the different Classes of Real Property in the United Kingdom, as compared with the Burdens imposed upon the same Classes of Property in other European Countries.* March 1871.

3. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Malt Tax.* 1867, 1868.

4. *Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue on the Duties under their Management, for the years 1856 to 1869 inclusive; with some retrospective History, and complete Tables of Accounts of the Duties from their first Imposition.* 1870.

5. *The Local Taxation of Great Britain and Ireland.* By R. H. J. PALGRAVE. London: 1871.

THAT the Tory party should have discarded its former appellation in favour of the term Conservative is not without a corresponding significance in facts. It was essentially the party of Authority; it has become the party of Resistance to Change. Its present chief, Mr. Disraeli, has on more than one occasion evinced a preference for the older designation, and has pointedly described himself as 'the leader of the Tory party.' He has aspired and laboured to divest his following of the character of opposition to progress, and to rest it, as our ancestors would have said, on a new foundation, or, as we say, using an Americanism which is suggestive of less solidity and less security, on a new platform. In spite of his courage and his ingenuity, he cannot be said to have achieved success in either attempt. He has on three several occasions led his party to victory and to power, and induced them, by the hope of prolonging their tenure of office, to consent to assume the character of a party of progress, and to compete with or to outbid measures they had withstood when proceeding from others. But Mr. Disraeli has not succeeded in changing the principle of his party; he has only succeeded in showing that it will on an occasion, and under the influence of temptation, sacrifice that principle. Still less has he succeeded, like Bolingbroke, in

finding a basis on which to re-construct it more substantial than a cloudland of high-sounding phrases, such as that revealed in the pages of 'Coningsby' and of 'Sybil,' of 'Tancred' and of 'Lothair.'

By whatever name, however, the party be called, it has, especially of late, courted the affection, and presented itself as the champion, of particular orders, classes, or interests, in contradistinction to the claims of the nation at large. Its appearance in the capacity of the 'friend' now of one section of the community now of another, has been due partly to its character as the party of resistance, which renders it naturally the protector of any privilege, title, or monopoly of which the sanctity is profaned by the advancing footsteps of reform; partly, and even more, to the weakness of a minority, which has led it to grasp any momentary support, and to watch the chance of any passing combinations with discontented malingerers in the ranks of its opponents.

Two important bodies, however, the Conservative party claims as permanently its own, the Established Church and the Agricultural Interest. Both have shown sufficient tendency to identify themselves with it to give ground for the claim. Especially has this been the case with the Church if we understand thereby, not the members of the Church in general, but the clergy and those their lay brethren, of whom Mr. Walpole may be taken as a favourable type, who are as ecclesiastically minded as ecclesiastics themselves. For some years, while Mr. Gladstone sat for the University of Oxford, a considerable number of the most thoughtful and energetic churchmen, under the influence of his high character and inspiring genius, gravitated towards Liberalism. The more stationary portion of the clergy and their lay disciples employed the fatal gift of voting papers bestowed upon them by Mr. Dodson's Act to sever the connexion between Mr. Gladstone and the University. Few will forget the shouts of exultation which hailed this, the almost solitary triumph of the Conservatives at the election of 1865. It was a case in which it might be said, slightly parodying a well-known line—

'Weep ye may full well for Oxford, let none dare to weep for him.'

The short-sighted victors inflicted almost irreparable injury upon the cause they thought to serve. They lowered the claim of the University to rank as the most enlightened and intellectual of the constituencies by deliberately rejecting, not for the first time, the most brilliant of her sons. They loosed the moral hold they naturally and legitimately retained upon



the most powerful statesman in the country so long as he sat in Parliament as their representative. They lost to the University and to the Church the liberalising influence, so beneficial to both, which he as the member for Oxford insensibly exercised. Lastly, they contributed in no slight degree, by banishing the one Liberal among all the members for the old Universities, to identify the Church with one political party.

The Irish Church contest aggravated this last evil. That upon such a question the bulk of the clergy, especially of the country clergy, should have been scared, and unable to take a dispassionate and statesmanlike view, is not to be marvelled at. Professional zeal, chivalry towards their clerical brethren in Ireland, alarm for their own position, all combined to intensify the conviction so sincerely entertained by many, that an act of injustice and of spoliation was being committed, and an injury inflicted upon the cause of true religion. Now, however, that the Irish Church question has been some time disposed of, is it too soon to hope that the flame of frenzy and of panic it kindled may subside; its history and its lesson be studied by the clear and steady light of reason, and the statesmen who took part in it be fairly and impartially judged? Nor should the adherents of the Established Church be unmindful of the fact that the present Government has carried an Education Bill for England, highly favourable to the Church, nor that it has stood between them and Mr. Miall; and that by both these steps it has materially compromised its popularity with its most advanced supporters. Seriously we would ask the clergy whether they think Lord Derby or Mr. Disraeli a better churchman than Mr. Gladstone; or, setting aside all considerations of individuals, whether they are of opinion that the Establishment would stand on any firmer basis if a Conservative Government were to accede to office?

The Established Church claims to be the national Church of England. To justify this position she must show herself comprehensive and tolerant in religious, and even more so in secular matters. We would invite the zealots of the Establishment to examine and consider the ground on which it rests. The Established Church, if not a corporation properly so-called, is an institution made up of an aggregate of corporations. The clergy as the ministers of an established church are an order in the State. From this point of view both are creatures of the State, and what the State has made it has the right to unmake. If men friendly to the maintenance of an Establishment, but who hold it to be essential, not only to the prosperity but to the stability of society and of the empire, that our government

should on the whole be conducted according to the principles of a Liberal policy, find that the organisation, the resources, and the position of that Establishment are systematically employed to thwart and defeat such a policy, they will be compelled to choose between them. What that choice will be cannot be doubtful, and the Establishment will discover too late that by identifying itself with a party it has abdicated its national character and irrevocably sealed its own doom. We do not wish to indulge in speculations as to the future. It may be the inevitable tendency of modern thought and modern habits of life that State Churches should everywhere disappear and be replaced by Free Churches. 'Parliament,' prophesies one of the personages in 'Lothair,' 'made the Church of England, ' and Parliament will unmake the Church of England.' Lord Derby, if our memory does not mislead us, said not many years ago, that the voluntary system would be prevalent in this country in the next century. We content ourselves with saying that the duration of the Establishment, however strong its legal status and its historical position, depends mainly on public opinion. It depends on the degree in which it is found to answer the purpose of an Establishment in bringing religious teaching and religious ministration home to the masses of the people, and in the discreet or indiscreet use it makes of the vantage ground it politically occupies. The political dissenters, who object on principle to any establishment, it cannot of course hope to conciliate. But there are millions whom neither Church nor Dissent reaches, and who care for neither. To these the Church is known only as a wealthy corporation connected with the upper ten thousand, the members of which are ever found on the side of resistance to popular claims and popular desires. Such a state of things demands careful consideration by the clergy out of pure self-interest. It demands it still more from a higher point of view. How can they hope to advance their religious mission unless they remove the antipathy and disarm the suspicions of those they seek to approach? Surely it behoves them to weigh well the satisfaction, nay the duty, of not repelling their flocks, against that of recording a vote in opposition to some policy of non-intervention, or to some measure of finance, or of reform, which they dislike.

The case of what is termed the Agricultural Interest is widely different from that of the Church. An Interest has no political or legal status like an Order or a Corporation. It has no social status like a Class. It embraces many classes; nobles, landed gentry, ycomen, peasant-proprietors, tenant-farmers, skilled and unskilled labourers. The term is an expression for

all who have embarked their capital or their industry in agricultural pursuits. The stake they all have in the welfare of agriculture draws them together and constitutes them an 'interest.' Interest is not, however, according to the spirit of our Constitution, the basis of party. The basis of party is opinion, or according to Burke's definition, 'Party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.' A faction, on the other hand, may be defined to be a body acting politically in pursuit of some selfish interest. The rudimentary form of representation in Europe was indeed that by 'Estates;' but our representative system is not one of gentry, clergy, peasants, or burgesses, as such. Our representation is one of local communities, each containing a mixture of orders, classes, and interests. A direct collision of these forces is thus avoided, while the composite nature of the constituencies operates to retain to members of the House of Commons the character of representatives, and saves them from being reduced to the level of delegates of some homogeneous and unanimous body. The contention of Mr. Disraeli and his friends, in their last effort to defeat or evade a reduction of the franchise, that the House of Commons was in some sense a House of classes, could not be sustained; they themselves utterly threw it over, when, after a last feeble protest in its favour in connexion with the ill-starred 'ten minutes bill,' they closed with household suffrage and made their 'leap in the dark.'

It is not, however, to be denied that there may be circumstances which will more or less legitimately incline the majority of the men who compose an interest to attach themselves to one party in the State rather than to another. Still less is it to be denied that particular questions will from time to time arise, which so touch an interest to the quick that the ordinary run of its members, if not absolutely justified, can scarcely be expected, human nature being what it is, to withstand the temptation of waiving all other considerations and throwing their combined weight into the scale the preponderance of which will conduce to their own immediate benefit.

Let us then see, first, whether there be any natural cause or fundamental principle that should permanently attach the agricultural interest as a body to any one political party; secondly, whether there be any question or questions pending, which so immediately and deeply concern it as should induce it to cast in its lot for the time being with such a party.

The bulk of the landed or agricultural interest, it must be

admitted, has, as a rule, been Tory or Conservative. On the other hand, its active intellect has been found quite as much on the Liberal as on the opposite side. Moreover, its Liberal wing has always embraced a large proportion of those who, from the value of their possessions and their social rank, had the greatest stake in its prosperity. Thus in the earlier half of the last century the country found in Whig nobles and Whig landowners the leaders who consolidated the Hanoverian dynasty, secured the Protestant succession, and upheld the principles of toleration and of political liberty. Time and experience justified their policy, Liberal opinions grew, and country gentlemen furnished an increasing number of Liberal members to the House of Commons. The accession of George III. and his determination to rule through Tory ministers arrested this salutary progress. The parliamentary ranks of the Tory party were reinforced by a fresh array of those ponderous fox-hunters described by Macaulay; men politically prejudiced and ignorant as Squire Western, Jacobites or the sons of Jacobites, who had long sulked at their county seats, but now came forth to inaugurate a new Tory dispensation. In the then state of society and of education it was natural that rural magnates of the ordinary type should instinctively sympathise with the party of authority in Church and in State. Each squire was a potentate in his own parish, content with the position, despising new men, and disliking new ideas. The tenants and yeomen followed their superiors, partly from feudal traditions and habits, perhaps even more from the lack of sufficient political knowledge to have any opinions of their own. If in time they acquired any idea on such subjects, it was that war brought war prices for agricultural produce, and that war was a Tory institution. Peasants, villagers, and labourers were not enlightened or independent enough to be of any account. The Reform agitation came to trouble in these stagnant waters. The middle-classes, not only in the towns but in the rural districts, appreciated the measure, and were stirred with enthusiasm for the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill. County voters asserted their independence and returned Liberal candidates: Tory nomination boroughs did likewise. The Chandos clause renovated the power of the landlords, and as the Reform impulse died out it was succeeded by an indifference favourable to Tory influence. The next event that roused the agricultural districts and directed their attention to politics was the battle of the Corn Laws. The tenant and other farmers became, for the first time, heartily and actively Conservative. They rebelled against Liberal leaders and Liberal landlords,

they put pressure upon Liberal shopkeepers and dependents, their hand was against every man and, as a consequence, every man's hand was against them.

Their course on this occasion is not to be wondered at. If it be too much to say that the experiment of Free Trade was made upon them, they at all events had to bear the brunt in the first instance. It was all very well for the apostles of Free Trade to appeal to the principles of political economy, and tell the farmer that a reduction in the price of corn was a question of rent, and the owner that rent was a question of the prosperity of the country. These things were true, but they were true only in the long run. Philosophers and doctrinaires are prone to forget that when they operate upon flesh and blood, they cannot expect to find it impassive as an inanimate object or as readily handled as an abstract proposition. In this instance each tenant felt that he might be ruined, and each little owner that he might be made a beggar, before the long run was accomplished. They refused to be comforted by the most exact demonstrations, with the same obduracy as a hungry labourer, when assured that the only cause of his troubles is that the supply of labour is in excess of the demand, but that the balance will infallibly be adjusted, and that meanwhile he is starving in strict accordance with the laws of economical science. In such circumstances the empty stomach will be apt to give the full head a rough answer, and the philosopher must expect to run the chance of finding his reasoning met by a knock-down blow and the abstraction of his purse.

The battle of Free Trade has long ago been fought out and settled, and the trials and hardships incident to the struggle have been surmounted. At the present time there is probably scarcely one landowner under fifty years of age, and not one under forty, to be found, who does not scoff at the idea of Protection. Faith in a Protectionist policy survives only, if anywhere, in remote villages and solitary farmhouses, just as Macaulay tells us the creeds of the Covenanter and of the Non-Juror lingered in the traditions of a few obscure and scattered families. Many circumstances have combined to modify the habits and current of thought of those who constitute the agricultural interest. The lives of all have become less isolated; they are brought more in contact with other classes, and have a wider range of information. The tendency must be more and more for each man to form his own opinions rather than to accept those of a mass. It may, perhaps, be assumed, that the bulk of the squirearchy are likely to continue Conservative, because they are men enjoying an assured position, and seeing

no higher one attainable, without exceptionable abilities, or exertions such as comparatively few are disposed to make. But what of the tenant and other farmers? They have become, or are in process of becoming, men of enterprise as keen to make money and to push their way, as traders or manufacturers, and political activity and love of progress have constantly proved associated with intelligence and energy in the conduct of private affairs. This view receives a striking illustration from the case of Scotland, where the farmers, as a class, are the most independent, the most enterprising, and the most Liberal, in the United Kingdom.

In such circumstances, if so numerous and heterogeneous a body as the agricultural interest is to be welded into one compact mass, it can only arise from an intelligent consent of opinion that public duty, or private advantage, necessitates or recommends such a union. There appears in the nature of things no good reason why owners, occupiers, tenants, and those they employ in various capacities, should be of one mind in politics rather than all fundholders, or than all concerned in shipping or in manufactures. Is there any question now pending which so immediately affects the agricultural interest, and is of such paramount importance, as to induce men to sink all independence of thought, in order to act as one united body?

The principal questions now pending which directly concern the agricultural interest are six in number:—

1. Local Taxation.
2. Administration of Affairs in Counties.
3. The Malt Duty.
4. Laws relating to the Tenure or Ownership of Land.
5. The Game Laws.
6. Tenant-Right.

Local Taxation has of late years superseded the Malt Duty as the foremost of agricultural wrongs; but though thus promoted by the rank and file, it is coldly looked upon by the leaders of the Conservative party. We propose in the first instance to examine how far the assumption that it is a landed or agricultural grievance is correct. We must, however, at starting, observe that the information concerning Local Taxation, though sufficient for our immediate purpose, is singularly imperfect; and we adhere to the opinion we expressed in a recent article, that if the subject is to be thoroughly investigated and a comparison instituted between local and imperial taxation with the view of effecting an equal distribution of the burdens of the two over all classes, a Royal Commission

is an almost necessary preliminary. Mr. Goschen's Report to the Lords of the Treasury shows the doubtful and defective nature of even the best information that can be obtained in this country. When he attempts to compare foreign systems of Local Taxation with our own we find him illustrating *ignotum per ignotius*. The writer who has afforded the most complete and exhaustive comparison of the taxation of different countries in Europe, M. de Parieu, encounters everywhere the same difficulty. In the opening chapter of the fourth volume of his '*Traité des Impôts en France et à l'étranger*,' which we reviewed in this Journal in April, 1870, he observes, as a caution to his readers:—

'Si en effet tout ce qui concerne les revenus nationaux tend aujourd'hui, dans toute l'Europe, à se divulguer et à se produire dans des budgets communiqués au public, la taxation locale se cache au contraire à l'ombre, et il suffira, pour expliquer la difficulté d'atteindre les faits qui s'y rattachent, de faire remarquer quelle place restreinte tiennent dans nos documents officiels les ressources, cependant si considérables et si variées, fournies en France par l'octroi, les centimes additionnels, les droits de voirie et de places, etc., aux caisses municipales.'

In this country, Mr. Palgrave's recently published volume on '*Local Taxation*' is the most compendious and complete account we possess on the subject. If the information as to law and facts at home and abroad were much more complete and trustworthy than it is, it would be next to impossible for anyone, even if he made it the study of his life, to acquire such a knowledge of the circumstances and peculiarities of different countries as to be able to compare their systems of imperial and local finance in any but the most superficial manner. We do not, for instance, see of what possible value a mere tabular statement of the amounts of taxes derived severally from real property and from personal property in Hungary, can be as an indication of what the proportion might be expected to be in a country like ours, the conditions of which are so entirely different. Accordingly, we must confess, that we attach but little weight to that portion of Mr. Goschen's Report in which he contrasts the incidence of taxation in this and in other European States.

In England and Wales, to which the Reports named at the head of this article almost exclusively apply, and to which we shall limit our observations, direct local taxes, or rates, are in theory raised upon property that is local, visible, and profitable. Mr. Goschen at page 87 of his Report classifies the different kinds of property thus actually burdened as follows:

lands (including tithes), manorial profits, saleable underwoods, dwelling-houses, factories, mills, &c., coal-mines, canals, railways, all other property.

Incredible as it may seem, there is no direct information to be obtained of the amount of rates derived from each of the above. In order to arrive at some conclusion on this head Mr. Goschen is obliged to have recourse to the Income-tax returns, and to make a calculation, on the assumption that the amount of rates levied on each description of property is in proportion to its share in the gross annual value assessed under Schedule A. From this estimate it results that the proportion of Poor's rates (including under that head various other rates such as County, Borough, Hundred, and Police rates, but excluding Highway rates and the modern Metropolitan and Urban Improvement rates), derived from lands and tithes, amounted in the year 1868 to little over 33 per cent. of the total amount levied. According to further calculations it appears that for the last half century, at least, the proportion borne by lands and tithes has been constantly decreasing. Thus in 1826 they contributed 69 per cent. of the above rates, in 1841 52 per cent., and in 1852 46 per cent., of the entire charge. If the amount of taxation had remained stationary, it is evident that a great portion of the burden originally borne by land would have been shifted to other classes of property; but the aggregate of rates levied has, as is well known, largely increased. Is then the amount in the *l.* now levied on land greater than at former periods? This point is carefully investigated by Mr. Goschen, and his conclusion is that the average charge in the *l.* on the total value of rated property for *all* rates, was—

					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 1827	.	.	.	.	3	8
„ 1841	.	.	.	.	2	7
„ 1868	.	.	.	.	3	4

In order, however, to arrive at the present charge upon land, we must exclude from the reckoning of the last of these years the new Metropolitan rates and certain District and Improvement rates, all created since the year 1841, and which, as is apparent from their nature and the localities in which they are raised, affect house-property only; the account will then stand as follows:—

					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 1827	.	.	.	.	3	8
„ 1841	.	.	.	.	2	7
„ 1868	.	.	.	.	2	6½



Thus the actual burden on land, regard being had to its increased value, appears less now than in the favoured year 1841. Mr. Goschen exerts himself to show by a further analysis of the materials at his command that even as regards the older rates an increase for the last fifty years has taken place in the towns and a decrease in the country; so that land in fact bears even less than the last-mentioned average charge in the 17. But the value of this portion of the Report, based as it is on a division of districts into rural and urban, which, considering the intermediate character of many of them, must necessarily be somewhat arbitrary, is of a less satisfactory nature.

The calculations we before referred to, although avowedly not admitting of entire accuracy, suffice to make two points clear beyond all reasonable doubt. 1. That Local Taxation is not at the present time exclusively or mainly a burden on land. 2. That land, thanks partly to the increase in its own value,\* but infinitely more to the multiplication of houses and to the creation of railway and other property, is not more heavily burdened in proportion to its ability than at former periods of the present century.

Again, local taxation is constantly spoken of as constituting a burden on real property. Mr. Goschen in his report, though evidently aware of the error involved in such language, contributes to foster the idea by continually speaking of real property as synonymous with rated property. Such, however, is in practice far from being the case, and the distinction is in some respects, as we shall have occasion to show, a material one. According to the estimate we have already cited, while the proportion of poor's rate contributed by land in 1868 was little over 33 per cent. of the total amount levied, that contributed by houses, or rather, if we apprehend the figures rightly, by buildings including factories, &c., was somewhat more than 47 per cent., and that by railways 11 per cent. Further than this Mr. Goschen is unable to carry his analysis, the remaining 8 or 9 per cent. is derived from 'all other pro-

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\* It appears from Mr. Goschen's Report, p. 19, that in the course of the last half century the increase in value has been—

Of land	.	.	.	.	28·88 per cent.
Of houses	.	.	.	.	356·61   "
Of other property	.	.	.	.	1,727·72   "

In this statement, however, it must be observed that no allowance is made for apparent increase in value arising from the adoption of higher assessments.

'perty.' It is, however, plain that buildings are the largest contributors of any, and of buildings a vast proportion is held on long leases. The long leaseholders, being in fact owners subject to the payment of a fixed rent or annuity to a superior lord and to an ultimate reversion of the property to some future possessor, pay, beyond all doubt, some large share of the total burdens on this description of property. What that share may be will, in each particular case, depend on circumstances, especially on the period at which the lease was entered upon, and the increase of old rates or creation of new ones since the date of its commencement. Now leasehold property for a definite term, however long, is not real but personal estate, and subject to most of the incidents of personalty. Again, real property is not synonymous with rated property, for much real property belonging to the Government or to charities is altogether exempt; mines and timber are not rated unless in certain exceptional cases to the highway rate, while franchises, easements, commons, and other such property is not held liable to be rated.

It is necessary to go a step further, and to consider not only the kinds of property liable to rates, but the persons upon whom they fall, and to see who are the ultimate ratepayers. We will first advert to the case of those who pay rates in respect of houses and other property of a similar character before addressing ourselves to the question, how do rates levied on agricultural property affect owners, occupiers, and tenants? To take the simplest instance first. Where the owner of an existing freehold house and of the ground on which it is erected lets his house at rack rent for any short period, the rates, though actually paid by the tenant, constitute a deduction from the rent. The only exception will be any addition to an old rate, or any new rate imposed, subsequent to the entry by the tenant into his agreement and not foreseen and allowed for in stipulating the amount of rent to be paid. This will be the general rule, on the principle that the tenant, whether he occupy for profit as a shopkeeper or simply as an inhabitant, can afford to give a certain price and no more for a certain kind of house in a certain locality; and the owner, if he would not see the occupier remove elsewhere and have his property left empty on his hands, must submit to a reduction of rent equivalent to the rates. In the case supposed, the house is treated as an improvement made upon the soil; there is no distinction of ground-rent and building-rent, the two being merged in one, compounded of the interest on capital expended and of the natural rent of the land. In other cases the

ownership of the house is something totally distinct from that of the site. The house then becomes not so much the subject of rent in the proper sense of the term as of the profit to be made upon the capital expended in erecting it. The builder will not build unless he can see his way to make the market rate of profit on his capital, while the owner of the site will become, in fact, the receiver of an annuity. Upon whom will the rates in such cases fall? The Report of the Committee named at the head of this article answers, and we are disposed to agree with it, that the rates will take away so much from the natural rent or lettable value of the land, and will, as a rule, fall upon its owner. If the rates, however, be so high that the builder cannot afford to offer the ground-landlord rent enough to induce him to let his land for building at all, then the would-be occupiers must consent to pay dearer for their houses, or building will be checked till house-rents rise to such a figure as will enable the builder to offer the ground-owner a sufficient rent. In either case the rates, or a portion of them, will be cast upon the occupiers or, as the Committee, following Mr. Mill, terms them, the consumers of the houses. In fact, in the instance now supposed, the rates will operate upon building as did the old tithe upon agriculture, and check its development till the price of the commodity to be produced has reached such an amount as will not only afford remuneration for the cost of production, but meet another and further charge. Such, it appears, will be the incidence as between the ground-landlord, the builder or owner of the house, and the occupier, of rates taken into account at or before the building of the house. What of subsequent unforeseen additions to rates? To the case of the leaseholder we have already adverted. He will always, unless he sublets, have to bear the excess, and so will any other occupier during the currency of his contract. Where the tenancy, be it a long lease or a short term, expires, the excess, where the ground rent is a fixed annuity and nothing can be thrown off upon the ground-landlord, must be borne by the owner of the building, unless the state of supply and demand for houses happen to be such as to enable him to raise the price to the consumer. The above we believe to be true, as a general theory, of the incidence of rates; but, if ever there was a matter to which the saying applies, that 'the devil invented practice to confound theory,' it is this one of rates. The counteracting influences which affect the rent which an occupier will give for a particular house are so infinite that the exceptions to the rule are innumerable, and, moreover, it is next to impossible to ascertain the actual fact in

a given case. The so-called evidence offered to the Committee, whether the witness was a poor-law officer, a local official, a professional surveyor, an owner, or an occupier, consists almost, if not exclusively, of opinion and of argument occasionally fortified by quotations from the works of speculative writers, while the Report drawn up by Mr. Goschen, and adopted by the Committee, is on this head nothing more than an elaborate and ingenious essay such as might appropriately form a chapter in a volume on political economy.

The rating of railways and of mines affords further illustrations of the complications attending this branch of taxation. The company owning a railway is rated in each parish upon what is supposed to be the lettable value of the land it occupies in that parish for the purpose of maintaining a railway. Inasmuch, however, as it is impracticable to define the true value of such sections of a line, each link having its own peculiar intrinsic value, and also a value as forming part of a continuous chain, the assessment is reduced to little more than a rude compromise between the overseers of the parishes and the owners of the railway. The assessment of coal-mines appears to be even more irregular. The rates are made upon the occupiers and are practically subjects of compromises, but these are so various, not to say arbitrary, that mines immediately adjoining each other are very differently charged. Mines other than coal-mines are not liable to rates; yet the owner of such a mine, if he receive a royalty in kind, is by the decision of the Courts rated as an occupier of land to the extent of that royalty; if he be paid in money, he is not rated, and the effect of this caprice of law has naturally been, in great measure, to substitute payments in money for payments in kind. A metalliferous mine is exempt so long as the ore is extracted by underground labour; if it be worked openly, it is held liable to rates equally with any quarry, chalk-pit, or brick-field. So strictly is this arbitrary distinction adhered to, that where a part of one and the same mine was worked openly and part covertly, the former was rated and the latter exempted. The fact seems to be that the exemption of mines has arisen from the circumstance that the original Act of Elizabeth, defining the properties liable to poor's rate, specifies coal-mines. The mention of coal-mines was construed to exclude all other mines; but it having since been felt that this exemption, perhaps originally due to an accident, was in substance unjust and anomalous, there has been a disposition to carry the rating of mines as far as ever compatible with the letter of the law.

The rating of land is simpler than that of the properties we

have been engaged in considering. Where land is dealt with on commercial principles, the rates must fall on the owner. The owner will obtain the best rent he can, but the tenant cannot give more for the instrument to be employed in his business than will enable him to make the current profit. Lands not dealt with on commercial principles may not fall within the general rule. On many of the larger estates in England farms are let, generation after generation, from a customary indulgence at rents below that which from a mercantile point of view should be obtained for their use. On such farms, the tenants, especially yearly tenants, can afford to bear, and will prefer to bear in silence, almost any rates rather than provoke a revision of rent by applying for an abatement. Where low renting is an established practice, the rates may be said to fall upon the tenant. This class of tenants may, however, be left out of consideration in treating of the natural incidence of rates. So far from having any grievance, they are an exceptionally favoured body and the last to have any claim upon the Legislature for any redress or alleviation of burdens. Some reasoners have thought to find another exception to the rule, and have argued that owners and occupiers of land may, to some indefinite extent, raise the price of agricultural produce and throw the burden of rates on the consumer. Considering how entirely different in their nature rates are from a uniform and universal tax on articles of consumption, we do not admit that there can have been any foundation for this hypothesis, even in the days of Protection. The only way in which rates could affect the price of agricultural produce would be, that just as we have seen they may in certain localities check building, so they may retard the development of cultivation on certain lands. The free admission of foreign agricultural produce must, however, have reduced this effect to a minimum.

The farmer's stock in trade is exempted from rating equally with that of all other traders, though it seems, through one of the innumerable freaks and caprices of the law, to have originally owed its exemption, in part at least, to grounds peculiar to itself.\*

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\* The peculiar ground for the exemption of some portion of farming stock was thus laid down :—

‘If one kind of property be necessary to the production of another, only one of such kinds of property is a subject of the rate. Thus cattle and stock on a farm necessary to produce the profits of the farm are not subjects of a rate.’ (*Il. v. Barking*, 1 Bott. p. 145.)

‘But if they produce a profit separate from the farm—as cattle

The existing system of rating appears so favourable to the tenant-farmer, that the question naturally arises, how do rates concern him at all? The answer is that they affect him for better or for worse pending his existing contract with the landlord. He has contracted to bear the rates during the period of that contract; having of course calculated their probable average. If rates by good fortune or good management fall below the estimated average, he becomes to that extent a gainer; if they rise above it, he becomes to that extent a loser. If a rate be abolished, as for instance the Church rate, he gains; if a new rate, as the Education rate, be imposed, he loses. Changes in the area of rating, changes in the law of settlement, may benefit or injure him. On the whole it cannot be questioned that the practice of the Legislature of continually adding new charges to the rates, has, to some considerable though indefinite extent, operated injuriously to agricultural tenants; and that these have an unmistakeable inducement to unite with the owners of the soil in resisting the imposition of new burdens.

Do rates affect the labourer, is a question to be asked. That they cannot perceptibly affect the price of provisions we have shown. They can only affect the labourer remotely by discouraging the building of cottages or other suitable dwellings for the working class, or by causing them to be built of an inferior kind. There is yet a view which we mention here lest we should be supposed to have overlooked it, namely, that the heaviest of rates, the poor's rate, affects the wages of the labourer. It is argued that if the poor's rate did not provide for the maintenance of the labourer and his family in want, sickness, and old age, wages must be increased to such an amount as would enable him to make this provision for himself; else the number of labourers would be reduced by death and emigration till the dearth of hands forced the price of labour up to the requisite level. The point of this argument, however, appears to be directed against the existence of any legal fund for the relief of poverty, as tending to prevent the growth of habits of thrift and self-reliance among the poor, and throwing upon the owners or occupiers of rated property a burden which ought in the first instance to be met by the employers of labour. It does not touch the question we have

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kept for sale on food not the produce of the farm, as on oil-cake, &c.—they become a subject of the rate, being local, visible, and profitable within the parish.' (*R. v. Brown*, 1 Bott. p. 220. See 'Report of Poor-Law Commissioners, 1843,' p. 239.)

been engaged in considering, viz., out of whose pockets are rates now ultimately paid.

The tithe-owner stands in a disadvantageous position compared with his brother ratepayers, because he is compelled to show his cards in a manner they are not. The tithe-commutation is a known and ascertained amount, and the tithe-owner is thus entered in the rate-book at the full amount, whereas, assessment committees notwithstanding, other properties are entered at less than their net annual value. Moreover, it has been held by a recent decision, that the stipend of a curate is not to be deducted from the tithe rent-charge of the incumbent in fixing its rateable value. This decision has reversed the former construction of law, and, at all events, in extensive or populous parishes where a curate is not a luxury but a necessity, appears attended with no slight degree of hardship.

Two schemes have recently been advanced to remedy or palliate the grievances of those who complain of the burdens of Local Taxation. We give precedence to that of which Sir Massey Lopes, one of the representatives for Devonshire, is the exponent, and in which he is followed by the herd of county members of Parliament. Without wishing to speak of it disrespectfully, it must be described as a hazy scheme. It starts by assuming that all local taxation is levied upon one kind of property only, which it immediately contradicts itself by describing as houses *and* land. It does not distinguish the nature of these properties, it takes no account of others, it ignores the difference of persons upon whom rates fall. The argument proceeds as if agricultural land were the especial victim. It confounds owners, occupiers, and tenants; the rating of personal property with the transfer of local burdens to the national exchequer. The upshot, however, is that local charges, as to some of which it is argued with undeniable force that they interest the whole country, or at all events all the property in the country, as much as that limited portion which is subject to rates, should be defrayed in whole or in part out of imperial resources. Sir Massey Lopes points to the cost of pauper lunatics, the salaries of local poor-law officials, the Establishment charges, the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, public vaccination, parliamentary registration, the maintenance of highways, including turnpike roads as trusts expire, police, and all charges connected with the administration of justice, such as the erection of gaols, the salaries of coroners, and the prosecution of offenders. The total annual amount of the charges indicated rises in round

numbers to 7,000,000*l*. Inasmuch, however, as the member for Devonshire suggests the shifting of only part of some among them, the height of his aspiration appears to be a transfer of about 6,000,000*l*. from local to imperial taxation.

Such is the scheme which squires, tenant-farmers, freeholders, chambers of agriculture, and farmers' clubs, are invited to support, and which in great measure they do support. That the proposed removal of this, or of any considerable amount of rates, would benefit the owners of rated property, and among them the owners of land, is not to be disputed. How would it benefit the agricultural tenant? It would give a short relief to the tenant under a lease till his lease expired; it would give a momentary respite to the yearly tenant or tenant at will till a readjustment of his rent, which would follow the more promptly the larger the remission of rates. But there remains a further and inevitable question which the bucolic mind does not appear to have asked itself. How is the load thus shifted on to the shoulders of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be provided for? If the amount transferred be defrayed in whole or in part out of the income-tax, or out of taxes on articles of consumption, the tenant-farmer will find that he has substituted taxes which he does pay for rates which he does not. Landowners and other rate-payers, or rather, if we may be allowed the use of an uncouth word to distinguish those who ultimately pay rates from those who advance them in the first instance, *rate-bearers*, will gain by the substitution of a tax which they share with others for rates which fall upon them exclusively. The change is, however, not unattended with danger for some of these rate-bearers. Real estate, it must be remembered, is free from probate-duty, and pays a light legacy or succession duty. Already this distinction is looked upon with an eye of envy as an undue privilege. Any considerable transfer of local burdens will infallibly raise the question whether this difference should be suffered to continue, and would not improbably result in the extension of probate and full succession duty to real estate. What this burden would amount to we will not venture to say. We have heard it estimated at upwards of 1,000,000*l*. This exchange would, as far as it went, neutralise the benefit of the relief from rates to the properties affected by it. It would not of course touch farm-tenants. It would fall upon owners, but not upon all owners. Those undying Struldbrugs, corporate bodies, would be relieved of rates, and would escape the retribution, the weight of which would fall upon the estates of mortal owners. Again, leaseholds are personal



estate, and as such can be put as regards probate duty in no worse position than they already occupy, and thus to those who are practically the owners of a large amount of house-property the transfer would probably prove a clear gain.

Landowners run another risk not to be despised in their eagerness to throw off local taxation, namely, that they may arouse a demand for a new land-tax. The fortunes of the old land-tax are fully narrated in the history of the duties under the management of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue contained in the first volume of their report. They are instructive and full of warning. The land-tax was in its origin a substitute for the ancient subsidy which was raised upon the people of the realm in respect of their reputed property. By Acts passed in 1692 and 1697 a more efficient taxation was established, by means of what was in fact an income and property-tax, of which personalty was at least as fully the object as realty. By the last of these Acts, which was annually renewed for a century, the counties were assessed to a yearly charge in certain quotas, the proportions of which remained fixed. This charge was further apportioned by Commissioners among the parishes composing each county. Personal property succeeded with the same good fortune as attended it in regard to local taxation, and probably for similar reasons, in gradually escaping from this imperial tax. So much was this the case that in Mr. Pitt's time the tax had dwindled into nothing but an impost upon land. Still, after the passing of that Minister's Act for the redemption of this charge, the duty on personal estate continued to be annually voted down to the year 1833, when the form was put an end to. The parochial charge upon land has, moreover, long since crystallised into a rent-charge upon particular estates. Thus the property and income-tax of William III. is to all intents and purposes as defunct as the old subsidy which it superseded. The name of land-tax, however, survives; it is a name musical in the ears of all those who have not inherited or invested their capital in the shape of land. It is plausible and telling to point out to popular assemblies that the surviving partial and anomalous rent-charge does not correspond to its name, and that land in bygone days contributed in a larger proportion to the imperial exchequer; what amount of other property was then in being platform orators stay not to inquire. Altogether it seems to us that some of those who are among the foremost followers of Sir Massey Lopes had better pause, and 'think once, think twice, nay even think thrice,' before they challenge an issue in which they are pretty sure to

lose as much as, and may possibly lose a great deal more than, they gain.

The second of the remedial schemes to meet the complaints of the iniquity of local taxation, as it now exists, is that embodied in Mr. Goschen's bills of last year. Mr. Goschen would extend the liability for rates to all that local property which appears to have hitherto escaped rather from accident or caprice of law than from any sound reason. He would thus embrace mines, timber, estates belonging to Government and to charities, game, and various kinds of hereditaments now exempt. He would rate noblemen's and gentlemen's mansions on a scale more nearly representing their intrinsic value than the present assessment. He, moreover, proposed to divide the payment of rates between the owner and the tenant, making it, as in the case of the income-tax, illegal for the former to contract himself out of the liability thus imposed upon him by law. This system of divided rates obtains largely in Scotland and in Ireland, and in both has been found to work satisfactorily. The process of introducing it into England would, no doubt, like the transition from the old calendar to the new—like a change to a decimal coinage, or a uniform scale of weights and measures—be attended with no small amount of temporary trouble and inconvenience. In the case of leases, indeed, the drawback of interfering with express contracts was considered so great that an exception in their favour was inserted in the bill.

Mr. Goschen's scheme has been severely criticised as a mere shuffling of the cards. It was little more, so it was said, than a re-distribution of the same load among the present bearers, while as regards the tenants it was declared to be illusory. Closer investigation would show that it offers more real and substantial benefit to the majority of those concerned than that put forward by the County Members. The scheme of these last is no doubt at first sight alluring. It intimates to the owners of property, 'All rates, under all circumstances, fall upon rents; here is a relief to you from a burden of so many millions.' To the tenants it whispers, 'All rates are borne by you; you know it to your cost, for you are the men who pay them; here are so many millions for your pockets.' In both owners and tenants it finds willing and confiding listeners; for, as a rule, each owner and tenant believes with implicit faith that upon him alone falls the entire burden, and he feels proportionately discontented and aggrieved. The scheme is nevertheless delusive. The tenant can gain next to nothing by it; nay, will probably lose by the substitution of taxes for rates. The private owner will, for a gain of uncertain amount,

raise dormant questions, and set a ball rolling which may roll he knows not how far, and grow to he knows not what bulk in its progress. The only sure gainers will be corporate bodies, commercial companies, building speculators, and house-leaseholders. In short, under Sir Massey Lopes's banner the tenant-farmer is fighting for a shadow, while the landowner is agitating for the benefit not so much of himself as of others with whom he has but scant sympathies.

Mr. Goschen's plan would, in the first place, destroy the imaginary grievance nursed by the tenant, that he alone bears the load of rates. It would, moreover, be to him of more real benefit than the rival scheme. Sir Massey Lopes would, by removing some portion of the total amount of rates, save the tenant from the temporary burden of an unexpected increase, so far as that portion is concerned. Mr. Goschen would save him from one half of such an increase upon the total amount of rates. It would put him in a more favourable position for negotiating with his landlord when the time came round for a re-adjustment of his rent. Owners of rated property would no doubt lose whatever the tenants gained by a division of rates. Such owners would, on the other hand, as a body gain by the introduction of other property to share their burdens. Small owners would secure a further gain by the proposed higher assessment of the mansions and domains of their wealthier neighbours. Lastly, neither owners nor tenants, whatever their gain might be, would be exposed to the danger of being called upon in consequence to contribute a larger amount of imperial taxation.

We have dwelt thus at length upon the subject of Local Taxation, both because of the prominence that it has of late acquired, and in the hope to dispel some of the atmosphere of confusion, delusion, and illusion by which it is surrounded. We feel, however, that we may be asked the stock question, Is property, the rateable value of which is only 100,000,000*l.*, exclusively to bear in silence an annual burden of upwards of 30,000,000*l.* for objects of national interest; if not, what relief ought to be afforded to its owners? The answer must be, that after deducting from the above-named amount the produce of indirect local taxation, the proceeds of local public property, loans, Government contributions, and various miscellaneous receipts, it will be found that the sum raised by direct local taxation, i.e. by rates, amounts to something over 16,000,000*l.*, or little more than half the total burden. This amount must be again reduced by 4,000,000*l.* or 4,500,000*l.* for improvement rates, principally levied in towns, which may be looked upon

as investments for the benefit of the property on which they are charged. Of the remaining 11,500,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.*, we may say that the larger portion, from 8,500,000*l.* to 9,000,000*l.*, is raised for the relief of the poor as poor, for highway rates, and for the old county and borough rates; the small portion, 3,000,000*l.* or 3,500,000*l.*, is applied for the modern police in town and in country, for what may be called the humanities or refinements of the poor-law, the maintenance of lunatics as a distinct class of paupers, vaccination, salaries, and other charges fixed or required by the Central Government in connexion with various public matters. Of the first and larger portion of this entire group of rates, some at least are imposed for objects of national concern. The poor's-rate itself is such, whether it be looked upon as the provision made by a Christian and civilised community in its collective capacity for the relief of extreme human suffering, or as an insurance effected in the interest of property and of peaceful industry against the risks to be apprehended from those prompters to mischief—hunger and despair.

At the same time these are ancient liabilities, subject to which estates have been acquired by descent, purchased, created, or improved. The case of the second and smaller portion is widely different. They are also—many, if not all of them—burdens for national objects; but they are of recent invention and creation. There appears no reason for charging them upon the rate-bearers rather than upon every other class of the community, except the convenience of collection, and that economy in expenditure which may be secured by local management where the Central Government leaves a discretion to local authorities. All classes of rate-bearers have a right to protest against being exclusively called upon to defray such charges. The tendency to do away with tolls and other indirect local taxes, and to substitute increased rates, has been adverted to. A still greater menace to rated property is to be found in the standing temptation presented to Finance Ministers to lighten their budgets by throwing public burdens upon local rates. The risk is at present aggravated by the circumstance that the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition, having both served as Chancellors of the Exchequer, are imbued with the spirit of that office, and disposed—Mr. Gladstone especially—rather to seek safeguards against national extravagance, than to regard the feelings or interests of the rate-bearers.

Governments have before now, Conservative Governments especially, talked in a vague way of a revision of burdens.

Since the days of Sir Robert Peel, however, we believe that no Government has proposed any substantial relief to the rate-bearers, except the one offered by Mr. Goschen in the course of last session. He proposed to surrender the house-tax, estimated at 1,200,000*l.* a year, to local authorities in aid of rates. The course proposed did not find much favour, nor can we think that, however ingenious, it was a desirable one either for the Government or the rate-bearers. Infallibly, before many years had elapsed, each party would have forgotten the concession, or would accuse the other of forgetting it. The rate-bearers would renew their clamour, that all rates were charged upon their property only. The Government would, in its first difficulty, be tempted to lay a duty on so fair and reasonable a subject for taxation as houses, under some new name or on some new plea. Nor did the scheme hit the mark to be aimed at, or satisfy the demand that called it forth. The relief afforded would have been most partial, as it would have enured especially to the benefit of particular classes of rate-payers, leaving others subject to the same charges, as unassisted as before. It gave a gigantic boon substantially to the urban ratepayers, in regard to whom Mr. Goschen himself had in his Report elaborately proved: 1. That the bulk of their modern rates were imposed for purposes beneficial to themselves. 2. That their rates falling, in some indefinite but large proportion, not upon the owners, but also upon the occupiers of houses, were accordingly distributed over and borne by income derived from all kinds of sources; and thus the rates of all others the least open to the charge of unfairness. To this it may be added, that whereas the townsman pays rates only on the value of his dwelling, or at most on that of the shop or building in which he conducts his business, the countryman pays, not only upon his dwelling, but upon the property from which he derives the income that enables him to occupy it, so that a charge of 1*s.* in the 1*l.* represents a far heavier tax upon the latter than upon the former.

By its proposal to surrender the house-tax the Government has distinctly admitted that the rate-bearers are entitled to some relief from national funds. That relief should be given in the way which will bring it most directly home to the points held to require it, namely, by contributions in aid of specific rates from the Exchequer. We especially direct attention to certain modern rates which are imposed for general purposes, prescribed by statute, and under Government supervision; such are the provision for lunatics, the support of an adequate police force, and those connected with prisons and with the

administration of justice. We would add our opinion that the entire cost of the Militia, especially since that branch of the service has by the Army Regulation Act of last session assumed less of a local and more of a national character, should be defrayed by the Government. Reasonable contributions in aid of these, or some of these objects, would meet the equity of the case without sacrificing local management and local thrift; and, at the same time, would obviate that demand for a revision of both imperial and local taxation, which aims at attaining some impossible perfection in their apportionment.

The question of Local Self-Government is intimately connected with that of Local Taxation. Everywhere outside the limits of municipal towns, the former is as anomalous and as rude as the latter. Parish vestries, where not modified by statute, are remains of the most primitive and clumsy form of free government, that in which all the members of the community meet to transact public business in person. The old intermediate divisions between the parish and the county, the hundreds, are practically defunct. The affairs of counties are conducted by the justices in quarter sessions, who may be said to be a rural House of Lords armed with the power of the purse. With the exception of a certain number of local boards under the Public Health or the Local Government Act, representative institutions in the rural districts of England are confined to boards of guardians and highway district boards, all created for limited and definite purposes. This lack of self-government is not only out of keeping with the spirit of our Constitution, but it is a missing link in our political training and education of the people, and constitutes a weak point in the substructure upon which national self-government reposes. Were the elective franchise at the present time to be conferred upon the rural householder or peasant, it would be found that he had no preliminary training to fit him to make an independent and judicious use of it; and it is on this account desirable that the extension of household suffrage to counties should be preceded by the introduction of more complete local representation. Foreigners view with amazement the fact that our municipal institutions are confined to a limited number of towns. M. Dupont-White, a French writer of distinguished ability and much research, is struck with our system of county government:—

‘Le juge de paix,’ he exclaims, ‘a le vote de l’impôt local. Il n’est pas l’élu des populations et il ne laisse pas que de les taxer ! Qui se serait attendu à cela dans un pays libre et où la liberté signifia toujours *impôt consenti* !’

Messrs. Fisco and Van der Straeten, Commissioners appointed to report to M. Frère-Orban, the reformer of Belgian local finance, upon Local Administration in the United Kingdom, offer the true explanation of the existing state of things:—

‘ Les institutions locales remontent, tant pour le fond que pour la forme, à la période féodale, et n’ont subi depuis lors que peu de changements dans leurs bases essentielles.’

Such were not the local institutions of our Saxon ancestors, among whom Conservators of the Peace were elective officers, and to whom Lords-Lieutenant, who now nominate them, were unknown. In the United States and in Canada municipal institutions obtain both in town and in country. Our Australian colonies have their shire-councils. In Scotland magistrates do not administer the affairs of the county. That duty devolves on the Commissioners of Supply, who, although a superior and limited class, consisting of persons interested in land to the value of 100*l.* a-year, at least are ratepayers not ultimately only, but immediately, inasmuch as county-rates in Scotland are levied from the owners.

Probably the business of English counties has been on the whole fairly conducted by the magistrates, and with a due regard to economy. Possibly representative boards would be less thrifty in expenditure. Still the absence of all control on the part of the smaller owners and occupiers constitutes a legitimate ground of complaint. Funds, even to a larger amount than now required, would be more willingly contributed if voted by the responsible representatives of the ratepayers, with a full knowledge of the purposes to which they were devoted. Tenant-farmers are especially sensitive on this subject, being as a rule convinced that it is their money which the magistrates are expending for objects which concern the owners of the soil, but in which its temporary occupiers have little or no interest. The feeling, though exaggerated, is not unreasonable. It is, however, obvious that the subject is one on which the so-called agricultural interest, so far from being united, is divided against itself. Conservative peers and county members, belonging to the magisterial caste, resisted or evaded, as long as they dared, any changes that would compel them to share their authority with an inferior class. It was from Liberal members that the proposals for county reform first proceeded, and it is by them that it is now urged. The late Mr. Hume, Mr. Milner Gibson, and Mr. Wilde have successively pressed the question. It has now become part of the programme of a Liberal Government, and Mr. Hugessen and Mr. Goschen have each introduced Bills

in fulfilment of the pledge thus given. The lack of representation, as we have seen, lies deeper than in the county itself. It is found in the unit of the county system, the parish. The vestries of rural parishes are helpless and incompetent bodies for the transaction of business. They are under the influence especially of one who claims to be their *ex officio* chairman, the incumbent. We will not enter into an antiquarian discussion as to the legal validity or invalidity of this claim. Suffice it to say that the practice, however adapted to times in which the incumbent was, as his designation imported, the *persona* or foremost man, the *clerk* or educated man, of the parish, however admissible it may have been in times when all the inhabitants belonged to the Church in fact or in theory, is entirely unsuited to present circumstances and ideas. Mr. Goschen, in his Local Government Bill of last session, made the reform of parish government the foundation of county reform. He proposed a parochial board annually elected by ballot, and presided over by an elective chairman, to whom the vestry, while retaining its deliberative functions, should entrust the discharge of its executive duties. The proposal was criticised by reformers, on the ground that it perpetuated so small a unit of government as the parish, with all its petty interests and its narrow range of selection. Assuming, however, that it was not expedient to propose so great a change as the merging of the parish in some larger area, Mr. Goschen's proposal was unquestionably sound. Moreover it presented a reasonable solution of the problem how to secure to the immediate ratepayers an equal share with the justices in the finance and administrative business of the county, by providing for the establishment of Boards for these purposes, consisting half of justices and half of parochial chairmen. Mr. Goschen further professed in his speech that he intended to secure to owners, in consideration of their proposed liability to pay one-half of all the rates, one-third of the representation on the boards of guardians. To us it appears that, even irrespective of a division of rates, the constitution of these boards would be improved by such a modification. The official membership of justices, whose numbers and attendance in a Union are matter of accident, and who are often not so likely to devote time and attention to the business as owners of less position, might advantageously be abolished. It would then be reasonable to provide that a certain proportion of members of the board should consist of persons possessing a minimum ownership qualification; such members being either nominated by the justices, or



selected by the board itself for a fixed term of years. By this, or some similar arrangement, the presence on the board of a certain number of experienced members, and a representation of the permanent as well as of the momentary interests of the Union, would be secured.

Proceed we now to the consideration of the third of the agricultural questions enumerated above, namely, the Malt Duty. Here, even less than in the two preceding ones, do we find the basis of a united agricultural party. In the first place, it is not a producer's but a consumer's question. The agricultural grievance comes only in the second rank. The malt tax affects the producer only so far as by raising the price of beer it restricts consumption. The man upon whom the burden of the malt duty falls is he who drinks the beer made from the malt. In his case it has been argued that the duty is reduced to such a fraction before it reaches him that it is, as it were, dissipated, and forms no appreciable burden whatever. What, it is triumphantly asked, does the duty amount to on half a pint of beer sold by retail over the counter? Calculations as plausible and as conclusive would prove that a removal of the duties of corn never could affect the price of a quartern loaf or of a halfpenny bun. It is simply preposterous to argue that 7,000,000% can be raised in one year by the taxation of an article of consumption without affecting its cost. Arithmetic shows that the malt duty, including its satellites the brewer's and maltster's licences, and the charge of threepence per barrel substituted for the hop duty, is equivalent to 18 or 20 per cent. upon the wholesale price of an average cask of beer, and to 12 per cent. upon the liquor retailed in the pot. This reckoning, moreover, takes no account of the circumstance that the duty is paid, not at the point of consumption, but at the earliest stage of the manufacture, so that the liquor comes to the consumer's hands enhanced in price, not only by the actual amount of the duty, but by the interest which each successive trader through whose hands it passes must obtain upon the tax thus advanced by him. Mr. Barclay, one of the eminent firm which bears that name, stated in evidence before a Parliamentary Committee some years ago, that when the duty of ten shillings a barrel upon strong beer—a duty levied, be it observed, upon the finished article—was abolished, the brewers reduced the price of the barrel by twelve shillings, equivalent to one penny a pot to the retail consumer. Assuming the present duty to amount to no more than from five to six shillings a barrel, it is evident that its effect in raising the

price, or deteriorating the quality, of the liquor, or both, must be material to the drinker of beer.

The agriculturist's case against the malt tax may be briefly stated as follows. We pass over, as undeserving of notice, the prejudice which still lingers among the less intelligent farmers that the duty is one which falls upon themselves. By restricting the consumption of malt it injuriously affects land producing a quality of barley second only to that now employed for malting, a demand for which would arise if malting extended; it further affects other land, namely, that capable of producing a serviceable barley which, were the artificial check on consumption removed, would take the place now occupied by that last mentioned. Thus where, if trade and agriculture were free, nature would point to barley as the fittest crop in a rotation, the farmer is driven to substitute some other crop less suited to the soil, and the entire order of cultivation is, as it were, thrown out of gear, and the land cannot be worked up to its highest power of production. In estimating the force of the objection just stated, the degree in which an increased demand for barley would be likely to be met by an increased supply of foreign barley should be taken into account. A stronger indictment against the duty is that it not only restricts the consumption of malt as drink for man, but precludes its use as food for animals. This charge has never been really substantiated, and there is good reason to believe that the value of malt, except as a condiment or relish to be given to cattle, is grossly exaggerated. At the same time the opinions both of experienced farmers and of men of science are very different and even contradictory, while the existence of the duty prevents the experiment being tried on that comprehensive scale which would alone afford a test of its practical value. There remains to be noticed the sentimental or philanthropic argument, based on the assumption that the removal of the malt duty would lead to the general adoption of family brewing at the labourers' homes, and by thus superseding the beer-shop, contribute, not only to the physical, but to the moral well-being of the working classes. The mere substitution of a beer duty for a malt duty would, however, be an obstacle rather than an inducement to such a practice. Even if beer and its ingredients and manufacture were altogether freed from taxation, it is exceedingly doubtful, considering the advantages of brewing on a large rather than on a small scale, and the facilities for obtaining brewers' beer, whether the habits of cottagers would be materially modified by the change.

Such are the objections, from an agricultural point of view,

to the tax. It is obvious that, whatever their weight, they are not of a nature to unite the agricultural interest in a common crusade. The larger landowners have, as a rule, been suspected of indifference or of aversion to a demand for the abolition or considerable reduction of the duty. Those assessed under schedule A. are not disposed to risk the addition of 7,000,000*l.* to direct taxation in order to relieve the beer-drinkers of that amount of indirect taxation. On the other hand, tenants who are assessed under Schedule B., and who entertain exaggerated and erroneous ideas of the evils the duty inflicts upon them, are blind or insensible to this probable consequence. Among farmers it affects only actual barley-growers, and, more remotely, possibly barley-growers. The actual growers are far from being of one accord on the subject. The producers of high class malting barley do not view with disfavour a tax which presses more heavily on the inferior and cheaper barleys, and tends to keep them out of the market. Of the cultivators of land suited to the production of medium barleys, while some are highly sensitive on the subject of the duty, others refuse to give it a thought. The opponents of the malt tax find themselves in this difficulty: if they complain of the duty as one upon the national beverage, they lay themselves open to the reply that it will be time enough to consider that question when the consumers raise it. At present the tendency on the part of the public is to run in an entirely opposite direction, and to discourage the use of all intoxicating liquors, beer included. If the opponents present themselves simply as barley-growers, they constitute a mere fraction of the community, and, moreover, a fraction divided against itself. If they come forward as 'Free Soilers,' broadly claiming that no legislative trammels should be allowed to hamper the cultivation of the land as nature shows to be most advantageous, it follows that the prohibition of the growth of tobacco and the restrictions upon the production of sugar and of spirit, whether from grain or from roots, are equally untenable, and they run their heads against a fresh set of obstacles to the concession of their demands.

To us it appears that in present circumstances the point to which the opponents of the malt duty could address themselves with the best hope of obtaining a practical success, is the assessment of the duty at some point nearer to that of consumption, and in such a manner as should make it beyond all doubt or cavil that which it professes to be, namely, a tax upon drink and not one upon meat. This would remove at once all grievance, real or imaginary, as to the use of malt as food

or condiment for animals. If the condition of the Exchequer and the temper of the people permitted, this change might be accompanied by a reduction of the burden, such as might reach the consumer either in the price or the quality of his liquor. The stock objection urged against shifting the point of incidence of the malt tax, or converting it directly into a beer duty, has been that it would involve the levying the tax from the brewers, and that it would be at once more costly and more insecure for the Government to collect it from some 36,000 brewers than as at present from less than one-sixth of that number of maltsters. There remains also the difficulty of raising the duty from those who brew in their private houses. The assumption, however, that these obstacles are insuperable should not be allowed to remain unchallenged. Those who conceive themselves aggrieved are fairly entitled to require that the Government should by investigation satisfy itself and them, and show valid cause why no attempt should be made to raise the duty in a manner at once more agreeable to sound canons of finance, and less onerous to producers and to consumers than the one at present in operation.

In every beer-drinking country, east and west, the thirst of the people for their favourite beverage has been turned to account by their rulers. As of old, the variety of forms of Government in the Mediterranean States supplied Aristotle with specimens and illustrations of every kind of rule for his work on 'Politics,' so the beer-drinking countries of the modern world offer to English financiers examples of beer duties in endless diversity. In the United States of America, by an Act passed in 1866, a tax was imposed payable by the brewer on the quantity of beer delivered out of the brewery for sale or consumption. It was directed to be levied by means of a label, bearing a Government stamp, affixed over the taphole of each cask, so that the cask could not be broached without destroying the stamp. In Belgium, in Holland, and in Russia, a tax is charged on the contents of the mash-tun, on the assumption that a certain quantity of beer can be produced from a certain quantity of materials. In France and in the Grand Duchies of Hesse and of Baden, the amount to be charged is arrived at by measurement of the dimensions and capacity of the brewers' coppers. Austria proceeds, or proceeded as late as the year 1870, on a system peculiar, we believe, to herself, namely, the assessment of a tax on the extract of the worts. The regulations involved were complained of as complicated, and a demand arose, especially on the part of the brewers of Upper Austria and

Bohemia, for their simplification: but we are not aware whether any modifications have been introduced. In England, in Bavaria, in Prussia, in Saxony, and in Wurtemberg, a duty is levied on what may be considered the raw material of beer, viz. malt. In England the method consists in ascertaining by inspection, during different stages of the process, the quantity of grain malted. In Prussia, in Saxony, and in some other North German States, the duty has been imposed on the quantity of grist or crushed malt, and is charged at the moment of its transfer to the mash-tun. In Prussia, and possibly in some other States, means have been found of exempting within certain limits domestic brewing from the malt duty. The exemption is confined to beer made in common boiling kettles, for home consumption, by families of not more than ten persons above fourteen years of age. Free permits to brew, subject to these conditions, are issued to those who apply in due form. In Bavaria, the classic land of beer, the duty was formerly charged on the malt in steep; it is now, in accordance with a system introduced in 1868, levied at the mill on the malt ground or crushed. The duty is confined to malted grain employed in the manufacture of beer, spirits, or vinegar. Malt used as food for animals, in the manufacture of starch, or in chemical processes, is duty free. The method of ascertaining the amount to be assessed, is as follows. Attached to each mill is a clock or meter which records accurately on a dial the quantity of malt which passes through the roller or cylinders. The meter is placed under the exclusive control of a revenue officer, who affixes a seal without the removal of which it cannot be set or tampered with. Beer being a necessary of life to the Bavarian citizen, and a beer duty a main pillar of the Bavarian State, the mode of assessment is of vital importance to every one from the king on the throne to the beggar in the street, and has much exercised the minds of Bavarian statesmen. The modern system, which may be looked upon as the result of the accumulated wisdom of three centuries of thought devoted to beer, is reported to work satisfactorily to the producers, the consumers, and the Government. We are informed that it has also been adopted in Wurtemberg. The duty charged by the Bavarian Government is equivalent, in round numbers, to ten shillings a quarter; but in Bavaria and in several other States an addition is made to the tax for municipal purposes.

The Conservative party in Parliament have used the malt duty very much as they now seem disposed to use the question of Local Taxation. The leaders carefully avoid touching it,

while the followers play with it for the amusement of their barley-growing constituents. It is referred to in election addresses, becomes a topic on the hustings, is discussed in Chambers of Agriculture and at rural gatherings, and is made the subject of resolutions in the House of Commons. At the same time there is a general lack of life and of earnestness in the matter, as if it were felt all round that it is a conventional Tory agricultural grievance, the requirements of which are satisfied by declamation. Once indeed, in 1852, to palliate the abandonment of Protection, a Conservative Government proposed a reduction of the malt duty by one half, bound up, however, with an impracticable proposal for the increase and extension of the house-tax, the rejection of which afforded a ready excuse for dropping the entire scheme. In 1858 the same party, being again in power, passed over the claims of its agricultural devotees in contemptuous silence. In 1861, when availing himself of a surplus, Mr. Gladstone proposed the remission of the paper duties, the Conservative Opposition again passed over the claims of its rural adherents, and selected, not malt, but tea, as the rival pretender for the favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lastly, in 1867, under Lord Derby's third Administration, the Conservative anti-malt-tax members, who under the leadership of Sir Fitzroy Kelly had been wont to attack the duty and to divide the House upon motions condemning it, bethought themselves of the necessity of a Committee to inquire and take evidence as to its operation. A Committee was accordingly appointed, the duration of whose labours so nearly coincided with that of the Conservative Government that the question remained in abeyance, withdrawn from the action of the House and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, until the return of the Liberal party to power. While such has been the course of the 'farmer's friends,' it cannot be denied that successive Liberal Administrations have shown a disposition to meet some at least of the objections advanced against the tax. Thus in 1865, complaint being made that the duty being a charge on quantity operated as a prohibition to the sale of light barley for malting purposes, an Act was passed by Mr. Gladstone allowing the duty on malt to be charged according to weight. The same Chancellor of the Exchequer had in the preceding year, while declining to sacrifice any portion of the revenue, endeavoured to give greater opportunity for the use of malt duty free as food for cattle. In accordance with the precedent adopted in the case of methylated spirits, it was enacted that malt ground and mixed with linseed, and thus secured against

use by the brewer, should be exempt from charge. Again, in 1869, Mr. Lowe with the same intention removed the restrictions which prevented the free use of grain which had undergone the process of steeping for feeding animals.

It seems strange to be obliged to advert to the immunity of agricultural horses from taxation in a catalogue of agricultural grievances, but, with perverse ingenuity, the present Government have almost succeeded in adding it to the number. Up to the year 1869 the tax upon horses formed, as is well known, one of the assessed taxes. Agricultural horses were free, and law, and custom, and common sense combined, sanctioned, in a manner, not theoretically perfect but on the whole equitable, the occasional uses to which in the manifold wants of country life such a horse might be put without forfeiting his agricultural character. The practice, however, of assessing in one year articles kept in another, and that moreover not the natural year, was cumbrous and inconvenient. Mr. Lowe accordingly converted the assessed taxes generally into licence duties to be paid on the article liable to charge at the time in possession of the tax-payers. Unfortunately, the wording of the law describing what constituted liability to charge was in some particulars altered, and the collection of the duty was at the same time transferred to the Excise, who attempted to carry out the law with a pedantic precision of construction and definition which the nature of the subject did not admit. The immunity of agricultural horses was perpetually invaded on one pretext or another, and, worse than all, no owner or employer of a horse knew his legal status, but found himself at the capricious mercy of the local exciseman. The Chancellor of the Exchequer soon found an angry swarm buzzing about him, and the Excise, not always with the best grace, made concessions, relaxations, and exceptions, until the old line of demarcation between taxed and free horses was, though with some points of difference, substantially restored. This process was naturally attended with much confusion and some hardship, but the irritation engendered would have gradually subsided had not Mr. Lowe, on more than one occasion, but especially in his last financial statement, intimated that in his view the immunity of agricultural horses was an undue exemption enjoyed by a favoured interest. Such words from such a quarter were construed as equivalent to a threat of extending the tax, though we doubt whether it was anything more than an expression of that inveterate habit of carping at everything connected with farming, which appears to be considered by some politicians a shibboleth of Liberalism. If Mr.

Lowe seriously meditated the extension of the tax, it appears to us that he was about to take up an untenable position.

A tax on horses may either be one of a class of taxes upon luxuries or part of a system of taxing motive power. If the former view be adopted, there is no justification or pretext for taxing the agricultural horse, but there is reason for taking the duty off the horse employed in trade, which is also, although perhaps less directly, an instrument of production. If the latter view be taken, then taxation ought not to be confined to animal power, but impartially extended to the machinery by which the large capitalist works.

On the 18th of April, 1853, Mr. Gladstone in making his financial statement, used these words:—

‘An honourable member asks what we propose with respect to agricultural horses. We propose to leave them as they are now; that is to say, exempt. We may be wrong. Exemptions, as exemptions, I do not like: but it appears to me that the case of agricultural horses is somewhat analogous to that of steam-power in factories. At any rate, our object is—irrespective of fear or favour—to propose what we think impartial justice to every class. I have received proposals suggesting the imposition of taxes on steam-power. Of these, I need scarcely say, that they were summarily dismissed; and whatever may be my love of symmetry, I do not think it just to remove the exemption of duty which applies at present to horses employed in agriculture.’

The sooner any idea of taxing farm horses is summarily dismissed, and all suspicion of an invidious distinction removed, by fully recognising the tax as a sumptuary tax, and relieving trade horses from the duty, the better. Such a step would place the tax on a firm and intelligible footing, and not be attended with the sacrifice of any large amount of revenue. It might even, as a financial measure, be desirable to dispense with a tax on horses altogether. Compensation to the revenue for that part of the duty which is now derived from carriage and saddle horses would be found, if necessary, in an increase of the duty on carriages, the construction and fitting of which indicate their purpose, and readily admit of being defined, or in an additional tax on stable servants in livery.

In the last number of this Review we considered the question of the distribution of land, of facilitating and cheapening its transfer, and of absolute proprietorship compared with limited ownership under a system of entails, charges, and incumbrances. We need not, then, enter upon these matters here. It is enough to point out that, however important to landowners, they are of no immediate consequence to occupiers. No doubt whatever, legislation will have the effect of placing the property in the



soil in the hands of men having a full and free use of it, and capital to expend in improvements, tends to the advantage of the tenant class. Unless, however, the division of property were to be carried so far as to become incompatible with the possession of farms large enough to afford scope for the application of science and machinery in their cultivation, tenant-farmers would not be directly affected by such reforms.

There is nevertheless one point to which we will here advert, because it has already become a question, not only with Parliament but with the Government—the proposed alteration of the law regulating the descent of real property in cases of intestacy. We do not attach to this reform, even as a matter of abstract principle, the importance which many persons, among them, we believe, the late Mr. Cobden, attributed to it; still less do we believe that it will give such a new tone to the feelings and habits of Englishmen as to influence the distribution of property. We are not blind to the cases of inconvenience, and even of hardship, which may arise from a reversal of the law of succession, before men become acquainted and familiar with the altered state of things. The change is nevertheless, in our opinion, desirable, and should be made. The presumption of the law will then be in favour of equal distribution, while a free and absolute power of disposal will be continued to the proprietor. The principle is sound, and whatever effect it may have upon opinion will be in the right direction. It will be, moreover, for the interest of landed proprietors in more ways than one. It will remove what is considered by many an invidious distinction between real and personal property. It will strengthen the position of landowners by placing them on common ground with other owners. Tory landlords and Tory lawyers, with high notions of the sanctity of primogeniture and of parchment, may not concur in these views. They may denounce the change as revolution, and see in it one more proof of the settled purpose of Mr. Gladstone, and of the noblemen and gentlemen who compose or support his Government, to ruin property and overthrow society; but opposition to a reform of the law of intestacy is not a basis on which to found or rally a party. The opinion of owners on the policy and value of such a change is divided, while its effect is too remote to raise any feeling on the part of tenants either for or against it. In fact, its operation, so far as it may affect that class at all, will, for the reasons above stated, tend to their advantage.

We cannot pass away from this question of succession, without observing that the new Domesday Book, for which

Lord Derby has expressed a desire, is much required, were it only to record what proportion of the land in this country is clutched by the dead hand, whether of ecclesiastical or lay corporations, and thus withheld from the market and sheltered from the succession duties to which the estates of other proprietors are liable. Moreover, amongst the grievances of landowners none are more real or burdensome than the expense and trouble which attend the transfer and exchange of land. Legal facilities for these objects would benefit no class so much as that to which the land belongs. No one has a stronger interest in this branch of law reform; and the first step to the emancipation of the landowners from the attorneys would be the execution of a good survey of the country.

To the subject of Game, so important to farmers, and to tenant-farmers in particular, we devoted a paper in October last, to which we refer our readers. Suffice it here to remind those interested that among many competing bills, the Lord Advocate has introduced one which, although feeble and inadequate, is an earnest that the Liberal Government intend to grapple with the question.

One more agricultural problem of the present day, in our opinion practically the most important, we desire to observe upon. It is one which, as its name denotes, is essentially a tenant's question, viz. Tenant-Right. Under this title we include both security of tenure, and security for capital invested in improvements. Of this problem two solutions are offered; the one is suited to a dependent class of farmers who require to be protected by the strong arm of the law, not only against any abuse of the almost absolute power which circumstances have given to the landlord, but also against their own inability to resist a craving for land on any terms which overpowers every motive of prudence and of enterprise. The other is suited to an independent class of tenants, whose dealings with the landowner are commercial, and who will not fail to insure safe terms for themselves. The highest, perhaps we should say the lowest, development of the former class is to be found in Ireland, and the appropriate remedy in their case has been the Irish Land Bill. The highest development of the latter class is to be seen in Scotland, where the only legislation, if any, required, is such as will remove any artificial advantage the law may be found to give one contracting party over the other. The English tenant on the whole occupies a position which is not that of the Irish, nor yet of the Scotch tenant. It is, however, very far removed from that of the first, and approximates to that of the second. The English tenant is

year by year becoming less of a feudal or patriarchal dependent, and more of a trader who will protect himself by leases and by covenants. Thus the natural tendency in England is, not towards Irish tenant-right, which would here be a retrograde step, but in the direction of our Scotch system. It may be found desirable to accelerate this advance to independence by certain amendments of the law. Such a one would be the abolition of the landlord's privilege of distress in England, and of the corresponding right of hypothec in Scotland. It may come to be recognised as beneficial to both owners and occupiers, with the view of encouraging the latter to invest capital in the land, to borrow one leaf from the Irish Land Bill; we mean that which makes the right to compensation the universal rule, contrary to the practice both of England and of Scotland, and provides that improvements shall be presumed to be the tenant's until the contrary is proved. Certainly it would be difficult to show any sufficient reason why the law on this side of St. George's Channel respecting improvements attached to agricultural land should be less favourable to the outgoing farm tenant than that which accords to the tenant in trade the right in certain cases to remove fixtures. Even in agriculture the property of the tenant to that which is the fruit of his labour and his outlay has always been recognised in the case of emblements, or annual vegetable products, which by law belong to the tenant at will, although dismissed before the time for harvesting them has arrived. In the day of rude and primitive tillage this protection sufficed. In the days when scientific cultivation requires an expenditure by the tenant for purposes the benefit of which will not accrue perhaps for years, it would seem but just and reasonable to extend to such improvements a corresponding measure of protection.

We have now completed our survey of the principal subjects advanced as agricultural grievances. Not one of them, on examination, appears of a nature to weld into one compact mass the various elements of the agricultural system. On the contrary, we have found in regard to each different, often antagonistic, wishes, feelings, and opinions. Local Taxation is not exclusively, or even principally, an agricultural question at all. So far as it is such, it affects owners greatly, tenant-farmers lightly, labourers infinitesimally, if at all. Examine the remedies suggested, and the interests, not only of owners and of occupiers, but of different properties, and of different estates in the same property, are seen to diverge. The demand for representative institutions in counties is in fact one for a surrender of power and of influence by rural

magnates in favour of classes their inferior in wealth and in social position. The Malt Duty is, first of all, a consumer's question. As a burden, or rather a restriction, on agriculture, it affects only the two million or two and a half million acres now under barley, and a limited number of other acres which might grow barley. It weights some of these acres in the race of competition, it acts as a bounty on the produce of others. Laws and amendments of laws regulating the tenure or descent of land concern landlords and not tenants. Laws and amendments of laws relating to game, to tenant-right, to hypothec, to distress, concern both landlords and tenants, but in opposite ways.

Assuming, however, for one moment, that a comprehensive view showed the settlement of this group of questions to be of such vital and paramount importance as to induce the merging of conflicting interests and to justify the whole agricultural body in saying, 'We must subordinate every other political consideration to this and make this our ground of action,' then the policy that demanded such a course would require the selection as an ally of that party in the State which has at once the disposition to reform and the power to give effect to its intentions, namely, the Liberal party.

Fortunately for Parliament and for the country, there is no such identity of interests, and any such absolute fusion of all the different elements composing the agricultural world is out of the question. Unfortunately, there exists a state of things which nearly resembles such a fusion. There is an extensive combination of these elements, and thus we see that English land and agriculture return a preponderating number of Conservative Members to Parliament. How is this to be accounted for? Agriculture should be of no party.

The legitimate result of this state of things would be that agricultural questions would receive more prompt attention in Parliament and be more easily carried to a successful issue. Great questions of principle and of policy are carried in the country and in the House by the impetus of party spirit and by party organisation. Minor questions involving details and nice adjustment of interests are most successful when they meet with independent supporters from both sides of the House. As it is, anyone who watches Parliamentary proceedings cannot fail to observe that the questions the agriculturists are immediately interested in inevitably suffer from the circumstance that their friends are to be found almost exclusively in the ranks of one party, and that the least active and least powerful party in the State. We have seen

in our survey that the leaders of the Liberal party have been found as ready, and even more so, to deal with pending agricultural questions as their opponents. It was, we may also remind our readers, a Liberal Government that removed the duty upon hops, that passed the most complete measure for the prevention of cattle diseases, that established the new metropolitan market for foreign animals.

Whence then is derived the marked preference of the agriculturists for the Conservative party? It is due, in the first place, to the passions and animosities engendered by the struggle on the Corn Laws; passions and animosities which have survived long after the cause of them has been removed, just as the agitation of the sea continues after the wind that lashed it into fury has subsided. It is to be attributed, in the next place, to the language too often held by Liberal politicians and Liberal statesmen. We do not allude to the practice of some advanced Radicals, in whose eyes the owners of land are tyrants and its occupiers monopolists to be held up to opprobrium and execration, though this is not without its effect. We allude to the tone, too prevalent among Liberals generally, in which all concerned with land are taunted with being favoured classes, sneered at as a gross and benighted race, cherishing exploded economical heresies, and ever intent on some selfish object. Even party leaders, such as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Lowe, have never succeeded in divesting themselves of a habit of speech at once unjust, unwise, and offensive. A still more heinous offender in this respect was Mr. Milner Gibson, the tone and spirit of whose opposition on questions, such as the reduction of the malt duty and the precautions to be taken against the cattle-plague, produced far greater irritation and hostility to his party than the opposition itself. The cold, hard, matter-of-fact treatment by Liberal financiers and political economists, even when friendly, of subjects which the agriculturists have at heart, grates upon the susceptibilities of a sensitive race. The hardy breed of men who cultivate the soil are, not as individuals but in their aggregate capacity, singularly thinskinmed and 'touchy.' The 'farmer's friends' have, for political purposes, during a long course of years, fed the 'farmers of England' with flattery, and sedulously impressed them with the belief that they are suffering under injuries and evils which legislation could at once remove, were it not that Liberal rulers are hostile, or indifferent as the gods of Epicurus. Hence every agricultural remonstrance, however plain and prosaic its subject, assumes the character of

' A lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong,  
Like a tale of little meaning, tho' the words are strong;  
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,  
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,  
Storing yearly little ducs of wheat, and wine, and oil;  
Till they perish and they suffer.'

Thus all parties move in a vicious circle. The antipathy of the agriculturists to the Liberals engenders coldness or aversion on their part, and the estrangement between the two is kept up. For every reason it is desirable that this vicious circle should be broken through; and we cannot but hold that it is the part of the superiors in knowledge, in position, and in power to make the first advances towards a better understanding.

There is no adequate cause for the estrangement that unfortunately exists between land and Liberalism. There is, however, danger lest such a cause should spring up in times like those we live in. Communism and socialism, open combinations and secret societies, not only challenge that private ownership of land which calls into play the mainspring of industrial and commercial activity, private interest, but menace all property, social order, our constitutional system, and the Monarchy itself. Such ideas and such schemes have at former periods been wafted over from the Continent in times of revolution, or have emanated from the speculations of philosophical reformers, but they have never hitherto commended themselves to the practical common sense of this country. In ordinary circumstances they might be left unnoticed and suffered to pass away as day-dreams. But these are not ordinary times. We make no account of dilettante revolutionists, the fashionable spouters of republicanism, who may strut their little hour on provincial platforms and enjoy their brief span of existence, like those insects that are said to have their birth and to pass through maturity to decay in the short space of one summer's day; but behind them,

' Unmeasured in height, undistinguished in form,'

looms the dread spectre of the International, a monster whose power may be overrated, but which has given terrible earnest of its disposition to work mischief. Recent events in France have not been without effect in our own country. They have kindled the zeal of political fanatics, they have excited wild aspirations in the ignorant, and exaggerated alarms in the timid. The illness of her eldest son has rallied round the Queen the enthusiasm of the feeling and the loyal; the danger

of interruption to the regular order of succession has brought home to reflecting minds the inestimable value of our Constitutional Monarchy. It is a time when the mass of those to whom capital, credit, industry, peace, order, are of any moment, instinctively look around to see what it is they have to trust to for the maintenance of these blessings. It is a time when even the allies and supporters of a Government require to be assured of the firmness and calmness of their rulers. Hence it is that a declaration such as that by Mr. Gladstone at Glasgow against the demand for Irish Home-rule, such a challenge as that given by Mr. Lowe at Halifax to republican agitators, meet with so emphatic an approval in the country. Hence it is that any utterance, or any reticence, on the part of Ministers which can by their opponents, or by the timid, be construed into a dallying with revolutionary principles or a courting of those who express them, acquire an unusual and untoward importance. The agricultural interest in particular will be tempted to compare the measure of courtesy and of respect, the desire to conciliate and to please, evinced towards the apostles of revolution and of communism, with those displayed towards themselves and the exponents of their views and aspirations.

It is, no doubt, the duty of a Government in this country to consider, not merely its party, but the entire nation, and to treat all expressions of opinion, even the most extreme, which do not lead to overt acts of mischief, with forbearance. This course must, however, be pursued with judgment, and never so as to leave room for a doubt, among either those who are well-affected or those who are ill-affected, of the firm resolution of the Government to uphold the cardinal principles of our social and political system. The people of this country are on the whole in favour of a progressive policy, and of an administration conducted on Liberal principles, but at the same time they require to be satisfied that they are safe against sudden or organic change; that the course of affairs will be steady and even, and that it will flow on without shocks to society, to property, to business, or even to the current of men's sentiments and ideas. They are not averse to improvement, far from it, but they are cautious, and, before adopting anything new, like to be reasonably assured that it will be an improvement. Men altogether mistake the temper of the nation and the conditions of the country who conceive that it is Liberal in any spirit of revolution or from any wanton love of change. Our people are Liberal because Liberalism, as they understand it, best reconciles liberty with law, individual independence

with national unity and national power; because they have hitherto found in Liberalism the best support of the order, the religion, the Constitution, and the Monarchy, which have proved the source of such unnumbered blessings to the Empire. Hence it is a first and indispensable condition of the popularity of any Government that its character should be such as to inspire a sense of confidence and of security in all classes, apart from any appreciation of the discernment and ability displayed in its measures. One of the main causes of the preference of the country for a Liberal over a Conservative Government is due to the fact that the former gives a greater feeling of safety; men have learnt to dread a party which knows no medium between indiscriminate resistance and unconditional capitulation.

Mr. Gladstone's Administration has now presented to it a great opportunity, and upon it is cast a corresponding responsibility. The Opposition are weaker in numbers than at any period since the days of Lord Grey. It is, moreover, an Opposition divided against itself, the breach created by the recent Reform Act, so far from being repaired, having been widened. It is an Opposition that is drifting without a principle or a policy. The classes or interests, by fighting whose battles the Conservative condottieri earn their political subsistence, can have no sense of attachment towards them for service performed, for there has been none. Neither can there be any valid expectation of service to be done, for there is no prospect of their having power to render any. An outburst of loyal zeal disposes men to sink political differences and to rally round the Throne; it inclines men to support the 'Queen's Government,' to the disregard of party views and party interests. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues may, by a wise use of so golden an opportunity, efface old feuds and animosities, win over hearts long estranged, and, by so doing, not merely fortify their own party, but add new strength to the Constitution, new security and dignity to the Crown. On the other hand, if they let slip the chance now offered, if by any want of firmness in acts or in words they fail to command moral confidence, they will not only confirm the estrangement of the landed interest from the Liberal party, but alienate other substantial classes, and indeed the better portion of the population.

In conclusion, let us say that the present relations of the Liberal party to the agricultural interest appear fraught with evil to the party, to the interest, and to the nation. To the party, because it is deprived of the support of many of the



most trustworthy electors and intelligent constituencies in the kingdom; to the interest, because it is placed in a position of isolation, not to say of antagonism, towards so many other sections of the community; to the nation, because such a state of things tends to array town against country, to identify the boundary lines of party with those of classes, and to undermine political morality by fostering the debasing notion that the discharge of political functions has no higher aim or end than the pursuit of personal or professional advantage. They may become the source of a more immediate and pressing danger, if in times when disloyalty or anarchy are rife, they should be the means of preventing the friends of peace, property, and order from presenting a united front to their common enemies.

To the relations between the Church and the Liberals we need not revert. We will only repeat that in these days when institutions, however otherwise strong, cannot dispense with the support of public opinion, just in proportion as the Church denationalises herself by making herself one with any political party, she advances in a course which impairs her religious efficiency, and must seriously jeopardise, if not prove fatal to, her position as an Establishment.

The only gainers, unless it be the republican or revolutionary party, by the alienation of the Church from the nation and the isolation of the agricultural interest from the rest of the community, are Conservative politicians and Conservative office-seekers. To the Conservative party, in the absence of any policy save the negative one of opposing change and resisting progress, it is invaluable to be able to present itself as the champion of the Church and of the land. Whether the institution or the interest derive any corresponding benefit from the association, whether they be not thereby placed in a position at once false and injurious, is a matter we commend to the serious consideration of the more independent and thoughtful members of each. Whether it be not a reproach and a danger to the Liberal party to allow the present alienation to continue without any attempt to bring about improved relations, we earnestly commend to the consideration of the leaders of that party.

## CONTENTS of No. 276.

---

	Page
ART. I.—Rome and the Campagna: an Historical and Topographical Description of the Site, Buildings, and Neighbourhood of Ancient Rome. With 85 Illustrations by Jewitt, and 25 Maps and Plans. By Robert Burn, M.A. 4to. Cambridge: 1871, . . .	293
II.—1. The Royal Institution: its Founder and its first Professors. By Dr. Bence Jones, Honorary Secretary. London: 1871.	
2. Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, By George E. Ellis. Published in connexion with an edition of Rumford's Complete Works. Boston: 1871.	
3. Recollections of Past Life. By Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.D. London: 1872, . . .	321
III.—Le Due de Broglie. Par M. Guizot. Paris: 1872, .	347
IV.—1. Title-Deeds of the Church of England to her Parochial Endowments. By Edward Miall, M.P. 2nd edition. London: 1871.	
2. Disestablishment. Speech of E. Miall, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, May 9, 1871. Published by the Liberation Society.	
3. The Congregational Year-Book. 1872, . . .	366
V.—Memoir and Letters of the late Sir Charles Bell. London: 1870, . . .	394
VI.—1. Geschichte des Golfstroms und seiner Erforschung von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf den grossen amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg. Von J. G. Kohl. Bremen: 1868.	
2. Ocean-Currents and their Influences. By A. G. Findlay, F.R.G.S. (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, vol. xiv.)	
3. Soundings and Temperatures in the Gulf Stream. By Commander W. Chimmo, R.N. (Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, Feb. 8, 1869.)	
4. Physical Geography in its Relation to the Prevailing Winds and Currents. By John K. Laughton, M.A. 1870.	
5. Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt. Von Dr. A. Petermann. Gotha: 1870–1872.	

	Page
6. Reports on the Scientific Exploration of the Deep Sea, during 1868, 1869, and 1870, conducted by William B. Carpenter, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., J. Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., and Prof. Wyville Thomson, LL.D., F.R.S. (Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1868-1871.)	
7. The Gibraltar Current, the Gulf Stream, and the General Oceanic Circulation. By William B. Carpenter, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S. (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Jan. 9, 1871.), . . .	430
VII.—The Works of John Hookham Frere. In Verse and Prose, with Prefatory Memoir. Edited by his Nephews, H. and Sir Bartle Frere. 2 vols. 8vo. 1871, . . .	472
VIII.—The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham. Written by Himself. 3 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: 1871, . . . . .	502
IX.—Case on behalf of the Government of the United States submitted to the Tribunal of Arbitration to be convened at Geneva under the Treaty of Washington of the 8th of May, 1871. London: 1872, . . .	549
INDEX TO VOL. CXXXV., . . . . .	585

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No. CCLXXVI.

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ART. I.—*Rome and the Campagna: an Historical and Topographical Description of the Site, Buildings, and Neighbourhood of Ancient Rome.* With 85 Illustrations by Jewitt, and 25 Maps and Plans. By ROBERT BURN, M.A. 4to. Cambridge: 1871.

‘THE traveller who has contemplated the ruins of Ancient Rome may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired when they reared their heads in the splendour of unsullied beauty.’ We propose to remind our travellers of the ruins which they have perhaps themselves visited, and to contemplate them ourselves in the plans, engravings, and descriptions of Mr. Burn in the noble volume which lies before us. The occasion which elicited the reflection of Gibbon just quoted was that of the visit of Constantius to the ancient capital of the empire in the middle of the fourth century, and it deserved to be thus signalised, as the last historical notice of the ‘*magnæ mœnia Romæ*’ in their original glory, the end of the ancient and the beginning of the mediæval city. In the year A.D. 357 Rome had been abandoned by her rulers and denuded of the splendours of the Imperial Court for about half a century. Thirty-two years had passed since she had received even a passing visit from her emperors, and for about the same period she had beheld a rival city, reared partly on her own spoils, enjoy a nominal equality with her, and much more than equal favour in the eyes of her sovereign. Many of the noblest families of Rome had removed to the Court of Constantinople, and no small portion of her works of art and her moveable treasures had been carried off to the new Rome on the Bosphorus. She was no longer the

great centre of fashion, the mart of business, the resort of accumulated and hereditary wealth. Her pride was not less, but her poverty was greater. About a hundred years before, the walls of Aurelian had circumscribed the great metropolis within limits beyond which she never extended herself. But since that era, the gardens and palaces of the nobles had encroached upon the space occupied in more thriving times by the increasing multitudes of the general population. The wars on the frontier, though never ceasing, had been too commonly unsuccessful, and little productive of fresh victims for the slave-market. Symptoms were not wanting of a decline in the productiveness, not of Italy only, but of the provinces; and the numbers of the population of Rome, maintained chiefly by the contributions and the immigration of the provincials, had constantly, if not very rapidly, fallen. The disproportion of the public places and buildings of the city to the numbers who now frequented them must have been already obvious. We can hardly trace in modern history an analogous case of a city maintaining or even increasing its outward show and splendour while the activity and movement of life were regularly declining within it. Such may have been the case with the old mediæval towns of Lombardy and the Netherlands; such may have been the case, on a smaller scale, with places more within our own observation—with York, Bristol, and Norwich, which some two centuries ago must have presented an appearance of overgrowth and decline from which they have far more than recovered. Rome was now suffering such a decline, nor did she ever recover from it. In the fourth century, however, while the diminution of its wealth and numbers could not fail to be manifest, the outward splendour of the city, the size and number of its monuments, the extent of its public places, its baths, circuses, amphitheatres, temples, and gardens, and the air of magnificence with which they were surrounded, had suffered no apparent abatement. It might require an inquisitive and practised eye to detect the squalor which was already creeping over the face of the glorious metropolis. The dust and damp which settle inevitably on the surface of stone and marble, the rust which tarnishes brass and gold, might be less assiduously removed by the feeble hands of a paralysed generation. The cabins of the populace, sinking into lower and lower wretchedness, might more painfully contrast with the grandeur of the palatial edifices still towering in the midst of them. Here and there great buildings, left unfinished, might begin to assume the appearance of ruins. The old age of cities, like that of human beings, has

no doubt an air of its own, the first shades of which may be detected by the keen observer, even before they are patent enough to be graphically described. It may be difficult perhaps to say what was in the mind of the Emperor Helio-gabalus when he proposed to compute the population from the amount of cobwebs in the city; but the fantastic idea seems to us to indicate a pervading sense of the filth of incipient corruption which was penetrating through all the outward magnificence of Rome, even in the third century of the Empire.

But when, in the year 357 of our era, the son of Constantine announced his intention of revisiting the once brilliant capital of his imperial predecessors, the prefect, no doubt, and the Senate and the ædiles exerted themselves to put the best show on the glories of the Augustan, the Claudian, and the Flavian eras, which at the worst had lost but the first bloom or glow of their original beauty. It was on a similar occasion that the last of the Roman poets describes the city as burnished for the reception of the Emperor Honorius, in sonorous verses which might better perhaps have been appropriated to the visit of half a century earlier:—

‘Dixit et afflavit Romani meliore juventa :  
 Continuo redit ille vigor, senique colorem  
 Mutavere comæ ; solidatam crista resurgens  
 Eredit galeam, clypeique recanduit orbis,  
 Et levis excussa micuit robigine cornus.’

(Claudian, *Bell. Gildon*, 208.)

But the last of the Roman historians, who relates the entry of Constantius, has no gleam of imagination to fling upon it, though his plain prosaic narrative may suffice perhaps to suggest the colouring due to the spectacle he introduces.

From the verses of Martial and of Claudian, where they describe the triumphs of Domitian and of Honorius, we may picture to ourselves the conduct of the military procession, which formed at the foot of the Milvian bridge, and streamed with long array between the rows of sepulchral monuments, lining in many files the Flaminian Way, and crowded with the populace of the whole city, which went forth to see and to be seen. The grassy level of the Campus Martius was thronged with the men, the women stationed themselves at the windows of the houses, or on the steps and beneath the porches of the temples, while the livelier portion of the population occupied the branches of the trees. A long train of dust streamed before the advancing Cæsar, and dallied with the impatience of the expectant multitude, till the horses, the chariot, and the

hero himself appeared before them, and with unanimous acclamation they shouted 'He comes!'

'Omne Palatino quod pons a colle recedit  
Milvius, et quantum licuit consurgere tectis,  
Una replet turbæ facies; undare videres  
Ima viris, altus effulgere matribus ædes.'

(Claudian, *Cons. Honor.* vi. 543.)

'Quando erit illa dies, qua campus, et arbor, et omnis  
Lucebit Latia culta fenestra nuru?

Quando moræ dulces, longusque a Cæsare pulvis,  
Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via?

. . . et populi vox erit una, Venit!'

(Martial. x. 6.)

The line of the Flaminian Way would conduct the emperor to the foot of the Capitol; thence he would traverse the forums of Trajan, of Nerva, and of Julius, under the shadows of the noblest architecture of the city; he would enter the old Roman forum on its northern side, follow the Sacred Way to the summit of the Velia, the ridge which connected the northern with the southern half of Rome, and ascend the Palatine Hill by its principal access, the Porta Mugionis. Thus he would reach the palace of the Cæsars, the vast accretion of successive emperors, which now occupied almost every inch of the summit, and there finally repose from his fatigues in the halls from which the world had been governed from Augustus to Aurelian, till the sceptre departed from Rome, and was wielded in the presidiary camps on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

One historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, specifies the chief objects of celebrity which the visitor would remark upon his route, but places them in no topographical order. Such, to follow his own enumeration, were the temple of Jupiter Tarpeius; the baths of the Emperors, 'of the size of provinces' (unless 'fishponds,' 'piscinæ' for 'provinciæ,' be the truer reading); the amphitheatre of Vespasian, 'the height of which 'almost transcends human vision'; the Pantheon, the vault of which he seems to compare with the celestial sphere; the lofty columns which bore the effigies of ancient emperors, of Trajan, Antonine, and Aurelius; the Temple of the City, dedicated by Hadrian specifically to the sister deities of Rome and Venus; the forum of Peace; the theatre of Pompey; the Odeum and Stadium of Nero; and many other 'glories of the Eternal City. . . . But when he came to the forum of Trajan, a structure, as we suppose, unequalled under heaven, anywhere, on which the gods themselves gaze with admiration, he was

'amazed and confounded, scanning in his mind its gigantic proportions, beyond the power of description, beyond the possibility of any future rivalry.' Despairing accordingly of erecting any monument of his own to compete with this master-piece, he confined himself to a modest hope of one day casting the figure of a horse on the model of that which bore the Emperor in the centre of his atrium, but even such a work as this was probably not less beyond the art of his own day, and we may be sure at least was never carried into execution. Hormisdas, the Prince of Persia, a fugitive from his own country, who was attending at his side, checked even this limited aspiration, remarking, 'First build for him such a stable as this which we behold around us.' This prince, indeed, was of a cynical temper, soured perhaps by his personal misfortunes. When asked what he thought of this wondrous Rome, he replied, 'Very fine indeed; but I am well pleased to observe that folks die even here too.\*'

Picturesque historians, from Gibbon to M. de Broglie, have been careful to reproduce the graphic touches with which Ammianus, in his uncouth way, has described the person and demeanour of the wretched Oriental—Constantine, we mean, not Hormisdas—dwarfish in person, frivolous in mind, trained in the most formal school of Byzantine etiquette, who thus followed the track of the greatest heroes and conquerors of the ancient world, and beheld such a scene of antique magnificence as one Emperor only was destined to see, even in diminished glory, after him.† But we are concerned, not with the person of Constantius, but with the objects which were

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\* Such we hold to be the true, as it is the authorised reading of the text: 'Id tantum sibi placuisse aiebat quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori.' We are surprised that with his fine sense of sarcasm, Gibbon should have accepted the very tame suggestion of 'displacuisse' for 'placuisse.'

† Take the description of M. de Broglie (*L'Église et l'Empire*, iii. 376), in which the lines of the original are retouched with the hand of a master:—'*Mais Constance, immobile sur son char, ne tressaillait pas, ne sourcillait pas, ne clignait pas les paupières. Il ne cessait de regarder fixément devant lui, portant le corps roide, la tête haute, ne tournant les yeux ni à droite ni à gauche: les cahots de la voiture ne lui arrachaient pas un mouvement. Durant toute la cérémonie, on ne le vit pas une seule fois ni cracher, ni se moucher, ni passer la main sur son visage. On ne lui surprit qu'un seul geste: en passant sous les portes il courbait sa petite taille, comme s'il eût craint que son front n'allât heurter le sommet des arcs de triomphe. Ainsi s'avavançait, à travers les flots des Romains surpris, l'idole que l'Orient envoyait à leur adoration.*'



never again but once, and only then for a moment, presented for the admiring observation of a Roman emperor. Only fifty years later and the barbarian was at the gates of Rome, and, decayed and declining as she had long been, the first actual injury and dishonour were about to be inflicted upon her. Immediately after the triumph of Honorius, the last of the long series of Roman triumphs, Alaric overcame the West in three successive expeditions. The mighty stronghold of ancient civilisation, walled by Aurelian and re-fortified by Stilicho, was impenetrable to assault, but could not resist the stress of famine. After a first disaster it submitted a second time to the threat of a blockade, and once again—all within three years—it was taken by sudden surprise. On this occasion licence was at last given for brief but indiscriminate plunder. Stilicho, indeed, had himself commenced the spoliation by robbing the Capitoline temple of one half of the gilded bronze which roofed it. Of the extent of Alaric's pillage, and how far it affected the structures of the city, we have no distinct information. But the example was now fully set, the consummation begun; and from this period the spoiling and demolition of the masterpieces of Roman architecture proceeded with fierce, though fitful energy. The population was struck down, wealth was swallowed up, hope and spirit departed, not an effort was made to stay the hand of destruction or repair its injuries. Christianity, succeeding to the mere ruins of Paganism, accepted the situation as a token of the impending cataclysm of the universe. As the threatened end of all things seemed to recede again into the distance, the Popedom has taken heart and aspired to raise new creations in the intervals of the ancient ruins; but modern Rome has risen for the most part in the blank spaces of the imperial city, and the most important or interesting of her historic sites are still presented to our examination only as decay and dissolution, and Gothic fire and mediæval negligence, have left them.

Such, then, is the last glimpse we gain of the mature magnificence of the Imperial city, and of its centre, its cradle, and to the last its brightest gem, the Palatine Hill. The palaces of the Cæsars offered the first and richest prize to the spoilers of the next century. Attila, Genseric, Totila, and Theodoric successively rifled them of their fairest ornaments, and the ruin which these and later plunderers effected may be measured by the clearance that seems to have been made of their artistic treasures. For here no doubt the most exquisite works of ancient sculpture and painting must have been collected, but hardly a trace of them has been discovered, or

seems now likely to reward our most curious researches. History, indeed, has much to hope for from the explorations which are pushed on more vigorously every year in this quarter; but Art has been hitherto disappointed, and it is to be feared it will probably remain so.

The general configuration of the famous hills of Rome has been often described, and is, we may presume, generally familiar to intelligent readers. From a very early period they were numbered seven; and though with the enlargement of the city other eminences were successively included in the list, the lesser knolls were from time to time disregarded, and 'seven' was still traditionally declared of them to the last. Thus the Palatine Hill had originally comprised two distinct elevations, and the earliest Rome, the '*Roma quadrata*,' as it was called from the square enclosure which confined it, occupied, if we may accept the recent theory of M. Rosa, but one of these, or the western half of the Palatine of the Republic and the Empire. The antiquarians of the ancient city amused themselves with looking back to a period still earlier than this, when the whole hill was untenanted by human habitations; and its name, as they supposed, was derived from the roaming (*palando*) of the flocks and herds which ran loose upon it. Enclosed on one side by the stagnant marsh which received the drainage of the Quirinal and the Esquiline, on others by the marshy streamlets which were fed from the Cælian and the Aventine, the Palatine was connected with the outlying hills by the narrow ridge of the Velia only. The cattle might be safely left with but little precaution upon its level plateau, which rose so abruptly from the valleys beneath it that even the wolves could scarcely scale the heights, and was so well concealed by scrub and jungle that the robber hordes which prowled around might pass it unnoticed.

The second phase which the Palatine assumed was that of the isolated hill fortress, confronting similar strongholds on the various elevations around it, and fighting its way to supremacy among them through many alternations of triumph or disaster. The legends of Roman history ascribed this fortress to Romulus; but there were traditions pointing to an earlier date; and it is probable that the aboriginal stockade, or the Etruscan stonework, actually crowned the Palatine for ages anterior to the eighth century before our era.

The form of the Palatine is that of an irregular lozenge or trapezium, and has been compared both in size and shape to a well-known locality in London—the space contained between Oxford Street and Conduit Street. The angles turn pretty nearly to

the several points of the compass, while the sides run more or less obliquely to them, which causes some confusion in ordinary topographical descriptions. But generally the half of the hill which lies nearest to the Velabrum is called the west, and that which fronts the Cælian the east. As we have said, 'Roma quadrata,' the earliest hill-fort, occupied the western eminence, and was separated from the eastern by a slight depression, which, now almost obliterated, ran originally from north-east to south-west across the plateau.\*

At a third stage of this illustrious history Rome embraced under a single name the strongholds of Tatiùs the Sabine on the Quirinal, and of the Etruscan Vibenna on the Cælian, together with its original site on the Palatine. To these was added a fourth settlement on the Aventine, and others on the adjacent heights. The Tarpeian or Capitoline hill became the common fortress of the whole confederacy. The seven hills were now encircled with a common wall, and the city of the Roman people became one and indivisible. Anyone who pronounces an opinion at the present day on the respective sites of the Arx and the Temple on the Capitoline must do so as it were with a halter round his neck, for doubtless the solution of the much-vexed problem is at last imminent; excavations which cannot long be delayed can hardly fail to bring foundations to light which must put conjecture to silence, and finally strike the balance of opinions which have singularly oscillated regarding it. Much confidence has been expressed on both sides, and little mercy will be shown by the survivors of the combat on either. If, under such circumstances, we were to hazard a surmise ourselves, it would be founded rather on the nature of the locality than on the interpretation of conflicting texts of the ancient writers. We should suppose that the highest point of the hill would be the one first seized for the purposes of defence, and that the adoption of the other, a somewhat lower eminence, for the erection of a temple and the consecration of a place of national worship, would follow afterwards, and this view seems to be confirmed by the history or legend of the hill. The Arx or citadel we should expect to find on the northern apex, both as the highest and also as that

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\* We refer again to the views advanced by M. Rosa, a most intelligent and experienced observer; but it should be remarked that they have not met with universal acceptance, and there are some antiquarians whose eyes fail to discover the 'slight depression' between the two sides of the Palatine. The whole surface of the hill, it must be remembered, has been raised, perhaps twenty feet, by the accumulated débris of so many generations of buildings.

which directly confronted the Sabine city on the Quirinal against which it was built by the Romans; and it was not till after the union of the two hostile tribes, as our stories tell us, that the temple was constructed on the southern or lower eminence, a spot not less appropriate to the building which typified their social and religious union, overlooking as it did the Velabrum and the Circus, the centre at that early period of the common national life. The popular assemblies of the Comitium and the Forum were a later development of Roman history; and the Capitoline temple was not erected with any view to them, or directed towards the spots which were honoured by their presence. Had the National Temple been meant to predominate over the Roman Forum, it would have been erected upon the northern summit, but it would seem to be an anachronism to assign to it any such *raison d'être*.

But the best of arguments may be falsified by facts, and we leave the issue to the discoveries which we believe to be not very far distant. Let us proceed to follow the history of the first and most famous of the Roman hills, from which we begin to foresee the course of our remarks will not far diverge.

During the period of the Kings, and even under the early Republic, after the comprehension of the seven hills in the general circuit of the wall of Servius, we may suppose that the Palatine continued still to be a fort within the city, and to be encircled by its own special lines of defence. These lines were pierced by two known gateways only, the Porta Mugionis on the north, and the Porta Romanula on the west.\* Through the one, which opened upon the Velia, and led to the Esquiline and the Quirinal, the Roman issued on his yearly foray in battle array, and threw himself, *ante expectatum*, upon the hostile borders of the Latin and the Sabine. The other gave him access to the Velabrum, the Forum, and the bank of the river, already the busiest portions of the growing city, in which, during the intervals of repose, his business and traffic lay. One might be called the Gate of War, the other the Gate of Peace. About the foot of the Porta Romanula clustered the most venerable antiquities of the city and the legends connected with them. Hard by stood for ages the Ficus Rumi-

\* M. Rosa's theory, that Roma quadrata occupied only the western half of the hill, seems best to explain Tacitus's account of the pomerium, and it may account for the disappearance of the traditional *third* gate of the Romulean city (Plin. 'Hist. Nat.' iii. 5, 9, § 66), which might be lost when the original Rome was extended eastwards; but it leaves us without any record of this important extension.

nalis, the original wild fig-tree under which Romulus and Remus had been cast by the subsiding inundation of the Tiber, and the cornel which sprang from the lance of Romulus, and continued to exist down to the time of Caligula. The Lupercal, the grotto in which the twins were nourished by the wolf, was in this quarter, and from its position in the side of the abrupt cliff seems long to have been preserved, possibly to the end of the fifth century, when the Lupercalia were actually celebrated. Beneath the northern angle of the hill lay another natural feature of the original city, the spring of Juturna, wherein the Dioscuri made their horses drink when they brought to Rome the tidings of the battle of Regillus, the spot on which the Temple of Castor and Pollux, still traced in some notable ruins, was thereafter consecrated. The Regia of Romulus and Numa, and the Temple of Vesta, stood also near this angle, till they were destroyed in the great conflagration of Nero. The great aggregation of objects of antiquity about this angle of the Palatine was due, we may suppose, to its proximity to the most frequented quarters of the city. Such monuments were fewer on the summit, a place of much greater seclusion, accessible from two, or at most from three points only, and traversed apparently by no public street. The Temple of Jupiter Stator, on the spot a little within the northern gate, where the Romans rallied under the divine protection from the onset of the Sabines, was no doubt a conspicuous exception. There is much reason to believe that the exact locality has been ascertained, and is marked by the existing substructions of the venerable edifice itself, restored, indeed, no doubt, and even more than once rebuilt.

It may be supposed that as long as the Palatine and the other hills generally were occupied as places of defence, there would be little occasion for crowding them with sacred fabrics for the resort of the people. But in process of time, after the erection of the common enclosure of the Servian wall, these hill forts would lose their importance as military positions, and their walls and entrenchments would become gradually obliterated. To the strong and lofty Capitoline alone was left the duty of maintaining the interior defence of the city; and here, as the centre and citadel of the whole people, were collected the principal symbols of the national life, religious as well as political. As time advanced and the nation grew, the nobles and the commons became distinctly marked off from one another, socially as well as politically. While the great body of the people, the artisans and the traders, congregated together in the lower parts of the city, in the Velabrum, the Argiletum,

and the Suburra, for their common convenience, the magnates climbed the sides of the hills, and settled themselves on the summits of the Palatine and Aventine, the Quirinal and the rest, for purer air, for ampler space, and perhaps very generally for security and self-defence. Clustered together on these eminences, and more especially by preference on that of the Palatine, in stone mansions, forming among themselves a military position, and frowning defiance upon the baser populace, the patricians and senators of the Republic armed themselves in concert for the subjugation of Rome and the conquest of the world, by the craft and vigour of a few hundred families. The subjugation of Rome indeed was to be effected and maintained by condescension rather than by force. The optimate of the Republic, the free state, as it pretended to be, 'descended into 'the Campus' to solicit the votes of the commonalty with ill-concealed impatience; and having gained his object laughed in his sleeve as he remounted the Palatine by the Clivus Victoriæ. Enthroned, as it were, upon this summit, he was himself in turn solicited by the multitude of his clients and retainers, who attended at his levée, crowding from early dawn before his portals, and vied for the honour of escorting him on his daily walk among the crowded thoroughfares of the city below him.

In the greatest of modern cities, at least within recent times, it has been usual for the wealthier people to withdraw themselves from the centre to the extremities. Basil Hall remarked that, for obvious local reasons, throughout the British isles, our urban aristocracy has generally removed more and more to the south-west. But few, if any, aristocracies have had occasion to dwell so constantly in the presence of the populace as the Roman; and none, as far as we remember, have ever fixed themselves in the very centre of their city, allowing themselves only the advantage of a healthier and roomier site than their vulgar neighbours. It was in something of this spirit of the Roman magnates that so many of our own nobility settled in the seventeenth century in the great central square of Lincoln's Inn Fields—between the courts of law on the one hand and of legislation on the other—in the mansions erected by Inigo Jones. The houses of the Newcastles and the Montagus of a still later generation were not unlike in position, with regard to the commonalty of the city, to those of the Crassi and the Scauri of the Roman commonwealth; for the highest of the nobility of the latter ages occupied the brow of the hill which immediately overlooked the Forum, and was within easy reach of the Campus Martius. They prided them-

selves on dwelling in the full view of their constituency. When the architect proposed to erect such a façade to the house of the popular hero Livius Drusus as should screen his domestic privacy from the gaze of the multitude; 'Rather build it,' he exclaimed, 'so that every recess may be open to the eyes of every Roman among them.' From such a retreat it was but a step to take one's seat at a corner of the Forum, and listen to the petitions and appeals for legal counsel which the patron expected from his clients; to grasp the hand of all comers, and solicit their suffrage at the impending elections; to mount the rostrum before the assembled centuries, and harangue them on the public events of the day, and the questions of general policy upon which they were invited to pronounce their final sentence.

The history of Rome, so rich in family and personal memoirs, has recorded the site of the mansions of many of the most distinguished men of the Republic. Though there was little distinction in wealth, or latterly in social importance, between the patrician and the plebeian members of a common aristocracy, it is curious to observe how the older class of magnates retained to the last their possession of this their ancient stronghold. Mr. Burn shall give us the list of the great warriors and statesmen whose residences can be assigned to the Palatine hill; but we will first prefix to it the name of Vitruvius Vaccus, who in the year 423 was attainted of treason against the commonwealth, when his house on the Palatine was destroyed and the site suffered to remain unoccupied, as a solemn memento, for two centuries; and again of Fulvius Flaccus, who perished for the people in the agrarian movement of the Gracchi:—

'Following the slope of the Palatine from the northern corner, in a direction parallel to the Forum, we come to that part of the hill where the houses of many of the rich Romans were built in the later republican days, when the foreign empire of Rome had so largely increased the wealth of proconsuls and successful generals. Among these were C. Gracchus, Cn. Octavius, conqueror of Perseus, Q. Catulus, conqueror of the Cimbri, Crassus, Cicero, Clodius, Scaurus, Hortensius, Drusus, M. Antonius, the fathers of Augustus and Tiberius, C. Octavius, and Ti. Claudius Nero, and others.

'Among these we can only arrive approximately at the situations of a few. Cicero's house overlooked the Forum, and was in a conspicuous place, and was therefore probably on the side towards the Forum. The only passage in the whole of Cicero's extant works which seems to throw any light on the situation of his Palatine residence is an epistle to Atticus in which he says that Vettius, who was supposed to be aware of a conspiracy against Cæsar's life, had abstained from accusing

Cicero by name, but had said that an eminent consular, a neighbour of Cæsar's, had expressed a wish that some Brutus or Ahala could be found equal to the occasion. Now Cæsar, as chief pontiff, lived at that time in the Regia, and we must therefore place Cicero's house somewhere on the slope of the Palatine, at the back of the Regia, the site of which is well ascertained. The orator's mansion underwent, however, many changes of ownership during the first century B.C. It had passed from the possession of Drusus, the tribune, killed in the year 91, into the hands of one of the Crassi (not Crassus the orator), who sold it to Cicero. It was demolished during Cicero's exile, and a Temple of Liberty built upon the site, but restored on his return at the public cost. After his death it was inhabited, as we learn, by Censorinus and Statilius Sisenna, partizans of Augustus.

'Near Cicero's house was that of Catulus, if we may infer so much as this from the fact that the Porticus Catuli, which was adorned with the spoils of the Cimbric war, was next to Cicero's house. The site of this Porticus Catuli had been previously occupied by the house of Flaccus. The house of Clodius, previously owned by Scaurus, stood behind that of Cicero [yet contiguous, as we imagine, at some point, to that of Cæsar, from the furtive entrance which Clodius obtained into the Regia when Cæsar's wife Pompeia was conducting there the mysteries of Bona Dea]; for the orator threatens, in one of his invectives, to raise the roof of his house, in order to prevent Clodius from looking down upon the city which he had wished to destroy.'

The most noted of these historic mansions were congregated in the north-western corner of the hill, the quarter nearest both to the Forum and the Velabrum, lying in the interval between the two frequented avenues to the Palatine. We may believe, however, that the whole plateau, where the few scattered temples and public monuments did not intervene, was occupied in the same manner by the dwellings of the nobles, and by the cabins of the lower class of their dependents, which generally clung like parasites to the walls of patrician mansions. We cannot suppose that any of these residences, so numerous as they were, could have been of great magnitude. The expression which we meet with even at this early period, of 'houses that looked like cities,' must have applied to the suburban villas, such as that of Lucullus on the Pincian, or of Sallust on the skirts of the Quirinal, in which gardens and plantations were encircled with porticoes, and chamber after chamber connected with extensive corridors. It was for the growing splendour of their materials and decorations, rather than for their size, that the houses on the Palatine were already famous. Even in the time of Pliny, when wealth and luxury had increased to the utmost, the houses of Catulus, of Crassus, and of Scaurus were remarked, or perhaps remembered, for their noble columns of Hymettian or other foreign



marble. Clodius is said by Pliny, whose figures, however, cannot always be trusted, to have purchased his house for no less than 120,000*l.*; and Clodius was hardly one of the chief magnificos of the commonwealth.

Under the Republic, then, the Palatine—divided among fifty, or perhaps a hundred, great proprietors—represented the government of Rome by an illustrious oligarchy. With Augustus the destination of this symbolic eminence entered upon a new era. Octavius, the father of the future emperor, possessed a mansion at the easternmost end of the favourite corner above noted, hard by the Porta Mugionis; but it is not clear whether this was the actual house, designated as ‘*ad capita bubula*,’ in which the young Octavius was said to have been born. Nor is the precise site of the house of Licinius Calvus, the orator, known; his earliest dwelling place, from which he afterwards removed to that of Hortensius, a mansion of no great pretensions, ‘with a modest porch of Alban stone, and decorated with no marble columns or pavements.’ This, as we learn from Suetonius, became the Palatium—the residence of the Emperor on the Palatine—which has had the fortune to bequeath its designation to royal and imperial residences in the languages of all civilised peoples. When, however, this house was consumed by fire in the later years of the Emperor’s life, he allowed the people to rebuild it upon a grander scale by their own personal contributions; and the sites of many of the earlier patrician dwellings above enumerated were probably swallowed up in the ampler area now devoted to it. The same road which led from the Porta Mugionis under the portals of the Palace, penetrating farther up the hill, reached the Temple of the Palatine Apollo with which Augustus covered the middle of the plateau. For this edifice with its area, and the double library attached to it, space must have been cleared by the removal of many private residences; but of these many no doubt had been rendered vacant by the civil wars and proscriptions, and others could easily be acquired by purchase or exchange, by gift and by legacy. The Emperor, with his usual caution, had appropriated the finest halls in his palace to meetings of the senate and other public purposes; and as the house had been the present of the Roman people to him, so the temple of Apollo was his present to them. But all these were appurtenances of the palace itself, and helped to swell the personal grandeur of the chief of the state; and before the long reign of Augustus had closed, the Palatine hill and the Palace must have become pretty generally synonymous.\*

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\* Few and disappointing are the imperfect topographical descriptions

As with Augustus so with his next successor. The personal pretensions of the Emperor crept on from small beginnings to much grander developments. Tiberius, indeed, migrated from the mansion of his father on the Palatine to the house of Pompeius in the Carinæ, on the opposite side of the Forum, the quarter of the city frequented by the plebeian rather than the patrician aristocracy, and to which the pride of a Claudius Nero could hardly perhaps have condescended, unless it were to escape from the too oppressive proximity of the upstart Emperor, who had adopted him into his own inferior family. From Augustus the haughty Neros, when they could, kept moodily at a distance; and Tiberius once risked his chance of the succession by removing from the capital to a distant retreat at Rhodes, from which the Emperor would not for some time allow him to return. But at a later period he, too, took up his abode on the Palatine; and when he became invested with the attributes of empire, proceeded to connect his private mansion

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of localities in Rome which we extract from the remains of Roman literature. One of the most interesting of them is contained in a few lines by which Ovid indicates the route by which his book may arrive at the Palatium from the Forum. After reaching the temple of Vesta, which lay, it will be remembered, at the foot of the Palatine fronting the Forum:—

‘Inde petens dextram, porta est, ait, ista Palatî:

(i.e. the Porta Palatina or P. Mugionis;)

Hic stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.

Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus arnis

Conspicuos postes, tectaque digna Deo:

(i.e. the portal of the divine Cæsar's residence:)

Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis

Ducor ad intonsi candida templa Dei:

(i.e. the temple of Apollo, brilliant with its Parian marble:)

Signa peregrinis ubi stant alterna columnis

Belides, et stricto barbarus ensæ pater;

Quæque viri docto veteres cepere novique

Pectore lecturis inspicienda patent:

(i.e. the bibliotheca Palatina, connected with the temple).

We sometimes amuse ourselves with imagining how much of the topography of London will be recovered from the fragments of our literature which may be in existence a thousand years hence. Macaulay's famous chapter will still present, we trust, a mine of curious details to the Beckers and Burns of the future; but we question whether any of our great poets or orators, or of historians before him, will furnish means for ascertaining the site of St. James's Palace, or the British Museum, or for determining whether St. Paul's and the Tower, our Capitol and Arx, stood on eminences east or west respectively of the Royal Exchange.

with the imperial Palatium, and extended it still farther by additional buildings on the western ridge of the hill. The Domus Tiberiana faced the Capitoline, and more than one historic association attaches to it; for it was from a saloon in this quarter of the Palace that Vitellius witnessed the attack of his faction upon the adherents of Vespasian, and the storming and burning of the great Temple of Jupiter. As the buildings of Tiberius must have directly confronted the southern or Caffarelli eminence of the Capitoline, this circumstance lends undoubtedly much weight to the arguments of those who maintain that the Temple stood on this rather than the opposite apex of Araceli. But what was technically designated as the front of this mansion must have lain to the south or east; for it was by its back entrance, according to the graphic account of Tacitus, that Otho, having conferred with Galba in the palace, descended into the Velabrum, and thence to the Golden milestone in the Forum, to meet his band of conspirators. The historians tell us that both Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius took up their residence in the Tiberian wing of the palace of the Cæsars. The imperial stoic may be traced also to the notorious villa of Tiberius at Capræ, where his philosophy soared no doubt untainted above the vulgar voluptuousness of the place.

We have now to think of the palace of Augustus, with the *Ædes Publicæ*, or halls devoted to the service of the people, and the Temple and Library of Apollo, which were all connected with it, as engrossing all the central part of the hill; while the additional buildings of Tiberius extended this structure westward as far as the ridge overlooking the Velabrum. The corner of the Palatine which faced the Forum was still, for the most part, occupied by the houses of the old nobility, the descendants of the celebrities of whom we have already spoken. But the old nobility were now falling rapidly beneath the proscriptions of a Tiberius and a Caligula; and we may well imagine that when this latter tyrant determined to enlarge still further the imperial residence, he had no difficulty in ousting the proprietors of the dwellings he coveted. The north-east angle of the Palatine was still the choicest site in Rome. Caligula appropriated it, and brought the front of the Augustan and Tiberian Palace to the brow of the hill, where it overlooked the Forum. Exactly beneath the north-eastern angle lay the Temple of Castor and Pollux, some columns of which still standing form one of the most remarkable of the existing remains of the city. At the corner, immediately behind this temple, huge substructions in brickwork have been

quite recently brought to light, and seem to countenance the story that this Emperor made use of the temple as a vestibule to his new palace, where he would receive his visitors, standing between the images of the Divine Twins, as guards on his right hand and his left. But not satisfied with this contiguity to divinity, he conceived the idea of connecting his own residence with the National Temple, the consecrated home on earth of Jupiter, Best and Greatest. He would be 'contubernalis,' or fellow-resident, in the dwelling of Jove, and declared that he had received thereto a direct invitation. This fancy he carried out by the construction of a bridge, as we are assured, from the Palatine hill to the Capitoline, which, in a straight line across the Velabrum, must have been about three hundred yards in length. The bridge, though built, we may believe, with all the solidity of the great works of masonry of the day, was pulled down by his successor, and seems to have left no certain traces. Of its exact position we can say nothing with certainty, though if carried, as we might expect, at right angles to the faces of the two hills which it connected, it would have met the southern limb of the Capitoline, and thus seem to show that the Temple of Jupiter was on the southern rather than on the northern summit. And that such was its direction would seem also to appear from the statement that the bridge was carried over the small temple or 'heroum' of Augustus, the place of which, hard by the Porta Romanula, can be nearly ascertained. It may further be inferred, from a notice of Josephus, well adduced by Becker, that it was connected with the Basilica Julia; and this stood parallel to the Forum, and at right angles with the two hills. We can hardly suppose, however, that this bridge, which has so totally disappeared, was a complete and independent structure; stretching arch by arch from one ridge to the other; but rather that it was an elevated gallery, crossing the Velabrum by unequal strides from one building to another. On such a mighty viaduct the insane Emperor might march haughtily from his own door to that of the celestial potentate, whom he pretended to rival in magnificence, and whom he would sometimes impiously provoke to arms, casting javelins at his temple walls, and exclaiming, in the sonorous words of Homer, ἡ μὲν ἀνάνη, ἡ ἐγὼ σέ, or, 'Kill thou me, or I will thee!'<sup>\*</sup> It was while engaged in making this

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<sup>\*</sup> Homer, indeed, puts the words in the mouth of the wrestler, in the sense of 'Lift thou me,' &c.; but ἀνάνη may bear the other signification also, like 'tollo' in Latin.

magnificent addition to the imperial palace, and superintending its arrangements in person, that the tyrant was visited by the Jewish deputation, to protest against the erection of his statue in their temple at Jerusalem; and the curious scene ensued which is so graphically described by their leader Philo.

Thus was the Palatine of the Republican aristocracy becoming gradually absorbed in the one gigantic residence of the single autocrat of the Empire. Three Emperors had successively erected themselves palaces, containing each perhaps in itself all the varieties of halls, chambers, arcades, and galleries, with all the luxuries of baths and libraries, palæstras and temples, with which the wealthiest of the Roman magnates covered acres of land in the country and the suburbs, but never before in the heart of the city. And these three palaces were now joined in one. Claudius, more modest in his tastes than many of the imperial series, pulled down the recent connexion between the Palatine and the Capitoline, together with some other unfinished extravagances of Caligula, and remained thenceforth content with the splendours of the palaces bequeathed to him. Not so his next successor, Nero, who conceived and lived to carry out works more extensive and more magnificent than any of the greatest Roman builders before or after him. The reign of Nero was probably the culminating period of Roman wealth and power; and these were not unfitly represented in the Golden House—the most monstrous effort of self-idolatry that was ever planned and executed by man. Nero began, with what in him might be called moderation, by seizing upon the north-eastern quarter of the Palatine, and extending the palace of his predecessors to the eastern ridge over against the Cælian. The extent of the whole building may have been nearly doubled by this sudden addition; and the mansions of many of the nobility still remaining in the vicinity of the palace must have been swept away to make room for it. So the Royal Dragon, as Lucan sings, not without an eye perhaps to the solitude which the Roman tyrant was making for his own glorification:—

‘Late sibi submovet omne  
Vulgus, et in vacua regnat Basiliscus arena.’

But these buildings, however magnificent and extensive they may have been, did not constitute the *Domus aurea* which is so intimately connected with the fame of Nero. Pliny indulges no doubt in a wild exaggeration, if the phrase he uses really conveyed to his countrymen the sense it seems to bear to us, when he says, ‘We in our time have twice seen the whole city

‘encircled by the houses of Caligula and Nero.’\* We have seen that the most prodigious feature in the works of Caligula was the connecting of the Palatine with the Capitoline by a bridge or viaduct; and in nearly the same way Nero ultimately constructed galleries which united the residence on the Palatine with the new buildings with which he immensely enlarged it on the opposite ridge of the Esquiline. Thus both he and his predecessor fetched a compass, as it were, from one eminent point in the city to another, and penetrated the area of Rome with private lines of communication. But if this is all that Pliny meant, we may be allowed perhaps to think that he might have expressed it less rhetorically. The space between the Palatine and the Esquiline was occupied by the ridge or saddle of the Velia, some two hundred yards in width; and this quarter was no doubt covered with the dwellings of the populace, which even an autocrat could not venture to sweep violently away. But the great Neronian fire came just in time to open out the area which he coveted. Of the full extent of that famous conflagration, which purports to be given with considerable precision by Tacitus, we need not speak. We would only remark that, beginning near the southern angle of the Palatine, in the hollow of the Marrana, it spread in two directions, the one northward between the Palatine and the Cælian, the other westward, sweeping the valley of the Circus, and eventually meeting in the Forum, after completing the whole circuit of the imperial hill. The Palatine was the centre round which the fury of the conflagration raged, and the Palatium was, as we have seen, the vast assemblage of edifices which crowned the summit of the Palatine. The historic remains of Roman antiquity which clustered round the base of this central hill were, no doubt, cleared away, according to the enumeration which Tacitus has given us; but the impression he conveys that the palace itself was destroyed must be greatly exaggerated. The Temple and the Library of Apollo, and other particular buildings of the several preceding emperors, are frequently mentioned as standing at later periods; and there is no reason to suppose, nor is it likely, that Nero, when he took advantage of the ruin thus created to extend his own insane constructions, would have been at the pains of restoring them. The destruction, indeed, of great masses of stone and brick—such masses as the Romans crected, such brick as they worked with—is in

\* ‘Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Caii et Neronis.’—Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 15.

itself no easy matter, as we have seen in the failure of the deliberate attempts, repeated under such favourable circumstances, to consume the city of Paris. The cities of antiquity had no such stores of combustible matter laid up in them as ours. They had no gunpowder, no spirits, no gas, no petroleum. If great part of Rome was constructed of wood, the Palatium at least was one pile of masonry; and if the consumption of oil was great among the Romans, the magazines of that inflammable article were relegated, we may suppose, for the most part, to the Velabrum and Suburra, and the Vicus Tuscus, among the vendors of 'thus et odores.'\*

We read, indeed, of the destruction by fire of many of the great temples of antiquity at Rome and elsewhere; but wood entered largely into the construction of the more ancient temples. The Capitoline temple was burnt in the time of Sulla, when it was half built of wood and thatched perhaps with straw. Again it was set on fire, and no doubt suffered severely, in the Flavian civil war; but the hand of man was then concerned in the catastrophe. When on later occasions the same temple restored is said to have been burnt, as in the reigns of Titus and Commodus, in both cases it was probably but slightly and partially injured.

But though we may conclude that the palaces of the Cæsars escaped from the Neronian fire with no serious damage, it is likely enough that room was cleared around them for their further extension on the summit of the hill, while the dwellings of the commonalty in the valleys below were wholly swept away. Then it was that the opportunity offered for connecting the imperial buildings on the Palatine with other scarcely less palatial edifices on which the Emperor was able to lay his hands on the Esquiline and the Cælian, such as the mansion and gardens of Mæcenas on the one, and the structures connected with an unfinished temple of Claudius on the other. The ridge of the Velia and the hollow now filled by the Coliseum were promptly seized upon by Nero. Long galleries were thrown across them, reaching from hill to hill; some spaces must surely have been left open between them for the circulation at least, if not for the habitation, of the populace: but it was on the slope of the Velia, about the spot where the ruins of 'Rome and Venus' now stand, that the grand entrance and vestibule of the palace were placed, when the Golden House

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\* Domitian constructed great warehouses for spices on the north side of the Velia: they were destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus.

extended from the north and east of the Palatine far over the summits of the other hills just mentioned, and occupied, with one mass of connected edifices, almost a third of the area within the walls of Servius. In this vestibule the great image of Nero in bronze towered, pedestal and all, to the height of 120 feet. It was removed but a few yards by Vespasian to signalise the entrance to the Flavian Amphitheatre; to which, though it was no longer standing a hundred years afterwards, it gave the popular designation which has endured to the present day.

As our remarks are confined to the residence on the Palatine, we will not attempt a description of this famous monstrosity further than to guard the reader from supposing that it was one compact and continuous combination of apartments that constituted the *Domus aurea* of Nero. It might rather be likened to what we have heard of the palace of the Chinese Emperor at Peking—a collection of several separate villas, interspersed with gardens, parks, and fishponds, with halls, temples, and galleries of various kinds, each of which had its appropriate name in the technical language of Roman domestic architecture, but to which we cannot always assign a distinct signification.\* The description which Pliny has given us of his own country villas might serve as the nearest illustration of the great residence of Nero in the heart of the city, in which he at last declared he was lodged as a man should be. But to the extension of such an irregular mass of building there might seem to be no assignable limit, and it was not without some show of reason that the Romans exclaimed in the well-known pasquinade—

‘Rome will become one house; Romans, to Veii flee:

Yct Veii too, perchance, with Rome one house shall be!’†

\* Compare the account we have received of the villa of Hadrian, near Tibur; but this, it must be remembered, was a *rus suburbanum*. ‘The villa occupied the space of an ordinary Italian town, eight miles in circuit, and contained within itself a circus, three theatres, huge *thermæ*, and imitations of the Vale of Tempe, of Tartarus, and of the *Elysian Fields*.’—Burn's *Rome and the Campagna*, Introd. p. xlix., from Spartianus, c. 26, who gives further particulars, and the traces of the ruins themselves.

† Such is the memorable description of Suetonius: ‘In the vestibule of the palace stood a Colossus of Nero, a hundred and twenty feet in height. So vast was the palace itself as to contain three colonnades of a thousand paces each; also a lake like a sea, encircled with edifices like so many cities. It embraced, moreover, tracts of land, vineyard, arable, wood, and pasture, with a motley multitude of animals of all kinds, tame and wild. Elsewhere every spot was burnished with gold,



This wonder of architecture was not yet completed when Nero's whimsical fancy diverted him from the charms of building to those of singing and flute-playing in Greece. It continued, however, to make some progress during the months of Otho's principate, and Vitellius is said to have expressed his dissatisfaction with it as too mean for him. But it was within the more modest precincts of the Tiberian mansion that both Galba and Vitellius appear to have actually lodged themselves. Vespasian, the Emperor of the army, the would-be Emperor of the citizens, sober in taste as well as politic in temper, promptly relinquished all the imperial constructions beyond the Palatine, and gave them over to public use or to private occupation. The Flavian Amphitheatre which we now behold, more 'venerable,' to use Martial's epithet, in its ruin and defacement than in all the grandeur of its dedication day, was erected on the spot, one of the lowest in Rome, where Nero had excavated his lake or 'sea,' and was so constructed that water could be let into the arena for naval spectacles. Titus transformed the buildings on the Esquiline into the Public Baths, which accordingly bore his name. Domitian, duly imbued with the traditions of his family, acquiesced graciously in these popular surrenders, but he indemnified himself by extending the palace toward the southern ridge of the imperial hill. In this quarter, indeed, from the centre of the plateau southward, considerable remains of building are now traced, and antiquarians have drawn up the ground plan of an atrium, a

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'or variegated with pearls and jewels. The banquetting-halls (*cœnationes*) were coiled in compartments (*laqueatæ*), and furnished with moveable ivory frames, to which scented water was conveyed in pipes, and showered on the heads of the guests. Some of the largest of these halls were circular (*rotundæ*, which some interpret *hemispherical*) and were so constructed as to turn round like the universe, day by day. There were baths kept constantly flowing with marine or mineral waters.'—*Nero*, 31.

Martial supplies some topographical hints:—

'Here, where the starry image strikes the skies,  
And streets are choked with lofty balconies,  
Ere shone the grasping king's detested halls,  
And one enormous mansion cramm'd our walls.  
Here, where the glorious amphitheatre  
Rises sublime, the lakes of Nero were;  
Where baths so promptly given we now explore,  
One proud demesne evicted rich and poor:  
The broad arcades that deck the Claudian fane  
Mark where the palace ceased, and Rome was Rome again.'  
(*De Spectac.* 2.)

tablinum, and more than one basilica and lararium, which they have held to belong to the additions thus made to the palace. The great hall of this mansion has been celebrated by the poet Statius, and we would gladly believe that we have before us the area at least of the actual building in which the Emperor feasted the senators and nobles of Rome under a single roof at a thousand tables. The favoured poet, who was himself a guest, expatiates on the magnitude, and especially on the height, of this prodigious edifice, and luxuriates in the description of the various foreign marbles which adorned it with columns for which the native quarries of Luna, rich and dazzling as they were, might furnish only the pedestals. But the figure of the host himself was still the central object of the courtier's adulation. He labours to express his astonishment at being allowed to gaze upon it while recumbent at the table—to behold the imperial demi-god amidst the wines and viands, and not to rise and stand in his presence.\* But the most sanguine of our explorers have not, we believe, succeeded in identifying the arcade of which we have all read, which the Emperor caused to be lined at either extremity with the polished stone phengites, which was capable of reflecting objects, and might make him aware, as he paced up and down, of the approach of an intruder upon his solitude.

The generations of the great imperial builders still succeeded one another without sensible interruption. The works of Domitian on the Palatine formed but a small part of the gorgeous additions made by the Flavian dynasty to the splendour and convenience of the capital in almost every quarter. Even the short principate of Nerva was distinguished by the construction of a new forum, and the connected series of the public places thus denominated was completed by Trajan with a structure which seems upon the whole to have been the most magnificent creation of all Roman architecture. But Trajan and Hadrian, who were perhaps the greatest of all the Roman builders, and who extended their profusion to the provinces as well as to the capital, left no mark upon the Palatine hill. The history of architecture as connected with this illustrious spot had well nigh closed when the Antonines undertook to complete the occupation of the summit with some additional edifices on the eastern side, fronting the Cælian, of

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\* 'Te spes hominum, te cura deorum,  
Cerno jacens! datur hæc juxta, datur ora tueri  
Vina inter mensasque, et non assurgere fas est!'

(Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 2, 15.)

which no special account has been left to us. A conflagration occurring in the reign of Commodus gave that Emperor also an opportunity of enrolling his name among the decorators of the Palatine, but about the extent of his restorations we know nothing. Last of all Severus erected the Septizonium, a building at the southern angle of the hill, facing the bifurcation of the great artery of the city which led from the Porta Capena to the Forum, over the Velia on the one side, to the Velabrum through the Circus on the other; but neither its name nor its purpose are intelligible to the antiquarians, and all we know of it is that the builder, himself an African adventurer, wished this memorial of himself to be a conspicuous object to visitors from Africa, arriving at Rome by the Appian Way from Puteoli. We may infer, perhaps, that Severus made here a new entrance to the palace; and it is remarkable that, little as is known about it in its early days, there are few monuments of ancient Rome which seem to have been so long and so often noticed in mediæval history.

We have spoken of Severus as the last of the Imperial builders on the Palatine, inasmuch as his is the last work there of which there are distinct traces in history. It is possible that it was on the Palatine that Heliogabalus erected the temple which he dedicated to his own divinity, and here also Maxentius, a great builder in other quarters, is reported to have erected, possibly repaired, some baths, or assigned them to public use. But the work of the Cæsars may be said to have been complete soon after the second century, and it was from that time precisely that the Cæsars abandoned it. During the last half of the third century the Empire was governed from the camps on the frontiers, and Diocletian and his successors, when they again entrusted the armies of the State to their lieutenants, took up their residence at Nicomedia, or Ravenna, or Milan, or Constantinople, and the Palatine ceased for ever to be the *Sedes Imperii Romani*. The visit of Constantius in the fourth century was a surprise, for which it was perhaps little prepared; and with the coronation of Heraclius, at which he was not present in person, in the seventh, the connexion of the Imperial hill with the Emperors ceases for ever. The chiefs of the revived Empire of the West do not seem, in their occasional visits to Rome, to have made any use of the Palatine for a residence; and though there is no record of the fate of the palace of so many Cæsars, we may suppose that it was sacked, ruined, and destroyed by the greed or fury of the barbaric conquerors.

We have been thus led insensibly to sketch the history of

one only of the hills of Rome. A similar account might be given of the mutations which almost any one of the others underwent during the twelve centuries of the rise and fall of the ancient city. But none of them, except perhaps the Capitoline, would present features of equal interest; and until the respective sites of the Temple and the Arx are finally determined, the prudent topographer will tread lightly upon this treacherous ground. It is time that we should speak more particularly of the work on the perusal of which our remarks have been founded, from which the intelligent reader, with some personal knowledge of the localities and of the literature of the subject, may follow out for himself the history of all the most interesting quarters of the city. An older generation of critics and archæologists, who have made a journey by post or diligence once in their lives to the sacred spot, and have spent a few months, or possibly a few weeks or days only, in rambling over its ruins and imbibing undying memories from their hasty glances, must look with envy on the advantages of a younger race who are enabled like Mr. Burn, the author of the volume before us, to devote vacation after vacation, sometimes in the summer, sometimes in the winter, to repeated visits, for it is in the second, or the third, or the fourth visit to the curious problems that task his ingenuity, that the Roman topographer may hope to verify or to reject the crude guesses over which he has pondered during the intervals of his travels. Mr. Burn's work gives good evidence of the ripening process under which he has stored up his observations. He has examined every inch of Rome with his own eyes many times over; he has availed himself of the advice and assistance of the best local topographers; and he has studied abundantly the theories and the arguments of the best writers upon this copious theme. The result has been the production of an ample and thoroughly mature digest of the antiquities of Rome, elaborated with great clearness and literary skill, and eminently free, as it seems to us, from all fanciful and extravagant views, such as too commonly disfigure the works of more hasty and less temperate critics. We should have liked, for our own parts, to have seen a work on Roman topography thrown more into an historical form—to have had more of the life of the Commonwealth and the Empire poured into it; many a dry discussion might, we think, have been vivified, at least to scholars, by more abundant quotation from the original authorities, such as constitutes the great value and charm of Becker's book on the same subject, in spite of his many misconceptions and some perverse misstatements with which he

may be fairly charged. We are far from vouching, indeed, for the accuracy of all Mr. Burn's statements, or for the justness of all his inferences. With such a world of objects to examine, such a multitude of judgments to compare and of facts to verify, it is impossible that any one topographer can be always right: it is still less, if possible, to be expected that he can satisfy all inquirers and disarm all opponents. But nothing in the prosecution of these attractive studies is more annoying than the captious and querulous tone of critics who cannot brook the injury of a rejected theory or a discountenanced argument. The Duke of Wellington said discreetly that every general makes mistakes; the best is he who makes the fewest. We would say of the archæologists, every one of them makes his errors and oversights; every one of them, in turn, advances new views, some of which make their fortune perhaps, while others fail of success; but the best archæologist, the one who will command most attention and most confidence, is he who states his own case modestly, and judges his opponents charitably. These are qualities for which Mr. Burn's book seems eminently distinguished, and we think it will deserve on this account as well as others the respect to which it is entitled. We make these remarks, trifling as they may seem, because we have already noticed what appears to us the intemperate cavils of a rival topographer upon it; and we are convinced that whatever slips or imperfections may be detected in it, it deserves to become the standard book upon the subject until displaced by a better, which has not yet appeared.

That a better, that is, a more complete work, will one day be written, when many points which are now in dispute shall have been cleared up by future discoveries, Mr. Burn no doubt would be the last to deny. He knows too well the uncertainty which hangs over many of the most interesting problems of Roman topography, such as that one of which we have spoken, the exact site of the Capitoline temple, not to be well aware that his science is a progressive one—that every book that is written on it to-day must be merely tentative, and may be displaced, unless it admits of prompt correction, to-morrow. It would be well that all topographers should recognise as fully as Mr. Burn evidently does, the value of the general moral maxim

ὁ δ' ἐχθρὸς ἐς τόσονδ' ἐχθαρείας  
ὥς καὶ φιλήσων αὐτίς,

and oppugn his adversary as one who may one day be his ally. The antiquaries may well stand just now on the tiptoe of expectation, looking for revelations which begin already to peep

above the horizon. There is much to be expected, and that soon, in the region of the Palatine. Some remains of the chambers and substructions of the imperial buildings, and particularly in the portion of Caligula's works, have been uncovered within the last few years, and further excavations are slowly in progress. It is within very recent times that fragments of the old Servian wall have been brought to light, and some points of no mere topographical interest attested on unmistakable evidence. These latter, indeed, are a pure gain to the topographer. As regards the foundations of ancient buildings on the more frequented sites of Rome, and eminently those on the Palatine, so many and so great have been the destructions and reconstructions there of succeeding generations, that there must still remain great and perhaps unsurmountable difficulty in assigning each to its own builder or its own peculiar epoch. We may be certain also that the Capitoline, the Quirinal, and most of all the Palatine, as the sites of the most important and the most stately and richly decorated of all the buildings of ancient Rome, were especially marked out for plunder and demolition by several generations of conquerors; and it is on the most illustrious spots of the city that we should have the least expectation of recovering objects of art or value. For our own part, we look more hopefully to the discoveries that may hereafter be effected whenever houses in the modern city are pulled down from time to time, as it may be expected they will be, for social and municipal improvements, when Rome shall be transformed again into the seat of Italian government. The greater part of modern Rome stands, as is well known, on the quarter of the ancient city which was the last constructed, the least densely built and inhabited, and the most devoted to public edifices for the amusement and convenience of the people. It was in the Campus Martius that the richest of the Roman temples and palaces tempted the cupidity of invaders. It was not here, we imagine, that the barons of the middle-ages found, with one or two exceptions, the massive structures of imperial pride which they so often turned elsewhere into fortresses for themselves, and carried desolation around them in their struggles one with another. Here, when the hills and fastnesses of the ancient city were transformed again into the lairs of the 'wolves of Italy,' the timid population shrunk as far as they could from the scenes of ever-recurring slaughter, and a more peaceful city grew up under the protection, not of walls and citadels, but of the popes and the saints. We venture to surmise that beneath the foundations of this more modern city many valuable remains of antiquity are even now

safely stored away, and await only the course of inevitable changes to bring them again to light.

We have been amused from time to time with rumours of the Company that is to be formed to explore the bed of the Tiber by systematic dredging, and these rumours are just now more rife than ever, though we can only speak of them on hearsay. It can hardly be supposed that such an undertaking would be a very costly one, and a few good 'finds' might alone suffice to repay it. It is curious in how much uncertainty we are still left as to whether the bed of the river in Rome has been materially raised during some twenty centuries or not. The Tiber undoubtedly brings down immense quantities of diluvial matter; but the stream is so rapid that it is very possible that but little is left in deposit. It is on the sea coast at its mouth that the Tiber, year by year and day by day, leaves the *débris* of the slopes of the Apennines. Some topographers point to the piers still existing of the ancient bridges, to show that the level of the river has little, if at all, risen within the historic period. Others remind us of the Cloaca of the Tarquins, which drained the Forum into the Tiber, and the arch of which is still visible, where it empties itself into the river. This monument of early Rome has been often sketched, and Mr. Burn gives a drawing of it, which shows indeed the crown of the arch apparently four or five feet above the water-level, and such was precisely our own computation from observing it in the middle of a dry September, when the river was nearly at its lowest. Now when we remember the statements of Pliny, that Agrippa on a certain occasion ascended the Cloaca into the heart of the city in a boat, and again, that its dimensions were such that a waggon loaded with hay might be driven through it, we cannot but think that the vault, when it ran with water, must have been much loftier than it ever now presents itself, and that it was sometimes almost dry—like a roadway rather than a canal, in which case the general level of the river must have been a good many feet lower than at present. But if we allow a depth of diluvial matter of four or five feet only, there must be at the bottom of the Tiber a mass of mud which may have kept many museums-full of antiquities in safety for centuries, if only such treasures have been committed to it. Many such treasures we certainly think there must in the nature of things be lying in it—such as coins and gems attached to the bodies of the many who have been casually drowned in those sweeping waters, some of which might be detained in their gulfs; similar objects casually dropped from windows on the bank or from the bridges, or sunk in ves-

sels, and so on. But it should be remembered that the Tiber in Rome was never, as far as we know, a highway for traffic like the Thames at London, or even the Seine at Paris. Barges brought corn, and oil, and wood from above to the quays on the bank of the Campus; and barges again brought all the products of the world from the port of Ostia to the quay at the foot of the Aventine; but we can remember no allusion to the passing of craft, large or small, for purposes of business or of pleasure, upon the bosom of the rapid Tiber where it flowed through the city itself. Nor does it seem likely that people would throw their money or their works of art into the water to save them from fire or from the hands of the barbarians. That something may and will be found we can have no doubt, but we dare not hope for any great store of treasure-trove. We rather fear that the articles on which our sanguine adventurers have set their hearts will prove almost as illusory as those which Mr. Punch has already promised them—the footstool of Tullia and the jewels of Cornelia; the ivory-headed sceptre of the senator Papirius, and the golden manger of the horse of Caligula.

ART. II.—1. *The Royal Institution: its Founder and its first Professors.* By Dr. BENCE JONES, Honorary Secretary. London: 1871.

2. *Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.* By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Published in connexion with an edition of Rumford's Complete Works. Boston: 1871.

3. *Recollections of Past Life.* By Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Bart., M.D. London: 1872.

NO place has had a more distinct local connexion with the cultivation of physical science than the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. No Society has ever done more to encourage science and its professors by united private support; no institution of the kind has been equally rewarded by the brilliancy and importance of the discoveries made within its walls. It is natural, therefore, that the circumstances of the foundation, and the early history of a place so much concerned with the advance of natural philosophy, should possess interest for all who care for the progress of human knowledge, and especially for those who are still engaged in carrying on the work bequeathed to them by the early promoters of the Institution. Foremost among these is Dr. Bence Jones, the present



Honorary Secretary, who has found time to be snatched from the busy engagements of professional life, and to be consecrated to the service of pure science. As an original investigator himself, but chiefly in the attention given to facilitating the labours of others, and in promoting their means of imparting their results, he has earned the gratitude of the lovers of science. By collecting the scattered materials necessary to afford a complete knowledge of the history of the place, to whose continued success his own exertions have recently contributed so much, he has added another claim to recognition and thanks. The present volume, together with Dr. Bence Jones' formerly published '*Life of Faraday*,' contains all that can be told of the life and fortunes of the Royal Institution, and of the great men who have been most intimately related to it. The names of Rumford, Davy, Young, and Faraday shine as the bright centres of a system in which many lesser lights have also moved; and which, in the person of Professor Tyn-dall, is not without its universal reputation at the present day.

To trace the origin of an Institution, fostered by such men and crowned with so much success, is a work of no ordinary concern; and it is rendered more curious by the fact of the ultimate divergence which took place from the first scheme of its functions as contemplated by Count Rumford. Nor can this be understood without a knowledge of the antecedents of Rumford, and of the previous occupations and objects of his life, upon which much fresh light has been recently thrown by the American biography, forming the first volume of a new and magnificent edition of his works.

Benjamin Thompson (for that was Count Rumford's patronymic) was in many ways a most remarkable man. His career was cosmopolitan, and his pursuits were of an extraordinary diversity of character. Born in America before the separation from the mother country, he was for some time domiciled in London, and was knighted by George III. Many years of his life were passed at Munich in the service of the Elector of Bavaria. His second marriage to the widow of Lavoisier transferred him to France, and it was in the neighbourhood of Paris that he died. Apprenticed in early life to trade, he became successively a medical student, a teacher in schools, a military officer, a British Under Secretary of State, and chief of the War Department in Bavaria. Nor were his scientific labours less varied or important. He may justly be considered as the father of the modern science of Heat; he contributed something to the advancement of nearly all branches of physics; and he was the founder of the Rum-

ford medals of the Royal Society of London, and of the Royal Institution. His whole life was devoted to useful and philanthropic objects, and it was in connexion with these that most of his work as a philosopher was suggested and performed.

The future Count Rumford was born at Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1753, and within twelve miles of the birthplace of another Benjamin, also a distinguished discoverer, although in Franklin his political eminence must entitle him to be ranked as much with statesmen as with natural philosophers. The Thompson family were descended from an original settler of 1630, and seem to have belonged to the class of well-to-do farmers. The father died when the boy was twenty months old, and his mother remarried when he was three years old. The recent full biography, published at Boston, disposes of an old notion that he suffered from hardship or neglect in early youth. He seems, on the contrary, to have been well taken care of. In 1766 he was apprenticed to the keeper of a store at Salem, but all his inclinations were towards science. He related of himself, that at the age of fourteen he was able to calculate the elements of a solar eclipse, and was, in fact, correct in his computation within four seconds. At Salem he made early practical acquaintance with the properties of gunpowder, to which in after life he paid so much attention. There was to be a pyrotechnical display to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the young apprentice was nearly blown up by the materials for making fireworks, which he was grinding in a mortar. He was more busy in engraving for his own amusement, in learning the use of tools, and in mechanical and chemical experiments, than in minding the business of the store; and of course an attempt to construct a machine for perpetual motion was not omitted from his pursuits.

The coming events which were to convulse the old and new continents now affected the future of the ingenious young store-keeper's assistant. His employer signed the non-importation agreement, and this so diminished his business that there was no longer occasion for Thompson's services. After an interval he was sent out again to engage in a similar business at Boston, where he remained for a short time, and continued his private studies, in which French was diversified with the back-sword exercise; and he enjoyed the supreme boyish felicity of putting together an electrical machine. Then came more serious studies for the profession of medicine, and the attending of scientific lectures at Harvard and Boston. From a pupil he became a master, and taught at Concord, New Hampshire, then called Rumford, and the place from which

his title in the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire was derived. The name was not adopted without sufficient reason, for it was at Rumford that the fortunes of the handsome young Thompson received an important impulse by his marriage, at the age of nineteen, to the widow of a person of considerable means and local influence. His social position was thus altered amazingly for the better, he was rendered independent, and the pains he had taken in cultivating himself, enabled him to appear with great advantage in his new sphere. His handsome appearance attracted the attention of Governor Wentworth at a military review; he became a favourite, and was, with much indiscretion, at once appointed a major in the Second Provincial Regiment of New Hampshire.

The American biographer, perhaps with some reason, reproaches the fortunate young Thompson with having the spirit of a courtier, and with the want of a true patriotic feeling for the country of his birth at the commencement of the great revolutionary struggle with England. But his early promotion, and his extremely friendly relations with the British authorities, were sufficiently provocative of jealousy and misrepresentation; and no appreciable charge of misconduct exists against him for choosing his own part when there were two sides equally open to be taken by right-thinking and honourable men. Nevertheless his position became an uncomfortable one, and in 1774 Major Thompson was summoned before a committee of the people in Concord, to answer the accusation of being unfriendly to the cause of liberty. Nothing could be substantiated against him, and he was discharged. Afterwards an attack was made by the mob upon his house, of which he had previously received friendly warning, and he secretly left the place. This took place when he was twenty-two years of age, and, as events fell out, he never again saw his early home.

In the following year another and more solemn inquiry, before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, into the alleged unpatriotic sentiments of Major Thompson, took place at Woburn, which resulted in a finding that he had not in any one instance shown a disposition unfriendly to American liberty, and he was dismissed with the strongest recommendations to confidence and protection: He does not seem to have been allowed to enjoy the public advantage of this acquittal, and complained, not without cause, of the injustice thus done to him. Yet he remained in his military service, studied tactics, continued to make experiments on gunpowder, and was favourably introduced to Washington on his assuming the command

at Cambridge. In a remarkable letter to his father-in-law, Dr. Walker, he defends his flight from his family at Concord, and explains his inability to bear the difficulties of his position in America. He announces his intention to seek for that peace and protection in foreign lands and among strangers, which are denied to him in his native country. He can no longer endure the daily insults offered to him. He cannot support the constant accusation of being an enemy to his country. He cannot plead guilty to it; and his assertions of his own rectitude are not believed. For himself it only remains to commence a pilgrimage to unknown lands, without fortune or friends; but he concludes by expressing his wish for a return in a happy time, 'when every individual in America may sit down under his own vine, and under his own fig tree, and have none to make him afraid.'

This letter was written in August 1775; in the March following, the British troops were compelled to evacuate Boston, and Thompson was the official bearer of this intelligence to London. His present biographer acquits him of any disloyal action to the American cause, and even of any early predilections on the British side; and he sees no reason for doubting that if Thompson had been treated in a conciliatory manner, and had received further promotion in the American army when he really deserved it, he would have faithfully served his native country. It is clear, however, that in the last few months of his stay in America, he must have substantially become a Royalist, and must have satisfied the British commander of the expediency of sending him to England in furtherance of the British interests of the time.

The local knowledge and general ability of Thompson could not fail to be welcomed as invaluable to the British Government; and he was at once utilised by placing him in the office of Lord George Germaine, then the Secretary of State, administering colonial affairs and directing the American War. His immediate admission at an age so young to so much confidence, is one of the many circumstances which show how greatly the Home Government were in need of competent advice and reliable information. The clearness of intellect and the graceful manners of the new employé soon won their way with his chief, and the sometime apprentice-boy at Salem rapidly advanced in favour and importance. His first formal appointment was to the post of Secretary of the Province of Georgia (in which British authority was for a short time restored), thus keeping him still officially connected with America. Thompson, however, by no means sacrificed science to politics. Experi-

ments on gunpowder and fire-arms continued, and he made investigations on the cohesion of bodies, which were communicated to Sir Joseph Banks, then President of the Royal Society, and of which he was himself elected a Fellow in 1779.

Naval artillery and marine signals also now engaged his attention, and he made a Channel cruise as a volunteer, with the British fleet, in the 'Victory,' under Sir Charles Hardy. In the next year he was appointed an Under Secretary of State in the American Department.

In 1781 came the virtual end of the American War, and the resignation of Lord George Germaine followed. The royalist cause was not, however, thought quite desperate in England; Thompson repaired to America with a command of cavalry; and, never forgetful of his scientific vocation, did not omit the opportunity of making gunnery experiments on ship-board while on his voyage out. He took some part in the desultory warfare in the South, to which the great struggle was now reduced, and was selected for a command in an expedition to the West Indies, which never took place. In 1783 he retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and half-pay for the rest of his days.

The taste for military life did not, however, leave Colonel Thompson; and, in 1783, he obtained leave to proceed to the Continent to seek similar employment abroad, hoping to be allowed to volunteer in the Austrian army and serve against the Turks. He crossed from Dover to Calais in company, as it happened, with Gibbon, who, in a letter to his friend Lord Sheffield, describes him as 'Mr. Secretary, Colonel, Admiral, 'Philosopher Thompson.' Passing through Strasburg, and appearing at a review, he made the acquaintance of Prince Maximilian of Deux Ponts, afterwards Elector of Bavaria; and, by his military knowledge and pleasing manners, made so strong an impression upon him as to procure an invitation to Munich, given with the view of securing the future services of the now unattached soldier and philosopher.

Revisiting England, Thompson obtained the leave of the Government, and, with the honour of an English knighthood, he became an official of the Elector of Bavaria, at a time when such assistance as he was so capable of rendering was greatly needed by that country. He was to act in a joint civil and military capacity, and, in fact, eleven years were spent by him at Munich in organising the resources of the State—in providing for the employment, education, discipline, food, clothing, and lodging of the army—in devising schemes for the amelioration of the working and poorer classes of the com-

munity—and in the extirpation of crime and mendicancy. He increased the pay of the soldiers, improved their quarters and general comforts, and furnished the means of instruction to themselves and their children. Books, pens, ink and paper were gratuitously found for their use; and, as an instance of his spirit of minute economical detail, he pointed out that the paper apparently spoiled in teaching the men to write could be turned to further account by the Government in the manufacture of cartridges. Military gardens were formed, in which the soldiers worked, and establishments set up for making cloth and other necessities for the troops. The army, too, was employed in clearing the country of the sturdy beggars and audacious thieves with which it swarmed. A true spirit of philanthropy and common sense pervaded all the arrangements. The moral basis of the system aimed at is best described in Rumford's own words:—‘To make vicious and abandoned people happy, it has generally been supposed necessary *first* to make them virtuous. But why not reverse this order? Why not make them first happy, and then virtuous?’ In dealing with the poor and criminal classes, cleanliness and physical comfort were Rumford's pioneers, believing, as he did, that ‘virtue never dwelt long with filth and nastiness.’

A House of Industry was established, with a kitchen and bakehouse to illustrate economies in food and fuel, and with workshops of all kinds, in which trades were to be taught, honest employment provided, and good conduct encouraged. There was no compulsion; kindness and consideration were relied upon as the most efficient inducements to fill the house with workers and scholars. The aim and scope of Rumford's work in Bavaria cannot, indeed, be better described than they are in the almost forgotten poem by Mathias—‘The Pursuits of Literature:’—

‘Yet all shall read, and all that page approve,  
When public spirit meets with public love.  
Thus late, where poverty with rapine dwelt,  
Rumford's kind genius the Bavarian felt,  
Not by romantic charities beguiled,  
But calm in project, and in mercy mild;  
Where'er his wisdom guided, none withstood,  
Content with peace and practicable good;  
Round him the labourers throng, the nobles wait,  
Friend of the poor, and guardian of the State.’

Rumford had from the first the rank of a colonel of cavalry, and a handsome residence in Munich was assigned to him. Finally, he was placed at the head of the War Department,

with plenary powers to carry out his plans for the reform of the army and State. In 1791 he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, taking his title, as has been already mentioned, from the New England village where he first emerged from obscurity. With all his duties upon him as Minister of War and Police, and Chamberlain to the Elector, Rumford did not discontinue his devotion to science. Many papers were forwarded by him for publication in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society,' containing accounts of experiments in heat, light, chemistry, and other branches of physics. He was thus at once engaged in improving the social and material condition of the poorer classes, and in advancing the knowledge of natural science. Cuvier was therefore amply justified in pleasantly saying of Rumford, that he was the only man who took the same path for getting into heaven and into the French Academy. It was to this combination of pursuits in one person that the fact is owing of his becoming the founder of the Royal Institution, which in its original design differed in many points from what it afterwards grew to be.

In 1795 Rumford was again in London, and, on his arrival, the Police Minister was the victim of a robbery which would have possessed an element of irony if it had been the act of a Bavarian instead of an English thief. He was stopped in his post-chaise, at six o'clock of an October evening, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and a trunk was stolen from the carriage containing all his private papers and philosophical notes—a most painful and serious loss to him.

One object of Rumford's visit to England at this time was to publish his valuable essays on the economy of food and fuel; and he was, with his own knowledge on the subject, profoundly struck by the wasteful consumption of both in England—a wicked and foolish waste, which still continues, little having been done since Rumford's time to improve the construction of fireplaces, and his rules being still very imperfectly observed. The clouds of smoke hanging over London always amazed the humane and philosophic Count; and he was ready to prove that from the materials of heat thus thrown away and made a curse instead of a blessing, he could cook all the food, warm every room, and do all the mechanical work performed by fire in the metropolis. Add to this loss of good fuel, the positive injury done to the exterior and interior of buildings, to books, pictures, furniture, and all objects of art—not to mention wearing apparel—and the grand total of damage occasioned by the volcanoes of smoke in London, always in a chronic state of eruption, is truly incalculable. The increasing

use of coal, and the prospect at some more or less distant date of a total failure of its supply, make the smoke-consuming question a more important one to the present generation of dwellers in English cities than it was even in Rumford's days. Thanks to the strong common sense and zeal of the late Lord Palmerston, when he was at the Home Office, trade and manufacturing furnaces have been reduced to control; but the domestic fireplaces—including those great offenders, the kitchen fires of the clubs in and about Pall Mall—still defy regulation, and may unfurl their sooty banners of war against cleanliness and health with impunity, as much and as often as they please. Rumford took into his own hands the cure of smoking chimneys and the improvement of the fireplaces in several of his friends' private houses in London, beginning, as it chanced, with that of Lord Palmerston's father, in Hanover Square, and including in his kindly labours Devonshire House, Mrs. Montague's house, and others of note.

Matters of greater European importance than a battle with the smoke of London demanded the return of the philosopher to resume his political and military functions at Munich. The small State of Bavaria was endeavouring to remain neutral before the contending Powers in the great revolutionary contests of the period. Moreau, with a French republican army, had crossed the Rhine, and was advancing on Munich, where Rumford arrived only eight days before the Elector left it to take refuge in Saxony. The city was menaced alike by the Austrian and French forces. Rumford took the chief command of the Bavarian army, and, by his firm and temperate management, prevented the troops of either Power from entering the city—a signal service to the country of his temporary adoption.

Rumford's connexion with Bavaria ceased after an untoward attempt to gratify him by sending him to England as the diplomatic representative of that country, a position for which he, as a British subject, was obviously disqualified. But he remained in London; and it was in 1799 that he printed the pamphlet which led to the foundation of the Royal Institution. It was of fifty pages, and was entitled: 'Proposals for forming  
' by Subscription, in the Metropolis of the British Empire, a  
' Public Institution for diffusing the Knowledge and facilitating  
' the general Introduction of useful Mechanical Inventions  
' and Improvements, and for teaching, by courses of Philosophical Lectures and Experiments, the Application of Science  
' to the Common Purposes of Life.' The object was explained to be the bringing together of science and the art of the



working man, and establishing relations of helpful intercourse between philosophers and practical artisans. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and domestic comforts were to be studied and improved.

On his previous visit to London, Rumford had conferred on such a project with his friend Thomas Bernard, Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, one of the founders and most active members of a society then formed for bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the poor, of which Rumford also was a member. At the outset it seems to have been in contemplation to blend the two schemes, and, although this notion was abandoned, a committee of the leading persons in Mr. Bernard's scheme took a prominent part in the establishment of the Royal Institution. It was at first a proprietary body, composed of subscribers of fifty guineas (afterwards increased to one hundred) each, with life rights of admission. Rooms were to be provided for the exhibition of models and new mechanical inventions. Kitchens, with their fittings, adapted for houses of different styles, were to be built and kept in action; and their qualities were to be tested by experimental dinners cooked in them, and eaten by such of the managers as were willing to risk their digestions for the public good. Various stoves and fireplaces for heating rooms and passages were to be maintained in practical action. There were to be models of steam-engines, breweries, distilleries, ships' coppers, ventilating apparatus, and whatever had concern with the artificial use of heat. Lectures in a public theatre, and a complete laboratory, with philosophical apparatus, were also included in the design. All the arrangements for the management of the future Institution were carefully devised and elaborated by Rumford in every detail, and very closely resemble those still in operation.

The first general meeting of the proprietors was held at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, in Soho Square—a place distinguished for its many scientific gatherings—on 7th March, 1799; and it was agreed to elect managers, and apply to the Government for a charter of incorporation. Sir Joseph Banks was to be in the meantime the President, and Mr. Bernard was chosen Secretary. On the charter being obtained, early in the year 1800, George the Third—ever ready to promote science and literature—was the first patron. Several well-known noblemen were among the earliest officials; and Dr. Thomas Garnett was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. With great wisdom the purchase of an expensive site and the erection of a new building was avoided. A house in Albemarle Street was taken on lease,

and judiciously adapted for the required objects, with no unnecessary outlay of capital.

Rumford himself at first resided in the house, living in the upper floor, which has been successively occupied by such illustrious tenants as himself, Young, Davy, Faraday, and Tyndall. That suite of apartments looking in front upon the street, and to the back upon the quiet space behind the Clarendon Hotel in Bond Street, has indeed strong claim to rank as one of the most interesting local habitations of science. From it a staircase leads directly down to the laboratories on the basement floor. How often must an experiment have been left, and those stairs ascended in search of necessary refreshment or rest! How often must anxious feet have trod them in returning to the scene of labour, and in the hope of finding accomplished the desired result, the theory confirmed, the truth at length extorted from Nature submitted to the question! What an atmosphere of philosophy must pervade those chambers dedicated to science! How many struggles of thought, how much hard work with brain and pen, have they not witnessed!

Writing to a friend in America, Rumford, in June 1800, refers to the 'brilliant success of our new Institution. The 'subscriptions have amounted this year to above 24,000*l.*, 'and as little has yet been *seen*, except upon paper . . . I consider this unexampled support as a flattering testimony of 'the public opinion entertained of the talents and probity of 'the founders of the Institution.' In the second year Dr. Young was engaged as Professor of Natural Philosophy, at the modest salary of 300*l.* a year—a man of the highest mark in intellectual ability, and to whom the full measure of the fame due to him still remains to be awarded. A good scholar, a great physicist, a fair chemist, and one of the foremost expounders of the mystic characters of the Egyptians, which had for so many ages defied inquiry—he was one of the most remarkable philosophers of the century. The reputation which should glorify him as the apostle—he might almost be called the proto-martyr—of the undulatory theory of light, was unfortunately withheld from him during his lifetime in England. Nothing could exceed the generosity and justice shown to him by the French philosophers who followed in his track, and whose conduct was a noble reproach to some of Young's own countrymen for their rejection of him.

In 1801 Davy was engaged by Rumford as director of the laboratory and assistant Professor of Chemistry, and assistant editor of the journals of the Institution, at a salary of one

hundred guineas a year, with apartments. In a letter to his daughter, he says: 'We have found a nice able man for this place as lecturer—Humphry Davy. Lectures are given, frequented by crowds of the first people.' The Count's letter to Davy announcing his engagement contains a passage which seems to anticipate the brilliant use made by Davy and his successors of their opportunities for original research in the laboratory of the Institution, and the fame and advantage which the Institution was to gain from them. He wrote: 'Although you must ever consider the duties of the office you may hold under the Institution as the primary object of your care and attention, yet the managers are far from being desirous that you should relinquish those private philosophical investigations in which you have hitherto been engaged . . . and will give you every facility which the philosophical apparatus at the Institution can afford to make new and interesting experiments.' It cannot, however, fail to be noticed that the Count places original scientific work in the background, and carefully guards the permission to continue it.

Davy arrived in Albemarle Street and took possession of his room in March 1801; and, as appears from the managers' minutes of 16th March, after describing the purchase of a carpet for Dr. Garnett's room:—

'Count Rumford reported further that he had purchased a cheaper second-hand carpet for Mr. Davy's room, together with such other articles as appeared to him necessary to render the room habitable; and among the rest a new sofa-bed, which in order that it may serve as a model for imitation, has been made complete in all its parts.'

M. Pictet, of Geneva, the devoted friend and biographer of Rumford, in his '*Bibliothèque Britannique*,' visited him in England at this time. He describes his proceedings at the Royal Institution, and his determination to exclude any element of money-making; so that tea and coffee were to be supplied at prime cost, thus preventing 'what is known so well in *England sous le nom de jobb*.' He also gives an account of the Count's model house at Brompton, which was a marvel of comfort and ingenious arrangement, and an object of resort for the curious from all quarters. No doubt it was the engagement of Davy which chiefly determined the future destination of the Royal Institution as a place of original research, and prevented its growth as a model house of industry, and a school of technical education for the working classes. But there had been previous differences of opinion between Rumford and the managers of the infant Institution, who considered his objects were too extensive, and of too public a character to

be undertaken and worked by a private body. The views of the managers prevailed, and what may be termed the philanthropic part of the scheme was never carried into effect; while the scientific work in the laboratory proceeded, lectures were given to highly educated audiences, and a fine general library was formed for the use of the members. It is matter for rejoicing that what was within the limits of practical development was saved from the common wreck which must have overtaken the whole scheme if the impossible element had been allowed to prevail in it. It is to be regretted that Rumford retired from prosecuting so much of his own work as was continued; but the subsequent course of the Royal Institution has surely amply justified the foresight of those who differed from him at that early stage of its existence.

Rumford's second marriage to Madame Lavoisier was not a success. The philosopher and the philosopher's widow did not agree. He writes, however, from his house at Paris (Rue d'Anjou), at the beginning, in transports:—

‘I have the best founded hopes of passing my days in peace and quiet in this paradise of a place, made what it is by me—my money, skill, and directions. In short, it is all but a paradise. Removed from the noise and bustle of the street, facing full to the south, in the midst of a beautiful garden of more than two acres, well planted with trees and shrubbery. The entrance from the street is through an iron gate, by a beautiful winding avenue, well planted, and the porter's lodge is by the side of this gate; a great bell to be rung in the case of ceremonial visits.’

This was in 1805. They lived in magnificence, and entertained philosophers and members of the Institute—the best intellectual society in Paris. But in a couple of years the situation was altered, and the delightful paradise was the scene of an occurrence hardly belonging to earthly felicity. The lady, too, had a will of her own, and their tastes differed. She loved company—he loved quiet. She liked to spend money on entertainments—he on permanent improvements. All her wit, beauty, and accomplishment did not avail to maintain their happiness. The Count, writing again to the daughter of his first marriage, tells her:—

‘A large party had been invited I neither liked nor approved of, and invited for the sole purpose of vexing me. Our house being in the centre of the garden, walled around, with iron gates, I put on my hat, walked down to the porter's lodge, and gave him orders, on his peril, not to let anyone in. Besides, I took away the keys. Madame went down, and when the company arrived she talked with them—she on one side, they on the other, of the high brick wall. After that she goes and pours boiling water on some of my beautiful flowers.’

No philosopher in any of Voltaire's tales was ever exhibited in a more absurd predicament; and the final use of the boiling water to destroy Rumford's favourite plants was an illustration of the powers of Nature as appropriate as it must have been annoying to the great experimentalist on heat. Finally, there was a separation. Madame continued long to be the centre of a brilliant circle in Paris, the friend of Guizot, and one of the best representatives of the old society in which fashion, rank, and intellect used to mingle with freedom and ease in a lady's *salon*.

M. Guizot, in his memoirs, accounts for the unfortunate issue of a marriage between two persons, each possessing such high qualifications. Their characters and temperaments were incompatible. Delicate questions arose between them. The lady had stipulated to be called Madame Lavoisier de Rumford. He disliked the perpetuation of his predecessor's name, and withdrew his previously given assent—she considered it a sacred duty to maintain it. Such incidents as the barring out of her guests, and the hot water poured into his flower-pots, completed the rupture.

Madame de Bassanville, in her amusing work on the old *salons* of Paris, throws further light on the matter; and describes Rumford as a man of much information on men and things, with a conversation largely made up of his own experiences, and as called by his wife, a 'veritable sample-card.' He was a liberal in theory, but in practice a domestic tyrant.

After the separation, Rumford arranged himself in a house at Auteuil, and continued to reside in the neighbourhood of the French capital until his death in 1814. In the modern improvements of Paris two contiguous streets were opened, and named after the two philosophers, Rumford and Lavoisier, 'pour consacrer la mémoire des deux savans, qui s'étaient unis à la même épouse.' The Rue Rumford, however, is now merged in the still more recent Boulevard Malesherbes, while the name of the lady's first husband triumphantly survives.

Rumford's *éloge* as a deceased member of the French Institute was pronounced by Cuvier. He does ample justice to his public services, and to his claims as a natural philosopher, especially in his favourite departments of Light and Heat; but the moral character, as described by the great Frenchman, is such as to account for much of his life, and his many changes of occupation and associates. It must have been easier to act under him than with him. Like many other friends of humanity, he insisted upon doing good to people in his own way. He approved of slavery, and admired the

Chinese method of government. A work by him on 'Order' was in progress at the time of his death, and to a rigid system of control—with himself, in the most perfect case, at the head of it—he looked for securing the happiness of mankind. He did not expect gratitude, but was satisfied by the execution of his own plans, and with the hope of fame.

At the Royal Institution Rumford certainly received no thanks in his lifetime, but is entitled to all the posthumous recognition which has been freely awarded to him for his labours in originating it, and introducing to it such men as its earlier professors and lecturers. It was, when first started, not only the fashion but the rage, and at the lecture hours crowds of carriages filled Albemarle Street. Gilray, the popular caricaturist, seized on the subject, and dedicated two of his prints to Rumford and the Royal Institution. In one of them (No. 459 in collected works) the Count is represented as warming his person in truly British manner at one of his own stoves. In the other (No. 520) an experiment of breathing gas, in the lecture theatre, is shown as leading to some strange and alarming results. It is entitled, 'Scientific Researches; New Discoveries in Pneumatics, or an Experimental Lecture on the Powers of Air.' Rumford, the elder Disraeli, Lord Stanhope, and other personages of note, are among the audience. Dr. Garnett is administering the gas, and Davy officiates as his assistant.

This lecture theatre, to hold nine hundred persons, was designed and executed by Mr. Webster, then a young architect and an official of the Institution, and it has always enjoyed the reputation of being the most perfect room of its kind in this country. Its acoustic properties are excellent, and the accommodation for the audience, recently enlarged and improved, is probably as good as the nature and condition of such a place admit of its being. Faraday, whose voice so often filled it, and held crowded audiences in rapt attention, once stated before a Committee of the House of Commons, that it was almost perfect; and, although often imitated, it has never been rivalled. In the first construction of the theatre, a separate stone staircase led to the gallery from the street. This was intended for the use of working men in accordance with the original scheme for making the lectures appropriate for their special instruction, and traces of its former existence still remain in the building.

A printing press in the house formed part of the first establishment, and some of the earlier parts of the 'Journal of the Royal Institution' were printed on the spot. There was

to be a standing committee to examine the syllabuses of proposed courses of lectures by the professors, in order 'that 'no false scientific doctrine might be taught;' a provision which betrayed the inexperience of the promoters of the new school of science, and showed a strange want of confidence in the eminent men engaged to lecture, and which was probably due to Rumford's love of control and management. Yet very distinguished names occur on this committee, consisting of Cavendish, Maskelyne, Blagden, Rennell, Planta, Gray, Vince, Farish, and Hatchett. Fourteen other committees, not confined to members of the Institution, were to be appointed to confer and report on various specific subjects of investigation and improvement, within the scope of the general design, and all in conformity with the spirit of the motto soon afterwards adopted—*Illustrans commoda vitæ*. The Institution started with 325 proprietors, 268 life subscribers, and 527 annual subscribers. Up to April 1801, the receipts had been 19,257*l.* 8*s.*, and the expenditure 12,601*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*

The connexion of the first Professor with the Royal Institution was not a long one. Dr. Garnett, a man apparently of no great strength or ability, had given up an engagement at Glasgow with the hope of being allowed to practise as a physician in London, and of finding accommodation for his family in Albemarle Street. In both he was disappointed; offence was given on his side by the publication of his lectures without the permission of the managers, and after his first year of office he resigned.

Rumford's report, contained in the second number of the 'Journals of the Institution,' shows the condition to which he had brought his design after two years of labour and attention. He dwells on the workshops, for which a master was to be provided to superintend the practical education of artisans. He mentions the kitchen, which was to be in fact a school of cookery, and the introduction of some of the conveniences of a modern club, long since abandoned, if, indeed, they ever came into use, including the supply of soups and light refreshments to members in the house. He describes the repository for models as already built—being the room beneath the lecture theatre—and the addition of attics to the house, for the reception of resident students in practical mechanics.

These ideas were not, however, destined to be carried into execution. A political feeling may have prevailed against the instruction of the working classes; commercial objections were also made; nor were funds forthcoming for the purpose; and although no public notice was given of the abandonment

of this part of the scheme, it was silently dropped. Webster's stone staircase, provided for the access of mechanics to the gallery of the lecture theatre, was pulled down. Rumford's culinary contrivances were removed, and the workmen employed to make models were discharged. The retirement of Webster accompanied that of Rumford. Many years afterwards he became secretary to the Geological Society, and curator of their museum; and died in 1844, as Professor of Geology in the University of London in Gower Street.

In Rumford's report made in April 1802, he recapitulates what had been done at the Institution, and remarks that it had been completed without debt, and had an annual income sufficient to maintain it. He pronounces it to be finished and freely established, and concludes with the most sanguine hopes of its future prosperity.

The financial state of the Society at this time did not, however, justify the Count's expectations. It is plain that too much had been undertaken, and that the most favoured objects of the founder were not of a kind to be carried out by private subscriptions. They were, in fact, of a public nature, and required something little short of national support. The income had largely fallen off, and the expenditure was on the increase. Hence serious modifications became necessary; the workshops were made over to a private tradesman; the model-makers' shop was to be continued in the house, but was to be worked as a private speculation; the coffee-room and dining room were to be conducted by a contractor at his own risk.

In the following year the very existence of the Institution was in peril. The capital was exhausted, and there was a debt of 3,000*l*. It was even in contemplation to close the house, and sell the effects to discharge liabilities. This impending catastrophe was averted by a liberal subscription among the members. The debt was paid off, and an equal sum was funded for future use. It was also determined to continue the purely scientific part of the plan only, to reduce the establishment, and keep a vigorous watch on the expenditure.

The Royal Institution commenced this fresh phase of life with Young and Davy as its joint professors—Young as Professor of Natural Philosophy and Superintendent of the House; Davy as Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory, with full powers to make his own experiments. They were to give no less than one hundred lectures annually between them; and there was to be a lecture every day in the



week during the season, delivered at two o'clock in the afternoon, except on Tuesdays and Fridays, when they were to be at eight in the evening. The formation of a fine library now also engaged the attention of the managers. A distinct appeal for funds was made on its behalf, and probably for the sake of attracting support, the library was placed under separate management, a scheme in itself undesirable, and only justifiable under the especial exigencies of the case. It was rendered a very complete collection, not only in works of science and reference, but in classical and general literature; and although there was a period of several years in the subsequent career of the Institution, during which it received few additions, it is now one of the best libraries in London. At the beginning of the century, the British Museum contained the only public library in the metropolis. But it was not of easy access, was little used, and was a very different affair from that which it was in later years rendered by the enormous knowledge and zealous labours of Panizzi. Other institutions have since acquired libraries, but the collection of books in Albemarle Street was the first of its kind, and the precursor of the London Library in St. James' Square, of the library at the Athenæum Club, and the rest. At this time, too, was constructed the lecture-room annexed to the chemical laboratory, which now occupied the space of the abandoned workshops; and has, in its turn, recently disappeared to make way for a distinct chemical laboratory, the present scene of Professor Odling's labours, the remaining portion of the old laboratory being devoted to physical research under the superintendence of Professor Tyndall. It was in this small subterranean theatre that Brande for so many years taught his private classes, and imparted so much sound instruction, at a time when it was almost the only place in London where chemistry could be learned, and before the hospitals had furnished themselves with their own means for teaching it. The whole of this part of the house, we are happy to know, is again about to be transformed, and new laboratories will be erected, more worthy of the memories of the place, and of the advance of modern times, than those which they will replace. In Berlin, the Prussian Government is granting 45,000*l.* as a first instalment to provide appropriate laboratories for Helmholtz and Dubois Raymond. At Cambridge, the munificence of the Duke of Devonshire, a most distinguished alumnus of the University, and its present Chancellor, is doing the same for Professor Clerk Maxwell and his colleagues, with a private expenditure of not less than 10,000*l.* In London, the individual contribu-

tion of members of the Royal Institution has to supply what is absolutely necessary to maintain the character of the spot, and to give fair play to the genius and unsparing exertions of its professors.

In 1803 Dalton came from Manchester to lecture in Albemarle Street on Mechanics and Physics, and was lodged in the house; and it was in the same year that Young, in his lectures on Optics, announced the discovery of the general law of the interference of light, and terminated his brief but brilliant official connexion with the Institution. Young's 'Course of Lectures at the Royal Institution' was published in 1807 in two quarto volumes—a work of the highest character, the text and illustrations of which may be said to have been more or less adopted by almost all similar publications for many years afterwards. As a system of Natural Philosophy, this work of Young's has never been surpassed, and, notwithstanding the vast subsequent progress of physical science, it still possesses a high value, and should be found in every collection of scientific books which affects to be complete. Young, after quitting the Institution, continued his attempts to obtain practice as a physician in London, but with very moderate results. His temperament, indeed, was not fitted to insure success, and it is fortunate for the world that his time was left open for other pursuits, and that, by an extraordinary combination of distinction in widely different departments of intellectual exertion, he was enabled to add his great hieroglyphical researches to his previous scientific work.

The youth of the Institution was next threatened by a different kind of danger. The audiences in the theatre were addressed by eminent lecturers, including Sydney Smith, but the temptation of fashionable popularity was, in the opinion of some of its best supporters, leading away the managers of the period from true scientific objects. Sir Joseph Banks, writing to Count Rumford in 1804, expresses his disapproval, and says:—'The Institution has irrevocably fallen into the hands of the enemy, and is now perverted to a hundred uses for which you and I never intended it;' and two years afterwards, on being asked to become a vice-president of the London Institution, then in process of formation, he declined, and gave as a reason his doubt of the success of such a scheme, unless under scientific control. He wrote:—'The Royal Institution was at first wholly under the direction of persons entirely addicted to science, and has not improved since the management of it has passed into other hands.' A few years afterwards, Sir Joseph Banks seems to have become less rigid in his views; on the

occasion of Sir Humphry Davy's marriage, he wrote to Sir George Staunton (then in China), with the news:—

'Davy, our Secretary (at the Royal Society), is said to be on the point of marrying a rich and handsome widow, who has fallen in love with science and marries him in order to obtain a footing in the academic groves; her name is Apreece, the daughter of Mr. Carr, who made a fortune in India, and the niece of Dr. Carr, of Northampton. If this takes place, it will give to science a kind of new *éclat*; we want nothing so much as the countenance of the ladies to increase our popularity.'

Rumford's union to a rich widow was the critical event which determined for the better, so far as the world was concerned, the future course of his life. The same can scarcely be pronounced of Davy's marriage. He gained wealth and ease, but so far as cause and effect can, with probable correctness, be associated, science was largely the loser in consequence.

In a pecuniary point of view, the system of attractive and popular lectures succeeded, and if the Institution was thus carried on, at a time when the avowed object of promoting original research would not in itself have brought in the desired funds, the policy thus pursued cannot be very seriously blamed. But for the support obtained in this way, Davy might not have remained at the Institution, or have been enabled to continue the investigations in the laboratory which soon afterwards led to such splendid results. While the funds of the Institution were being replenished by the lectures on the first floor, Davy was at his work in the basement, and employing what he describes as 'a battery of immense size made for the Institution' to examine its agencies upon substances hitherto undecomposed. He thus established the union of electricity and chemistry, and he made the magnificent discovery of the metallic bases of the alkalis—a result only rivalled by that of Faraday in 1831, made and announced in the Institution also, of the relation between magnetism and electricity.

It is interesting to note how Davy, in the great fulfilment of his predicted results, and in the full tide of an astounding success, could still continue his attention to the small details of the daily business of the laboratory. An entry in his own hand of this date in the laboratory-book, contains minute regulations for the ordinary guidance of his assistant:—

- '1. Everything is to be put in its proper place in the evening, and everything to be arranged for the next day's operations.
- '2. The fire to be lighted at eight o'clock, and the apparatus for the experiments to be prepared by nine.'

Compare with this the grand entry made in those rough

folios, now carefully preserved among the choicest treasures of the Institution, which record the completion of the discovery of the compound nature of the alkalis. It occurs under the date of October 19, 1807, and he describes the experiment with the voltaic battery, by which oxygen was liberated from the supposed element; he sets down how gas was developed in great quantities from the positive pole, and none from the negative, and how this gas proved to be pure oxygen; and then dashes down (abbreviating the words in his haste) 'a capital experiment proving the decomposition of POTASH:' and there are no more notes on that day.

Davy had published his researches on nitrous oxide before he came to London, and he had done earlier work at the Royal Institution in connexion with the important but less brilliant department of agricultural chemistry. He already occupied a position, remarkable for so young a man, but these discoveries placed him at the head of the chemists of Europe. Giving forth and explaining them himself, from the lecture-table with all the powers of eloquence and imagination which belonged to him, he was at once elevated to a height of scientific and social distinction, never before or since equalled in this country. The advance made into unexplored regions of Nature was as extensive as it was sudden. It was the first great use made of the most powerful engine ever employed to force Nature to yield up her inmost secrets, and it was rewarded by a magnificent and surprising triumph. The identity of electrical and chemical forces stood revealed; and the alkaline metals were dragged from their hiding-place of ages to be seen and examined at will.

The effect of Davy's presence in Albemarle Street was most advantageous to the funds of the Institution. His lectures were thronged, and it was even in contemplation to erect a larger lecture theatre to contain the increasing crowd of auditors. The sensation created was immense, and the admiration enthusiastic. Rank and fashion, literature and science, practice and theory, age and youth, rushed to hear the eloquent professor. He was fêted, invited, and complimented in all quarters; and was well enough disposed to follow up the social successes which were showered upon him. The exertion and excitement brought on severe illness, and the consequent interruption of Davy's lectures had a correspondingly prejudicial influence on the finances of the Royal Institution; indeed, from this time until many years afterwards, when Faraday became the main prop and stay of the Institution, its pecuniary affairs remained in an unsatisfactory state.

Literature was not neglected in the earlier years of the Institution, and, as in the present day, was from time to time represented in the lecture-room. In 1808, Samuel Taylor Coleridge lectured on English poets, under the heads of Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, and modern poetry; but was prevented by illness from completing the delivery of his intended course.

At this period there appears to have been two lecture seasons in the year; one extending from December 10 to March 1; and a second from March 10 to July 7, and lectures belonging to the long and regular courses were delivered in the evenings as well as in the afternoons. The now familiar Friday evenings began in 1826, and were intended to be scientific conversaziones, resembling those which used to be held at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, in Soho Square, but with the special addition of a lecture. The refreshment of tea was at first provided, but this was discontinued in 1835. In the beginning, also, members had an unlimited power of admitting their friends by tickets, a privilege restricted in 1836 to the invitation of two persons only. For many years ladies were only admitted to the gallery of the lecture theatre on Friday evenings; and it was not until 1848 that, in a better spirit of courtesy and gallantry, they were welcomed in the seats below, to light up by their bright presence the ranks of thoughtful faces and dark coats. The course of juvenile lectures at Christmas—now an annual custom—was first given in 1820. The Fullerman endowment for professorships and lectures on Chemistry and Physiology was made in 1833.

In 1810 Dalton lectured again, giving a long course, extending over six weeks, and embracing all the sciences usually grouped under the title of Natural Philosophy; and Davy gave an evening course of twelve lectures to commence in December, to be followed by a morning course, commencing after Easter, on General Chemistry and its applications to Nature and Art. As a significant indication of the real progress made in educational matters, no less than in true delicacy of feeling, during the last half century, it may be mentioned, that in this year the managers declined to admit lectures on Physiology and Comparative Anatomy, 'because they could not convince themselves that scientific lectures can be given on these subjects without offence to a part of their audience.' Those who have had, in recent days, the privilege of hearing such subjects consummately handled by Professor Huxley and other distinguished physiologists before mixed audiences, in Albemarle Street, may well be surprised at the unreasonable prejudices of

a former generation, and at the same time rejoice in the healthier tone of our own.

In 1810 the Royal Institution was made the subject of a private Act of Parliament. The proprietors surrendered their pecuniary interests, and many changes were introduced, the most important perhaps being the admission of members by election, instead of, as previously, by the mere money payment on the purchase of a share. The Institution was thus placed upon the most fitting basis, but two years later sustained the heavy loss occasioned by the retirement of Davy. Sir Humphry was married on April 11, 1812, and on the previous day gave his last lecture. He continued, however, to hold the Professorship of Chemistry till the following year, when he was succeeded in it by Mr. Brande.

It is unnecessary to attempt any recapitulation or analysis of all Davy's discoveries; or to enter into the story of his introduction of Faraday to the scene of his own labours, in which he became for a brief space, his assistant and pupil, and then for so many years his noble successor. Davy's work is too well known to require detailed mention; and the life of Faraday, which was, from the time he first went to Albemarle Street, identified with that of the Royal Institution, has recently formed the subject of an article in these pages. For fifty years he was the soul and support of the place; and by his love of science for its own sake, and by his total renunciation of all selfish interests, he was enabled to carry it through a period of considerable pecuniary difficulty. During eighteen years of this time, the assiduous attention of the immediate predecessor of Dr. Bence Jones, in the place of honorary secretary, was of the utmost service. Mr. Barlow's constant kindness and never-failing courtesy will long be remembered, together with the pleasant gatherings at his house in Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, to which so many of the audience had the advantage of adjourning from the Friday evening lectures, to talk them over, and enjoy a very agreeable phase of social life.

The founders of the Royal Institution, if they could now witness the results of their work, extending as they do, over a period of seventy years, might well be proud of what they have been the instruments of achieving. Its successive Professors, Davy, Faraday, and Tyndall, have been recipients of the Rumford Medal of the Royal Society for their respective researches in Light and Heat. In its laboratories the discoveries have been made of the alkaline metals, of the elementary character of chlorine, of the base of the aniline dyes, of the nature of obscure radiant heat, and of the principles

which have led to the manifold modern applications of electricity as a dynamical and illuminating power. These results have been the reward of investigations undertaken, in the first place, in the purest spirit of scientific inquiry. To know the truth in nature has been the primary object; utilitarian and economical adaptation has followed. Nevertheless, the philosophy practised has been, in Baconian phrase, emphatically a philosophy of fruit; and in no place dedicated to science has so much been effected for 'the relief of man's estate.'

The Royal Institution, in all respects, has never been in a more satisfactory condition than at the present time. With such professors as it now has the satisfaction of seeing on its permanent establishment; with such lecturers as those who honour it by appearing in the morning courses; or those who generously contribute to the instruction and intellectual amusement of the Friday evenings; with the veteran, but ever young, Sir Henry Holland, as its President, there is ample ground for trust that the constant high reputation of the Royal Institution will, in these days, suffer no decay.

It is one of the traditions of this Journal that we abstain from critical notices of the works and lives of the eminent persons who have honoured us by contributing to these pages, more especially during their own lifetime. We regret that the respect we feel it right to pay to this rule of propriety and good taste, has debarred us from according to the 'Recollections of the Past Life' of Sir Henry Holland that place which other critics of all ranks and classes in literature and society have not been slow to assign to it: but we hail the more cordially the just success which has attended the publication of his last work. Sir Henry Holland is, as is well known, not only one of the oldest and ablest contributors to the 'Edinburgh Review,' but he is one of the few persons now living who is a contemporary of the whole period of our long career, and during that period he has been associated by the ties of intimate friendship with those who have directed or participated in our labours. On many occasions his advice, his experience, and his fine judgment on questions both of literature and science have been of the greatest value to us, and have extended far beyond the subjects he has himself occasionally consented to treat in this place.

The 'Record of Past Life,' which he has just given to the public, after having reserved it for some little time to the circle of his family and his friends, affords ample proof of the services which he was qualified to render to us. Gifted with

indefatigable energy and inflamed with a noble curiosity to leave unseen no part of the theatre of history and of the world, he has been the most active and constant spectator of the great drama of society in our age. With the *lenis sermo* and the *hilaris vultus*, which he affectionately borrows from Celsus, as the best simple of his art, Sir Henry Holland has been everywhere. Men and places, literature and science, the frontier lands of the desert and the focus of London society, are alike reflected in the animated microcosm of his life, and we can only regret that the impressions produced by so prodigious a series of incidents and persons should of necessity be beaten out to a film of extreme tenuity. Perhaps, after all, the pages of the book which will be best remembered are those concluding passages in which he has condensed into a mild and genial philosophy the experience of a man of the world, who has skimmed with a light foot and ready hand over so many of the rough and smooth places of the world.

But if there be one place of social resort and intellectual culture more than another in which Sir Henry Holland is entitled to be held in honour, it is the Institution which forms the subject of these pages. He says of it himself:—

‘My connexion with the Royal Institution has been very valuable to me. A long and intimate friendship with Faraday, succeeding to that with Young and Davy, kept me in the train of those great discoveries which have illustrated their names, and given a well-merited fame to the place in which they were made. Like the observatory of the astronomer, the laboratory of the experimental philosopher is, or ought to be, a spot set apart from the turmoil of the world without. I have often felt a certain emotion in coming suddenly from the crowded and noisy pavement of Piccadilly to those silent laboratories of Albemarle Street (almost buried below ground), where science working through fruitful experiment has disclosed so many secrets of the natural world. It is in some respects even a more striking contrast than any of those I have denoted in my life of travel.’

This connexion with the great discoverers of the age is not confined to Sir Henry’s English experience. He describes a night spent with Encke and Galle in the observatory of Berlin some ten or twelve days after the discovery of the planet Neptune on this very spot. The name to be given to the new planet was discussed. The choice had been remitted to Leverier. Within an hour his answer arrived proposing the name of Neptune, upon which Encke exclaimed, ‘So lass den ‘Namen Neptun sein.’ And thus Sir Henry stood sponsor for that remote and solitary planet!

But we must return with him to the Royal Institution:—



‘My acquaintance with Davy early in life gave me also an early connexion with the Royal Institution, and with that laboratory which gained its first fame from his discoveries—a fame largely augmented by the genius and labours of Faraday, and well sustained by the eminent men who, as Professors of the Institution, now work on the same spot. More than sixty years have elapsed since I saw in the theatre there the minute globules of the alkaline metals, then first evolved in their elementary form; and witnessed the beautiful experiments by which Davy illustrated those relations between chemical actions and electricity, the foundation of so many ulterior discoveries. At a later time, in the same place, Faraday showed to me and other friends the small luminous spark which he had just succeeded in eliciting from the magnet—the feeble precursor of those marvellous torrents of electricity which are now procured from the same source by methods as wonderful as the phenomena they produce. But a short time ago I saw once again on the shelves of the Institution the simple apparatus, devised by himself, through which he obtained this first result, the germ of so many others. Looking at what these results have been, there is grandeur in the very simplicity of their origin.

‘The interest I have long felt in the labours and fame of the Royal Institution has become of late years more direct and personal, from the honour of its Presidency having been conferred upon me on the death of the Duke of Northumberland. Thinking it a point of chief importance to maintain the high character of the Institution as a school of scientific research, I have sought, in conjunction with others (and very especially with the aid of my friend Dr. Bence Jones), to establish a Research Fund, applicable mainly to the objects of the Laboratory. This aim has been well fulfilled; and I hold a confident belief that our Laboratory, and the eminent men who now work in it, will continue, as heretofore, to furnish discoveries for the lecture theatre above, and for more lasting record in the “Transactions of the Royal Society,” which have already drawn so largely from this source. Every great discovery is the parent of many others; and the objects and aims of science are both enlarged and better defined by each successive attainment.’

Next in rank to those great and single-minded discoverers who are absorbed in the contemplation of the laws of nature, may be placed those who render their discoveries popular and intelligible to society, for they must be the first pupils of ‘those ‘that know.’ It is not one of the least merits of Sir Henry Holland that he has always advanced with the broad stream of scientific inquiry, in an age when scientific inquiry has changed the whole face of things; and that by his writings, and by the direction he has given to the labours of the Royal Institution, he has largely contributed to the diffusion of knowledge. This brief notice of that remarkable Society cannot therefore be more appropriately closed than by this imperfect tribute to the services he still renders to it.

ART. III.—*Le Duc de Broglie.* Par M. GUIZOT. Paris: 1872.

THE biography of a veteran statesman, born in 1785 and dying in 1870, written by another veteran statesman of about the same ripe age, but who retains in his ninth decade all the literary vigour of his earlier life, would in itself be a curiosity in literature. With what interest should we not cherish a similar record of two lives, united by a similar friendship, if such a work had been written two centuries ago, by a man born under Queen Elizabeth and writing under Charles II., who might have had a faint recollection of the Armada, and have seen the plays of Shakspeare acted by himself; who might have heard Francis Bacon plead in Westminster Hall, or hunted with King James at Theobalds; who would have mixed with the courtiers of Charles I., heard the speakers of the Long Parliament, witnessed the trial and the tragedy of Whitehall, seen Cromwell face to face, and perhaps lingered with Milton in the garden at Chalfont; and who, in his later years, cheered and toasted the King's Restoration, unconscious that the last scene of the English Revolution was yet to come. Many a man lived through, and saw, all these things, and if the taste and talent for memoir-writing had been as common in England as it was in France, even in the seventeenth century, such a narrative of a single life might exist. Unfortunately we have nothing of the kind, and the English memoirs of that most eventful age are brief and fragmentary. In this respect the literature of France is far richer than our own. Almost everyone who has played a prominent part in the events of the last eighty years in that country has written memoirs or biographical notes; and, when the life of the writer has been so extended as to include the whole of that period, these reminiscences embrace the history of a most extraordinary series of events. The small volume now before us is a modest contribution to these biographical annals, in which personal recollections and interests are so happily blended with public events. The late Duke de Broglie, with the characteristic modesty of his disposition, never sate down to write his memoirs. But he has left behind him a large collection of memoranda on the events of his own life, and on the transactions in which he was engaged, which are of infinite value to his family, and may hereafter be of no small interest to posterity. To these papers M. Guizot has had free access. He has culled from them, with a sparing but judicious hand, the most striking and curious

incidents of the Duke de Broglie's early life. For the last half century of their joint existence no such aid was needed. From the year 1818, when they first became acquainted, their friendship soon ripened into the closest intimacy, confidence, and affection. The *idem velle et nolle de republicâ* was, perhaps, the basis of this close and enduring connexion; but it was strengthened by the congeniality of their sedate characters, by their firm attachment to the cause of constitutional monarchy in France, by their common hatred of shams and all the phantasmagoria of democratic revolutions, and by an entire trust in their mutual integrity. So they lived in the strictest union for more than fifty years; and if, in the course of nature, the elder of these two octogenarian friends was first called to his home, the younger survived, and survives, to perpetuate in these pages the memory of their friendship with undiminished force of style, clearness of memory, and discrimination of character.

The family of De Broglie, though originally of Piedmontese extraction, served for upwards of two centuries with the utmost distinction in the armies of France. The first French commander of that name was one of the generals of Louis XIV., made a marshal in 1724, by the Regent, because his gallant son refused to accept that high honour (which he had earned by his own services) over the head of his father, who, he said, deserved it as well.\* The grandson of the first Marshal de Broglie was the second Marshal, renowned for his gallant services in the Seven Years' War. Exiled from the court by the hostile influence of the Condés, he spent many years of his life on his own estates, partly in a splendid hospitality, partly in the education of his children. At the outset of the Revolution he was recalled by the King to the command of the army. He obeyed, foreseeing at the same time all the perils of the monarchy. But the advice he tendered to the unfortunate Louis XVI. was not followed, and after the capture of the Bastille he quitted France to return no more. He died in exile at Münster in 1804.

The eldest son of the Marshal, and the father of the late Duke, belonged to another generation and another age. He had followed Lafayette and Rochambeau to the United States.

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\* M. Guizot, speaking apparently from memory, says that the Broglie family gave three successive generations of marshals to France. We believe this is not quite correct. In the second generation the honour was offered, but declined for the reason given in the text; and we think the offer was not repeated.

before the conclusion of the American War. He came back to Europe imbued with the liberal opinions of the time. He sate in the Constituent Assembly, and ardently adopted the cause of the Revolution. Separated from his father, the Marshal, by a deep chasm of political opinions, the younger De Broglie joined the army of Lückner and Biron on the Rhine as Chief of the Staff. But, like many of the soldiers of France of 1792, he was denounced and arrested, dragged to Paris, and executed on the 27th of June, 1794, just one month before the end of the Reign of Terror. His father regarded the tragical end of his son as the natural chastisement of an apostasy from the loyalty of their house, and never again pronounced his name. The son, on his way to the scaffold, left as a parting injunction to *his* son, then a child of nine years old, that he should remain faithful to the cause of the Revolution, even though ungrateful and unjust. That boy was the illustrious person, the subject of the present memoir, whom we, in our own generation, have all so much respected and so well known. And if by 'fidelity to the cause of the Revolution,' his dying father meant, as he doubtless did, fidelity to the cause of freedom, no injunction was ever more conscientiously obeyed.

At the time of the death of the Prince de Broglie, his widow, born a Mademoiselle de Roscn, obtained leave to mend the old linen in the prison at Vesoul, where she was then confined. She contrived to take in wax the mould of a lock, which enabled her to escape with a key fashioned by an old servant of the family, and thus arrived in Switzerland. Her children remained at St. Rémi, their mother's château, where they witnessed the sale of their own furniture by public auction; they themselves were reduced to live on charity. The future Duke de Broglie makes his first appearance in life, with wooden shoes on his feet, a red cap of liberty on his head, begging at the door of the younger Robespierre, who received him well and gave him an assignat for 10,000 francs, not worth probably so many centimes. Madame de Broglie, his mother, contracted in the following year a second marriage with M. d'Argenson, a grandson of the Minister of Louis XV.,—a most estimable man, who discharged to his step-children all the duties of a second father. Oddly enough, his own political opinions verged on what is now termed socialism, and he believed in the total overthrow and regeneration of society.

Victor de Broglie was fourteen years old when Bonaparte struck the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire; and, though he was not in after life much disposed to judge with indul-

gence the Bonapartes or their *coups d'état*, he says himself in speaking of this event:—

‘Those who have not lived at this period can form no conception of the profound depression which reigned in France from the 18th Fructidor to the 18th Brumaire (4th September, 1797, till 9th November, 1799). Drifting swiftly back to another reign of terror, the country felt itself without consolation and without hope. The glory of her arms was dimmed, her conquests lost, her territory threatened. The Reign of Terror itself was looked back to as a terrific but transient crisis. The reaction had failed. All the efforts of good citizens to use their rights in obedience to the law had been crushed by violence. The future seemed to promise nothing but the return of a sanguinary anarchy, of indefinite duration, of uncertain end, of an incurable nature. The cure, however, was the 18th Brumaire. But the 18th Brumaire would not have sufficed. *Coups d'état* had not been wanting in the preceding ten years; but nothing makes such actions pardonable save the genius, the wisdom, and the vigour to turn them to good account. The 18th Brumaire was a deliverance, and the four years that succeeded it were a series of triumphs, over our enemies abroad, over the principles of disorder and anarchy at home. These four years are, with the ten years of the reign of Henry IV., the best and noblest part of the history of France.’

We read, not quite without surprise, so strong an approval of the 18th Brumaire from the pen of the Duc de Broglie. This passage must have been written at some time of his life before the 2nd December, 1851; for, without disputing the services of the First Consul to France, the revolution which raised him to supreme power was indisputably the first step to imperial despotism. But it deserves to be remarked that from his boyhood, and in spite of the melancholy end of his father, young De Broglie had not the slightest tinge of those prejudices or sympathies with the old Court of France, which manifested themselves in the emigration and the Restoration, and even survive in most of the noble houses of France to this day. He had frankly adopted whatever was best in the principles of the Revolution. He had forgotten his own rank; he detested the *ancien régime*; he disapproved of the creation of the Legion of Honour. He was certainly at that time of his life a Whig and something more; and there was no reason that he should not enter, as soon as he was old enough, into the public service of his country under the existing government. His uncle, Maurice de Broglie, who was then Bishop of Acqui and afterwards of Ghent, made an application in his favour, for at this very time when the old Marshal was dying in exile at Münster, rather than return to live under Bonaparte in France, his brother was an imperial almoner, and his grandson a candidate for employ-

ment. It was not, however, till 1809 that young De Broglie was appointed an *auditeur* to the Conseil d'État, and attached to the section of War.

It is well known that the Conseil d'État played a great part in Napoleon's Government; and the young *auditeurs* attached to it were sent to all parts of the Empire on missions connected with the administration. Thus M. de Broglie was despatched, between 1809 to 1814, to Germany, to Spain, to the Illyrian Provinces, and to Poland, being successively attached to the service of M. de Narbonne, Marmont, Bessières, and the Abbé de Pradt, where he had ample opportunities to judge of the effects of the Imperial Government in Europe, and to foresee its approaching end. He received no promotion in the service, and we confess that we are surprised he remained in it so long.

'At the time of my entry into the Conseil d'État in 1809, we took (he says) but slight interest in the conduct of the matters—small matters enough—which fell to our management, but considerably more in the sittings of the Conseil d'État. This assembly, if I remember rightly, was held three times a week in that gallery of the Tuileries which separates the great staircase from the wing since known as the Pavillon de Marsan. At the end of this gallery, opposite the staircase, two steps led up to a platform on which were three writing-tables, one for the Emperor in the centre, on the right one for the Arch-Chancellor, and on the left for the Arch-treasurer. Small tables for the members of the Conseil d'État, beginning with the chiefs of departments, were placed by the windows, which on one side looked out on the Carrousel, and on the other on to the Chapel; facing the Emperor at the end were more small tables for the *maîtres des requêtes*. Finally, in the recesses of the windows behind the members of the Conseil d'État, were the places appointed for us, humble *auditeurs*.

'The Emperor usually presided at two out of the three weekly sittings. He would arrive an hour after the business had begun, about half-past one o'clock; he then interrupted the debate; the order of the day was laid upon his desk, and he selected the question for discussion according to his own inclination. He listened with patience and attention, but frequently interrupting, particularly Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, Defermon, and Treilhard when speaking, and especially the Arch-Chancellor. After the debate had lasted some time, he himself broke silence, and spoke at great length in a rambling style, with a want of connexion in his train of thought, constantly repeating the same expressions, and, I must humbly confess that in his confused and often trivial orations, I failed to discover those brilliant qualities which appear in the Memoirs dictated by him to General Bertrand and General Montholon. These Memoirs remain a mystery to me. If there exist a writer gifted with such talents, such perspicacity, such power of language, such a tone of authority, such accuracy of style as is found in them, let him stand forth and declare himself. If, as there is

no reason to doubt, Napoleon is the real author of the Memoirs which bear his name, if he was such a master of our language as these Memoirs, in my opinion, prove him to have been, the gift of writing far exceeded that of speaking in his case, as in so many others. At all events, I am convinced that at the time of which I speak, when he had reached the highest summit of his power and was the object of general adoration, I may almost say of idolatry, he was far from giving to business that uncompromising and active care which had distinguished the earlier period of his reign. The reports of the preliminary discussions on the Code civil do him more honour than the sittings at which I was present, where the abject and servile admiration excited by his most trivial expressions probably has made me unjust towards him.'

The Duke de Broglie soon had greater cause for astonishment than the imperfections of the imperial speeches:—

'This first term of my attendance at the Conseil d'État was marked (he says) by a memorable sitting. The rapid growth which had for some time past been taking place in the institution of the *petits séminaires* disturbed the Emperor's peace of mind. He caused the Conseil de l'Université to be summoned to one of the sittings of the Conseil d'État. Everything foreboded a storm. The Emperor came in, as usual, at half-past one. On perceiving that the members of the Conseil de l'Université were seated in the same rank as those of the Conseil d'État, he showed considerable displeasure, and behaved with unjustifiable rudeness to M. de Ségur, a member of the Conseil d'État and Grand Master of the ceremonies. He insisted on sending the members of the Conseil de l'Université to the places occupied by the *maîtres des requêtes* at the further end of the gallery, facing himself, who in their turn were obliged to cast in their lot with the *auditeurs*. Business then began. The Emperor asked some questions of M. de Fontanes in a tone of unmistakeable dissatisfaction. Nevertheless he appeared to listen attentively to the answers; but soon afterwards he broke out. He spoke for nearly three hours without interruption on the pretensions and encroachments of the clergy; he applied to them language so offensive that it filled the Conseil with more consternation than pleasure in spite of the very small amount of religious feeling which characterised that body. He wearied us by continually repeating: "Charlemagne is our ruler and not Louis le Débonnaire." Then, to conclude this lamentable exhibition, he turned to the *auditeurs* and said in so many words: "You will see, young men, you will see what will befall you when you have an Emperor who goes to the confessional."

'If he expected to produce effect upon us he did not succeed, at least, I speak for myself; the coarseness of the speech appeared more genuine than the anger he displayed. I believe that the general impression was the same on all present, although many endeavoured to persuade themselves to the contrary. I even think that it was the undercurrent of scandal called forth by this explosion of abuse which led to a measure to which the most recently admitted *auditeurs* fell victims. Those who had been last appointed were separated from those

already there; and we were no longer allowed to be present at the sittings when the Emperor presided; apparently we were not supposed to be sufficiently hardened in our Imperialism. It was decided that, in future, admission to these sittings should be considered as a reward, and, whenever the Emperor arrived, the last appointed *auditeurs* were obliged to retire.'

A mission to Spain, in 1811, threw M. de Broglie into the midst of those atrocious acts of violence and oppression which signalised the French occupation of that country. He began to reflect on the part he was playing as the instrument of so abominable a policy, and on his urgent solicitation he was recalled to Paris, where he was received without much favour. Maret, the Foreign Minister, offered him a consul-generalship to Danzig; Savary, the Minister of Police, threatened to convert some of the young *auditeurs* into police agents in the Hanseatic cities. To escape from these perplexities, he threw himself on Maret's good nature, who made him an *attaché* to the embassy at Warsaw. This circumstance placed him in the very midst of the great military and political events of 1812 and 1813 at the most critical moment, for he oscillated between Warsaw, Vienna, and Dresden.

'I learned,' he relates, 'on my arrival at Warsaw, the conflagration of Moscow. At this distance of time it is impossible that history should convey an adequate idea of the impression produced on men's minds by this incredible event. From that moment the future appeared laden with a dark cloud, which increased from day to day.'

M. de Broglie found the Abbé de Pradt installed as ambassador at Warsaw;

'a good sort of man at heart, and regular in his habits, in spite of an occasional bad word or so which would escape him in the course of familiar conversation, but possessed of neither the decorum of a prelate nor the dignity of an ambassador. As a young priest of Auvergne he was returned to the Constituent Assembly by a democracy of priests, where, partly through vanity and partly through *esprit de corps*, he became an adherent of the Conservative party; he subsisted during the emigration on pamphlets and occasional writing; and, although he had irretrievably cast in his lot, like the Abbé Maury, with the Imperial fortunes, I believe that he never properly comprehended the motive of his master in sending him to Warsaw, nor the true meaning of the written and verbal instructions which were to furnish him with a rule of conduct. I do not know if even the Duc de Bassano himself, who was to serve him as an adviser, rightly understood the object of the Polish affair—namely, that the intention of their master was simply to fan the enthusiasm of the Poles to a flame, to wave the banner of independence before their eyes, to incite them to sacrifice their last man and their last sixpence, without binding himself by any engagement with them, re-



serving the power of eventually concluding a peace which would be fatal to their interests.'

Awaiting the events which might be anticipated from such a state of affairs, the Duke de Broglie spent two months and a half in Poland, exploring the country, visiting the salt-mines at Wieliczka, accepting the courteous and affectionate hospitality of the old Prince Czartoryski in his country-house at Pulawy, and plunging into the difficult study of the Polish language and literature at Warsaw. He thus attempted to escape from the anxiety of suspense, and from the weariness of unemployed time, when,

'one morning in the beginning of December 1812,' he says, 'the ambassador sent for me. It was very early; I found him pale, shaken, agitated. He handed me in silence the 29th bulletin of the Grande Armée, the fatal bulletin of the Bérésina, dated the third of December; he had received it in the night. Prepared as I was for the worst, I was horror-struck on perusing it, in spite of the reticence of its terms, which would have struck the commonest observer. The ambassador ordered me to carry this lamentable communication at once to M. Otto, our representative at Vienna. The mission could not be called an agreeable one, but it was not a time to consult one's personal convenience. I immediately prepared for my departure, and started in the course of the morning. I travelled rapidly through the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and with less haste through the Austrian provinces. A confused report of our disasters had spread everywhere; a manifestation of hostile feeling towards France had broken out on all sides; I experienced some difficulty in obtaining post-horses on the road. On arriving at Vienna I went straight to the Embassy, where I found M. Otto, a man of integrity, of a sober and temperate disposition, a faithful servant, thrown into indescribable despair; he was pacing about his study in all directions, a prey to anxiety, and overwhelmed by contradictory reports. It will convey some idea of his state of mind when I say that on reading the 29th bulletin which had petrified us with alarm at Warsaw, he could not contain himself for joy. He threw himself on my neck, although it was the first time that we had met, and wrote at once to Prince Metternich to inform him of my arrival. Bearer of evil tidings as I was, I felt divided on the way between the unpleasantness of my task and the interest of the interview. I had become slightly acquainted with Prince Metternich at Paris, as far as the difference of our ages and of our positions allowed; I was impatient to see what effect our sad intelligence would make upon him, and whether his joy at our misfortunes would outweigh his vexation at learning that the Emperor himself had escaped. I do him the justice to say that he did not wince; never have I witnessed such complete self-command; he read the bulletin attentively; he expressed compassion for the sufferings of our army, took the assurances and protestations of M. Otto with a good grace, enlarged from his point of view on the resources which were still at the command of the Emperor, and

finished by inviting us both to a large dinner which he was to give that very day. It was not altogether agreeable; I disliked the idea of being exhibited like a curious animal to the gaze of an ill-disposed assembly; nevertheless I put a good face on the matter. The dinner was long, formal, and silent; each guest fixed his eyes on me and conversed in a low tone with his neighbour. The evening was equally silent, but short. I was asked no questions; the company broke up early. I remained two or three days at Vienna; having fulfilled my mission, and there being no longer anything to keep me, I was most anxious to return to the seat of events. On arriving at Warsaw, I found that the ambassador had been recalled, and was preparing to return to France. He had on a travelling dress, and was having his hair suitably arranged. He told me that the Emperor had passed through; spoke of his interview with him, of his promises to the Polish ministers, of the language he had held towards them. We remained at Warsaw about three weeks after the departure of the ambassador, and the embassy became simply a legation, under M. Bignon.' (P. 47.)

M. de Broglie had not completed his thirtieth year in 1815, at the date of the second Restoration; and by the terms of the charter he was not yet eligible to a seat in the Legislative Chambers. But here his rank, which he seems to have forgotten till that moment, stood him in good stead; and, as the head of a great ducal family, he received a writ summoning him to take his seat among the Peers of France. If he had felt regret at the circumstance which deprived him of the opportunity to re-enter public life in the more animated scenes of the Chamber of Deputies, he soon perceived that the Hereditary Chamber was his natural element; and, if it had been possible that the experiment of a constitutional monarchy and Parliamentary government, copied from the institutions of Great Britain and controlled by a ponderation of the aristocratic and the democratic elements, should have had vitality and permanence in France, the success of that well-meant design would have been attributable to such men as the Duke de Broglie, who combined a high personal station and the traditions of an illustrious family with an ardent attachment to the liberal opinions of the age. The Duke de Broglie was, in truth, the exact image of a great English Whig nobleman, transplanted into the uncongenial soil of the French Revolution. In the simplicity of his tastes and the elevation of his principles, in the culture of his mind and the kindness of his heart, in the nobility of his character and the liberality of his sentiments, he often reminded those who enjoyed the friendship of both these eminent men, of the third Marquis of Lansdowne. His manners were less genial, his taste for society and his curiosity less ardent, and perhaps his ambition less keen; but

in many respects these statesmen were cast in the same mould, and their mutual friendship and esteem was the reflection of their common virtues.

It has been remarked by M. Guizot in this very book, that of all the Ministers of Louis Philippe, M. de Broglie was the man who combined in the highest degree the distinctive qualities of high birth. Men born to a great fortune and a great social position have this incontestable advantage, that they are not obliged to contend (sometimes by vulgar arts) for the prizes of life. They bring at least as much to government as government can confer on them. They are placed above many temptations; and if they fall from office they fall back on a condition of life which other men may still regard with envy. In democratic societies, on the contrary, there is always the danger that the men who pursue politics as a profession stake all they possess or desire to possess upon political success. Fortune, name, and public consideration all depend for them on the possession of power. With it they are everything; without it they are nothing; and in losing it they lose even their faith in themselves. No doubt this incentive is a strong spur to political activity. Had M. de Broglie not been a Duke and a Peer of France, he might have been more eager in the race, and less ready to subside into the part of a spectator and critic, instead of playing that of an energetic Minister. But, being what he was, the firmness and solidity of his personal position gave weight and independence to his principles, and rendered him an invaluable and disinterested servant and ally to the governments he served and the friends with whom he acted.

But it is time to return to his entry into the Chamber of Peers, which he describes in the following terms:—

‘I thus found myself transported suddenly, and by the mere current of events, into the first rank in society and in the State. I had not deserved it by my services; I had not rendered myself unworthy of it by my sentiments, my language, or my conduct. I had only to use this good fortune aright. My opinions were sound; without despising or looking down upon the former *régime*, any effort for its restoration appeared to me puerile; my convictions and my inclinations led me to belong to the new order of society; I sincerely believed in its indefinite progress, while I detested the actual state of revolution, the disorder which it entailed, and the crime with which it was sullied. I held that the French Revolution, as a whole, was an inevitable and salutary crisis; from a political point of view, I looked upon the Government of the United States as that of the future for civilised nations, while the English Constitution was the best Government of the present; I hated despotism and considered an administrative monarchy solely as a

stepping-stone. In all this there was no doubt a great deal of inexperience, and some imagination, but nothing that was radically false, nothing that time and reflection would not cure, above all, nothing that was incompatible with a loyal and worthy line of conduct. The leisure that my disgust at the Imperial *régime* had afforded me I had employed in writing on various political questions. Nevertheless, I took no part in the debates which distinguished the first session of the French Parliament. I might lay it to the score of modesty, and say that as I was only in my thirtieth year, and as yet without the right of voting in the House of Peers, it would have been presumption on my part to speak there solely that my voice should be heard, but I prefer to avow candidly that shyness was partly the cause of my silence, and that vanity had a good deal to do with my shyness. Besides, I had something else to think of, which formed my best excuse. At that moment the great event of my life was drawing near, the event which was to decide my fate in this world, and, as I hope, in the next.' (P. 72.)

These concluding lines allude to his approaching marriage with the daughter of Madame de Staël, which was solemnised in the following year. No two human beings were ever united by nobler or more enduring ties, for it was the chief happiness of M. de Broglie that to the dignity of an unspotted public career he united the purest enjoyments of the heart and the intellect in the sanctuary of home.

He had not long occupied his seat in the House of Peers, and he had only acquired the right to a vote in that Assembly some ten days (on completing his thirtieth year), when he was called upon to take a part in the trial of Marshal Ney. That was the first act of his parliamentary life, and it was a striking one. He sat during the trial by the side of the few friends who, like himself, were bent on finding grounds to spare themselves and their country the pain and remorse of causing the blood of the bravest soldier of France to be spilt for a political tergiversation. One by one, even these friends abandoned him. It was impossible to deny the act of treason charged against Ney, for the Marshal himself admitted it. All that remained was to extenuate the moral and political guilt of the offence, by the temptation to which he was exposed, and by the memory of his past services; and to repudiate the stern and sanguinary doctrine of political vengeance. At length the day of the verdict arrived. The Chancellor of France from the president's chair put the question, 'Did Marshal Ney read the proclamation to the troops at Lons-le-Saulnier?' To that there could be but one answer. Then again, 'This doing, is the Marshal guilty of high treason?' To this last question the young Duke de Broglie answered, and answered alone, 'Not guilty;' and he rose to justify his

daring vote in an Assembly which had already pledged itself to an almost unanimous condemnation.

‘There can be no crime, I said (such at least was the purport of my words), there can be no crime without a criminal intention—no treason without premeditation. Treason is not an impulse. I fail to discover in the acts with which Marshal Ney is very justly charged either premeditated or intended treason. He departed firmly resolved to remain faithful, he held out to the last hour. At the last hour he yielded to the panic which he conceived to be general, as in truth it was. It is a defalcation which history will judge severely, but which does not fall in the present case within the compass of the law. Events may come to pass of such a nature and of such magnitude as to be beyond the reach of human justice, although branded as iniquitous before God and man.’

On these grounds the young peer raised his solitary voice to protest against the criminality imputed to the Marshal. On the question subsequently put, which led to the infliction of capital punishment, several votes were given for banishment or some form of punishment short of death. But on the main charge the Duke de Broglie had alone the courage to declare for an acquittal. The man, the place, and the hour all considered; the violence of political passions outside, the fear of fresh convulsions within—this was certainly one of the most heroic actions recorded in parliamentary history. It was a vote worthy of the son-in-law of Madame de Staël; and whatever may be thought of the weakness and guilt of Ney, many a courtier, a soldier, and a peer lived to regret that he did not vote as Victor de Broglie voted on that memorable day.

The history of the constitutional monarchy of France under the Government of the Restoration may be divided into three distinct periods, which are thus described by the Duke de Broglie himself. From 1818 to 1822 all the efforts of sensible and upright men were directed to reconcile the Restoration and the Revolution—the old *régime* and the new state of French society. From 1822 to 1827 all their efforts were directed to resist the growing ascendancy of the counter-revolution. From 1827 to 1830 these efforts were applied to moderate and control the reaction which threatened them in the opposite direction. The result has shown how vain were these exertions.

The part taken by the Duke de Broglie in each of these periods was that of a liberal and patriotic politician, who aimed at no personal object, and who stood apart from the direct service of the Crown. He was disposed to do justice to the intentions of Louis XVIII.; he reproached himself in

after life for having opposed the Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu and contributed to overthrow it; he gave an active and disinterested support to the Cabinet of M. de Serre, though he declined to take office under it. The letter in which he excused himself from accepting this proposal was shown to the King, who returned (to M. de Serre) the following gracious answer:—

‘I return to you, my dear Count, the Duke de Broglie’s letter, which I have read with uncommon satisfaction. I cannot be of his mind on one point; for no man could show himself a more thorough statesman than he does in this composition, and that is, after all, the most essential talent of a Minister. But the other motives he gives for his refusal are so peremptory, that I am obliged, in spite of myself, to yield to them at present. One thing consoles me; it is the thought that, even in this session, he will take such a position in the *salon de la Rue de Vaugirard* (the Chamber of Peers), as to place him above these considerations; and, in spite of my seven and sixty years, I hope to live long enough to employ in the service of the State talents which even he will not contest.’

The Restoration was not destined to be served by such Ministers, and the same current which drew even moderate statesmen like M. de Serre into the stream of reaction, threw men like M. de Broglie more and more on the shores of opposition. It was another example of the old conflict between Tory and Whig principles. The jealous and restrictive principles invoked and practised by the Ministers of the Crown on the side of authority were, in reality, preparing a fresh outbreak of those popular forces to which they were most opposed. A bolder and more liberal policy might, by just and timely concessions, have averted the danger.

The experiment was indeed made, but made too late and with too little sincerity, by Charles X. when, on the 5th January, 1828, he called to his councils M. de Martignac, M. de la Ferronnays, Count Roy, and M. Vatisménil; men whom neither the King nor the Opposition had reason to distrust. But they were distrusted, and by both parties. The Court only sought for an opportunity to overthrow them. The Chamber afforded that opportunity, by most inopportunistically rejecting two bills for the municipal and departmental organisation of the kingdom, which were two of the best and wisest measures ever proposed on these important subjects in France.

‘These two bills, the one for municipal, the other for departmental, reform, proposed the most complete, the most liberal change that could be made. By the side of the order of administrative officers named by the Crown they placed a series of deliberating and controlling boards, freely elected by the notables of the communes and the departments,

landowners, merchants, manufacturers, men of letters, and representatives of different social conditions. These boards were to be invested with powers, which, if not entirely supreme in their departments, might have become so. The principle of election was recognised, and must thus have penetrated into the administrative system of the country.' (P. 165.)

It will hardly be credited that these bills, which might have been accepted and supported by every sound liberal politician in France, were not only attacked by M. de Martignac's avowed enemies, but disfigured by those who ought to have welcomed them. An amendment fatal to the principle of the measure was carried. Ten minutes afterwards the bills were withdrawn, and a few weeks later the Martignac Cabinet fell, to be succeeded by that of Prince Polignac; the whole Liberal party, and it may almost be said the whole nation, were from that instant thrown into direct opposition to the Court and to the Crown. Even then, M. de Broglie was not the man to desire or accelerate a violent solution of the difficulty. The signal of revolution was given, not by the parliamentary party, but by the infatuated Sovereign who signed the Ordinances of July, and broke his compact with the people. M. Guizot affirms in these pages, and we doubt not with truth, that France has seldom been less revolutionary than at the period preceding the convulsion of 1830. The opposition was a legal and constitutional opposition. There was no conspiracy to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne. In the Chamber of Deputies then sitting there were not fifty members who desired the overthrow of the dynasty, and the large majority of the House sincerely preferred its maintenance on a constitutional basis. Charles X. alone destroyed that basis without the least necessity or the least right.

The Revolution of July 1830 having taken place, the election of Louis Philippe became a necessity, for although it would have been more constitutional and more politic to have taken the young Duke de Bordeaux, with the Duke of Orleans as Regent, that expedient was regarded by all men—even the most moderate—as more impracticable than a reconciliation with Charles X. himself. On the 8th August, immediately after the installation of the Citizen-King, M. de Broglie was one of the persons called to the Palais-Royal, and consulted on the formation of a Ministry. One of the very first subjects discussed at that interview was the peculiarly delicate relation of the new Government to the clergy and the Church. The clerical party had enormously contributed to the ruin of Charles X., and shared his defeat. It was necessary on the

one hand to protect it against the fury of the Revolution, and on the other to protect the Government against the avowed hostility of the priests, without engaging in an ecclesiastical quarrel. 'One must not plunge one's hand,' said the new King, 'into Church affairs: it is apt to stay there.' The difficulty was to find a Minister to deal with these questions. It was solved by the Duke de Broglie's acceptance in his own person of this arduous and thankless office. He took his seat in the first Cabinet of Louis Philippe's reign as the Minister of Public Worship and Public Instruction, with the Presidency of the Conseil d'État. Clearly foreseeing that a cabinet formed on the morrow of a great revolution had the gravest difficulties to surmount, and could hope for no lasting success, M. de Broglie did not shrink from assuming his share of public duty in this emergency; and indeed the share he consented to bear was of necessity peculiarly onerous. It was not till two years later, after the defeat of the formidable insurrection of June 1832, that M. de Broglie was prevailed upon to take the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. General Sebastiani and Prince Talleyrand had both of them urged the King to appoint him to this post as the 'man best fitted' to uphold in Parliament and in Europe that policy of peace 'which Casimir Périer had inaugurated, but which was still 'so threatened and so difficult.' He occupied the office on the express condition that M. Guizot should be a member of the Cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction. M. Thiers had the Ministry of the Interior. Marshal Soult was at the head of the Government. Such was the Cabinet of the 11th October 1832; perhaps the ablest and best Ministry that has existed in France.

'The Duke de Broglie by no means resembled any of those Ministers who, at very different periods of her history, have directed with honour and success the foreign affairs of France. Almost all these Ministers, I might say all, and the best of them, have been both patriotic and ambitious; ambitious for themselves and for their country, eager to increase the greatness of France, and to increase their own fortunes in this effort, and not scrupulous as to the means employed for either end. The Duke de Broglie was as good a patriot as any of them, in any age, including our own; he even shared to a great extent the instincts, the first impressions, the sources of joy or of displeasure, common to his fellow-countrymen; but he was devoid of all personal ambition, whether of rank, or of fortune, or of vanity. He was satisfied with his own position, and modest in the dignified enjoyment of it. As for France, he desired for her no extension of territory, and no conquests; he thought her large enough and strong enough to have nothing to fear and nothing to covet from any other State. He regarded the founda-



tion of a free Government as the great national affair of our age, and he considered the peace of Europe to be an essential condition of our prosperity and our success in the new and difficult order of things which we were seeking to establish.' (P. 222.)

The nomination of the Duke de Broglie to the direction of the foreign policy of France had a most beneficial effect in Europe. It was everywhere regarded as a pledge of good faith and of peace; and in this country it powerfully strengthened that salutary alliance which had so recently been formed between England and France. Up to that moment the Whig Cabinet, and still more King William IV., had looked with considerable suspicion at the conduct of our neighbours, especially with reference to the Belgian question. Every proposal for the occupation of the fortresses or of Flanders had been unfavourably received in London. But from the moment that the Duke de Broglie became Foreign Minister of France, the confidence of England was freely given. Ten days after the formation of the new Cabinet, an agreement was concluded under which a French army entered Belgium; Antwerp was besieged and taken; the kingdom of Belgium was constituted; and soon afterwards the French forces were honourably withdrawn. There are few instances in diplomatic history more flattering to the personal character and integrity of a foreign statesman.

The foreign transactions in which the French Government was engaged at this time were important. Not only was the Belgian question settled, but King Otho was placed by the Protecting Powers on the throne of Greece, and the French forces were withdrawn from the Morea. Ferdinand VII. of Spain died on the 29th September, 1833, and the contest which ensued between Don Carlos and the infant Queen Isabella involved a struggle between constitutional government and absolutism. The French Cabinet, in conjunction with that of England, did not hesitate to give its firm support to the liberal cause, and as long as the Duke de Broglie remained in office the provisions of the Quadruple Alliance were strictly maintained.\* The attitude maintained by France

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\* In the third volume of Lord Brougham's Autobiography a curious letter from the Duke de Broglie to that noble lord is printed, with a singular contempt of French grammar and orthography, in which the French minister avows that the abolition of the Salic law in Spain was by no means agreeable to France, since it opened the door to the accidents attending the Queen's marriage; but the French Government accepted Isabella because she was the representative of constitutional monarchy, as Don Carlos was the representative of the counter-revolution.

towards the three northern Powers, then acting in strict concert and with little goodwill towards the French Crown, was resolute and dignified. Unfortunately the conduct of the foreign affairs of France did not long remain in the Duke's hands. On the 10th March, 1834, the Chamber of Deputies refused by a small majority to vote a sum of twenty-five millions which the French Government had agreed to pay to the United States for the settlement of certain maritime claims that had arisen from the seizure of American ships under the First Empire. We ourselves remember to have heard the Duke de Broglie's speech on that occasion. It was calm, dry, unimpassioned, and unsuccessful. The Chamber refused the money, and the Minister resigned.

The various attempts to form a durable administration which followed this dislocation of the Cabinet in 1832 are related in some detail by M. Guizot, but it is unnecessary to follow them in this place. Suffice it to say that on the 12th March, 1835, M. de Broglie was brought back to office, not only as Foreign Minister but as head of the Cabinet.

An event soon afterwards occurred, due to the machinations and the crimes of the revolutionary party, which produced a most untoward effect on the policy of the King's Government. On July 28th, as the King rode down the Boulevard du Temple, to pass a grand review of the National Guard, surrounded by his sons, his Ministers, and a brilliant military staff, the infernal machine of Fieschi was discharged from a garret window; eighteen persons were killed on the spot, including a French Marshal; the Royal Family escaped by a miracle, and M. de Broglie, who was in attendance on the King, had a ball through the collar of his coat. This atrocious crime, like many similar conspiracies which mark the course of the French Revolution, was even more disastrous from its indirect consequences than from its immediate effects; for it determined the Government to propose the repressive laws known as the 'laws of September,' and to enter with greater vigour on a policy of resistance. From that period to the close of the King's reign, the Government pursued what we should term a Tory system, and the breach between the Ministers of the Crown and the Liberal party was gradually widened, until the contest was terminated by the overthrow of the Monarchy.

The share of M. de Broglie in these measures was, however, soon at an end. Early in 1836 he had pledged himself and his colleagues in uncompromising terms to oppose the reduction of the Five per cents., though M. Humann, his own Minister of Finance, was in favour of the measure. The Chamber adopted

a proposition tending to carry this measure into effect against the declared will of the Government, and on February 6, 1836, the Cabinet resigned. Looking back to these distant transactions, which appear so insignificant in comparison with the results that followed them, we cannot but think that they indicate a want of tact and flexibility on the part of the Government. There was no good reason for resisting in haughty and peremptory language so simple a proposal as that for the reduction of interest on a portion of the public debt, which was then much above par. It ought to have been treated as a mere question of the value of money in the market. But the Duke de Broglie, with a thousand eminent qualities and virtues, was not, as he said of himself, skilful in the management of men; his manners were dry and reserved, which arose from shyness and was attributed to pride; and he laboured under the mistake common to all the *doctrinaires*, that it was possible to govern France on a preconceived theory of right and legality, with small regard for the fluctuations of public opinion.

From that time the Duke de Broglie ceased to form part of the successive Ministries of Louis Philippe, and withdrew into the independence of his private circle, except for a short period when he was prevailed upon by M. Guizot to accept a diplomatic mission to this country. He came here first in 1845 to settle with Lord Aberdeen and Dr. Lushington the question of the Right of Search exercised, under treaty, by the cruisers employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade—a matter which had been invested by the Opposition in France with an extravagant importance. No man could treat it with more authority than the Duke de Broglie, for no man in France had to an equal degree mastered the whole subject of Negro Slavery. He was on this question the worthy ally and rival of Wilberforce, Buxton, and Brougham in this country, but with this difference: in struggling for Negro Emancipation, the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the abolition of Slavery, those English philanthropists became the leaders of a great popular cause, they were supported and applauded by millions of their countrymen, and they rose to be a party in the State. The exertions of the Duke de Broglie in France, in the same cause, were, on the contrary, almost solitary, unpopular, and unrewarded. The Liberal party in France never thought it worth while to inscribe the word ‘Emancipation’ on their banners. The nation cared nothing about it, except in as far as they regarded with jealousy the efforts of England in that cause; and it required all the concentrated energy and perseverance of such a man as the Duke de Broglie

to carry on single-handed the French share in that great work which was destined to end in the general emancipation of the Negro race from slavery in the colonies of the European Powers and in the United States of America.

In England, the services of M. de Broglie on this question were known and appreciated as they deserved to be. They insured him a cordial reception from the best and most accomplished persons in this country, and the sincere esteem of society. He returned here for a short time in 1847 as ambassador; but then much was changed. Lord Palmerston had succeeded Lord Aberdeen. The relations of France and England had passed from a state of mutual confidence and regard to one of great acerbity; and M. de Broglie was not the man to conceal these differences under a show of playfulness. So stern and sincere a man was ill fitted for the functions of a diplomatist in rough times, when called upon to display a buoyancy increasing with the storm. In truth he was himself discouraged. We remember to have heard him say in the summer of 1847, '*Nous sommes en pleine révolution. L'art de gouverner les hommes dévient tous les jours plus difficile.*' He saw that the policy of resistance was strained to the breaking point. A few months afterwards the catastrophe came which annihilated the hopes of his life, and destroyed for many years, if not for ever, the constitutional monarchy he had laboured, with many other good and great men, to establish in France. Yet even then he clung to the wreck of liberty. He sat in the Assembly of the Second Republic, and he shared in his own person the blow which dispersed the Assembly on December 2, 1851. That blow he never forgave.

Nevertheless, although the last twenty years of his life were embittered by political disappointment and by the abasement of his country under a yoke he abhorred, they were cheered by all the higher interests of domestic and intellectual life. His eldest son devoted to literature those talents he was afterwards to turn to politics, and as the author of an important work on the Lower Empire, took his seat beside his father in the Academy of France. His daughter married Comte de Haussonville, the accomplished author of '*La Réunion de la Lorraine à la France,*' also an Academician. His house continued to be one of the most agreeable resorts of the best society in Europe. Above all, the resources of his own mind were abundant and unexhausted. Educated, as we have seen, amidst the storms of the Revolution, and under the influence of his free-thinking stepfather, M. d'Argenson, he had received in early life but a faint tincture of Christian principles and

faith. The faith of his after life, which became strong and complete, without the slightest cant or fanaticism, was the result of his own studies and reflections. He satisfied his own mind of the truth of Christianity, and thenceforth held that no man could be a Christian by halves. If therefore the earlier and more active years of his life had been those of a patriotic statesman, the years which followed his retirement were those of a Christian and a philosopher. Can a human existence, extended as his was to the longest span accorded to us, be more worthily or happily spent? Amidst the varying and agitated scenes of French society in the last eighty years, which change as rapidly as the transformations of a pantomime, here and there one meets some character of a stronger structure and a sterner mould, which has survived mutability itself unchanged, and surveys the stream of fortune from the rock of fixed principles. Such men are less rare in France than is commonly supposed abroad, who add to length of days and experience great sobriety of judgment, justice, wisdom, and firmness of purpose. They exist, but alas! they exist chiefly for themselves and for their own immediate circle. Democratic society and a democratic age care nothing for the wisdom of their lessons or the example of their lives. The multitude rushes past them into servitude or sedition, but their memory is enshrined in the narrower sanctuary of faith, good taste, law, and humanity. Of such men the Duke de Broglie was one.

ART. IV.—1. *Title-Deeds of the Church of England to her Parochial Endowments.* By EDWARD MIALL, M.P. 2nd edition. London: 1871.

2. *Disestablishment.* Speech of E. MIALL, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, May 9, 1871. Published by the Liberation Society.

3. *The Congregational Year-Book.* 1872.

IN an article published in this Journal in July 1868, we discussed the position of the Church of England as a National Church in her relations to the State. We defined an Established Church to be a Church in which the duties and rights of the clergy and the congregation are determined by the law of the land, and we endeavoured to prove that the connexion of Church and State is not in its present form in this country any restraint upon public liberty and the rights of conscience,

but one of the bulwarks of civil and religious freedom. The events and discussions which have since taken place have greatly strengthened our conviction of the truths for which we then contended, and it has very lately been shown that the dangers of intolerance and an arbitrary interference with religious teaching now lie in the opposite direction. When that article appeared, the first shots had just been fired in the great battle of the Irish Church which raged so fiercely during the whole of the next twelve months, and resulted in a measure which may have been just to Ireland, but which has certainly brought the question of English Disestablishment more nearly within the scope of practical consideration, and even raised it, in some excitable minds, to a question of imminent importance. At all events, one of the most interesting debates in the House of Commons last year was the debate on Mr. Miall's motion; and the attitude assumed by the Nonconformist bodies throughout the country and by the Liberation Society in London, shows that in every future Session, and notably at the next general election whenever that may come, the question of the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England will be second to none in its practical effect upon party politics and party combinations. What that effect may be remains to be seen; perhaps the very reverse of what the Nonconformists anticipate. But, at any rate, it must be confessed that the whole array of the anti-Church party, with Jews, Roman Catholics, freethinkers, and extreme Radicals to boot, does not constitute a formidable, or even a respectable array in the present House of Commons.

It is worthy of remark that in the literature and oratory of this controversy, the two phrases, Disestablishment and Disendowment, meet with very opposite treatment. The first occurs in every article and every speech. The second is put in the background, if not carefully avoided. So much is this the case, that at the Conference which was held in London under the auspices of the Liberation Society in November last, some candid friend, with more zeal than discretion, had to elicit from the chairman a statement that Disendowment was aimed at as well as Disestablishment, or the meeting might have broken up without once hearing a word which is so studiously left unspoken. And there is much of the wisdom of the serpent in this line of conduct. It disarms the opposition, even if it do not enlist the active sympathies of the High Church party,—that party whose belief in Episcopacy is generally illustrated by the abuse they shower upon their own or their neighbours' diocesan. Furthermore, it apparently con-

finer the question to the realm of theory, and so neutralises the activity of that vast mass of partisans who are lineally descended from the craftsmen who took so admiring a view of the character and qualifications of Diana of the Ephesians.

Mr. Quiverful, with thirteen children and one hundred and fifty pounds a year, may be too much engrossed with the duties of maintaining his position and feeding his family to care very deeply whether his limited stipend be paid under the provisions of the law of England, or by some arrangement with a set of trustees; but make it in any respect doubtful whether that small stipend will continue to be paid at all, and he is roused at once to the most energetic resistance. On the other hand, there are practical men of a stamp other than Mr. Quiverful; and these men, indifferent to mere phrases, would be much more likely to join the movement for Disestablishment, if they had any notion that concurrent Disendowment would lessen their public burdens or enlarge their private resources. It remains, therefore, doubtful whether this tortuous policy be best in the long run, or whether it would not have been well to announce, boldly and without reservation, the entire object of the movement.

And what *is* the object of the movement? In Mr. Miall's speech, which is for the time the *locus classicus* of the controversy, we look in vain for any hint of the manner in which it is proposed to deal with property said to be worth two hundred millions of money. But the words of his resolution are as follows:—

‘It is expedient, at the earliest practicable period, to apply the policy initiated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church by the Act of 1869 to the other Churches established by law in the United Kingdom.’

These words imply a diversion of the funds of the Church of England to some purpose other than that to which they are at present applied. They might, indeed, point to Disendowment without Disestablishment, but that of course is not their meaning. But, if they really mean what they say, they propose to make a present to the taxpayers of Great Britain of a sum so large that we are afraid to calculate its amount. And why is this to be done? Surely not because the religious body which it is proposed so summarily to deprive of its endowments—to use the words of Mr. Richard, the Member for Merthyr, himself a Dissenting minister of long standing though retired—

‘has many titles to gratitude and veneration; has had a long, and in

many respects an illustrious history . . . has in times past rendered services of inestimable value to the cause of Christian and Protestant truth ;'

nor, to quote the same authority,\* because

'her annals are adorned with a long succession of great and good men, who by their learned and eloquent writings have largely enriched our national language and literature.'

Still less because of

'the noble and devoted life led by many of her working clergy, who in this metropolis and other large cities and towns have been diving down to the lowest abysses of society, to drag up those who were weltering there in ignorance and misery into the light of a divine life.'

But we are invited to adopt this policy, because, to use Mr. Miall's own words,

'the relationship which the Churches of England and Scotland sustain towards the State, and the position which the State assigns to them, are condemned by experience as well as by reason, and ought to be put an end to as soon as possible.'

Now, in the first instance, we wish to narrow the ground at issue by confining our observations to the Church of England; for although in theory what applies to the Church of England should apply with similar force to her Scotch sister, the practical considerations which we wish to urge upon our readers are derived from the state of the case as regards England; and we desire, therefore, to leave the case of the Church of Scotland to be discussed on its own merits.

It is quite possible that reasons may exist for retaining the present political *status* of the Church of England which will not apply with equal truth to the Church of Scotland; but of this we are sure, that if the Establishment and Endowment of the English Church be not maintained, the political downfall of the Scotch Church cannot be far distant. The English Church may retain her present position, even if the Scotch Church be disendowed and disestablished, but a contrary state of the case can never endure for a moment.

What, then, is the relation which the Church of England bears to the State? We think we can hardly do better than adopt the words of the article in this Journal\* on the 'National Church' to which we have already referred.

'The fundamental conditions of the Anglican system of Church government consist in the legal character of the Establishment. The

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\* Speech in seconding Mr. Miall's motion, 9th May, 1871.

† Ed. Rev. vol. cxxviii. p. 275.



proper spiritual functions of the clergy, such as the administration of the sacraments and the rites of the Church, are matters into which no lay authority intrudes itself, except so far as to take care that they be duly performed by those to whom they are exclusively intrusted. But the laws of the Church are the laws of Parliament. The canons are not binding on the laity, and are only binding on the clergy as by-laws regulating their spiritual functions. And the Supremacy of the Crown is directly exercised over the Church of England in two important functions,—the nomination of bishops, and the supreme administration of justice by the Court of Appeal.’

The laws of the Church are the laws of Parliament. That this should be so is condemned, according to Mr. Miall, by reason and experience, and rightly so on his own view of the case; for do not those laws embody the relation which the Church of England sustains towards the State, and determine the position which the State assigns to her? And what are those laws? They are divisible into two groups: those which have to do with the political *status* of the Church, and those which have to do with her pecuniary interests,—those by which she is established, and those by which she is endowed. Abolish the first group and we lose the Queen’s supremacy. Bishops will no longer be appointed by the Crown, and questions of doctrine and ceremonial will no longer be decided by the Privy Council. We perceive that Mr. Miall is unable to resist the temptation of a fling at the *cong   d’  lire* :—

‘The Royal letter, the assured obedience of the Dean and Chapter, enforced if necessary by the penalty of *pr  vinaire*, associated as it is with solemn prayer for Divine direction,—Sir, it is a playing with sacred things for political and secular ends which is perfectly shocking, and which goes far to paralyse the spiritual authority and influence of the Church.’

But surely Mr. Miall knows that what he calls too truly ‘a playing with sacred things’ is not of the essence of the procedure, and that it would be perfectly easy to omit that part of the ceremony altogether. The existence of the Test and Corporation Acts, under which Excise and Customs officers were compelled to take the Sacrament before entering on the emoluments of their offices, was no argument against Excise and Customs officers being appointed by the Crown. But if, under a changed order of things, bishops were really elected by the Dean and Chapter, as they now are by a fiction of law, would that cure the ‘playing with sacred things’ of which Mr. Miall complains? Would not every canon have a *cong   d’  lire* in his own breast before he went into the Chapter House, and would the prayer for Divine direction be less objectionable

or less of a mockery in the one case than in the other? In either case it is simply an anachronism. The minister advising the Crown to appoint might well ask God's guidance, not publicly but in private, not with the *congé* written and lying before him, but before the choice was made. So might the electors in a disestablished Church; but the question of Establishment has nothing to do with the propriety of asking God's guidance in a matter already determined.

Another result would of course follow from disestablishment in England as it has from disestablishment in Ireland. No bishop would sit in the House of Lords. In that case the clergy could justly claim to be no longer excluded from the House of Commons. At present no clerical member of the English Church in Ireland can sit in Parliament, owing to the fact that the excluding power of orders is common to both Churches; but if the English Church were disestablished, the grievance of clerical exclusion would be so strong that it could no longer be resisted. It is for Mr. Miall and those with whom he acts to say who is more likely to be *secular*, an elected bishop, dean, or clergyman in the House of Commons, or an appointed and representative bishop in the Lords; but meanwhile, the fact is that there are numerous instances of Dissenting ministers who have taken their seats in the House of Commons, and defended their own interests there, while that body is rigidly closed against all who bear orders in the Churches of England and of Rome.

Closely connected with the appointment of bishops is the right of patronage in parishes. Mr. Miall is shocked at the sale of advowsons. He is not the only man who has been thus shocked, for many a supporter of Establishment feels as strongly as he does the objections which lie against the present system. But it is not necessary to abolish the system in order to repair what is defective or amend what is objectionable. The law of simony has always appeared to us to be utterly indefensible. Why should it be legal to buy on Monday what it is illegal to buy on Tuesday? Why is it more or less wrong to buy the right of filling up a vacant living than to buy the right of filling up a living at the next vacancy? But if a better method of appointing to livings can be found, it is just as possible to adopt that method now as it would be if the Church of England were where the Church of Ireland is. If the plan which has found favour with the Evangelical party—that of vesting advowsons in trustees—were thought an improvement, it could be adopted at present; so could popular election with all its faults; but when you have to a great

extent de-parochialised the country, what are our trustees to be trustees of, and where are you to find your electors?

We do not propose to detain our readers long with reference to the change which Disestablishment would produce on the relations of the Church with the Courts of Law. There is a curious document prefixed to 'The Congregational Year-Book,'—a sort of Clergy List and Book of Homilies Canons and Articles bound up together, published by the Committee of the Congregational Union. This document is headed 'Declaration of the Faith, Church Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or Independent Dissenters.' One of its clauses runs as follows:—

'They' (the Congregational Churches) 'believe that the New Testament authorises every Christian Church to elect its own officers, to manage all its own affairs, and to stand independent of, and irresponsible to, *all authority*, saving that only of the Supreme and Divine Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ.'

This does not look secular, nor does it smell of the Privy Council; but so sure as any difference arises in the Christian Church which is so independent and irresponsible, if that difference involves any pecuniary considerations, no declaration of independence and irresponsibility will oust that authority to which all property is subject—the jurisdiction of the Courts of Law. The difference between the two cases is: in the case of the Church of England, the Judicial Committee decides as to opinions and ceremonies having or purporting to have the sanction of the law of England; while, in the case of all other Churches, the Courts of Law decide as to opinions and perhaps even ceremonies which only have the sanction of the particular Church in which they exist.

In the article to which we have before referred, we have pointed out that the effect of Disestablishment would be to break up the Church of England into half-a-dozen sects. This effect Mr. Miall might approve of; at all events he denounces most strongly that 'forced uniformity of clerical teaching,' which, he says, the law requires at present.

'There are few national calamities more to be dreaded, none which bring with them a more killing moral blight, none which more certainly deprave the higher life of a people, than for the teachers of the nation, clerical or secular, to be placed by the laws of the land under strong temptations to be cowards to their own convictions.'

So says Mr. Miall, illustrating his position by an imaginary case of 'a compromise of scientific opinions contradictory of one another, made three centuries ago, petrified into an unchange-

‘able standard, and protected by statute against the smallest alteration.’

‘Inquiry’ (says he) ‘would have been discountenanced; now discoveries of truth would be discredited and discouraged, and science would have sunk to the low level of becoming a thing to live by instead of a thing to live for.’

We may ask, in passing, to what writers are we most indebted on all subjects of theological inquiry—to the writers of the Church of England, or of the so-called Free Churches? And are the ministers of the one communion more open to the charge of living by, instead of for, their religion than the ministers of the other? But how does Mr. Miall propose to cure this alleged evil? He substitutes half-a-dozen petrified standards of opinion for one which, after all, is not petrified. He makes the pecuniary inducement of his teachers of the nation entirely dependent on the adoption of one of these standards, interpreted not by the law of the land, but by the dim and incorrect apprehensions of a half-educated congregation; and by this notable expedient he proposes to diminish or obliterate the ‘strong temptation’ under which, as he implies, the clergy are inevitably placed of being ‘cowards to their own convictions.’

Look at the two pictures. Here we have the Church of England acknowledging among its members Dr. Pusey, Canon Liddon, Dean Stanley, Mr. Stopford Brooke, Canon Carus, and Mr. Ryle. These divines represent three distinct orders of theology, known in common language as the High, the Broad, and the Low Church parties. Probably a very large majority of the clergy attach themselves more or less completely to one or other of these schools of thought. But, according to Mr. Miall, these six men and all their followers are under strong temptation to be cowards to their own convictions, and so dishonestly proclaim identical views of truth. On the other hand, we have 2,500 Independent ministers, 2,000 Baptist, 3,000 Wesleyan, and so on, all glorying in their spiritual liberty, and revelling in that immunity from State control which enables them at will to proclaim their own independent and unbiassed theological convictions.

But look a little further. It is alleged that one or other of these six clergymen, or any one of their clerical followers, has deviated from the teaching, or violated the ritual usages of the Church of England. The matter is inquired into. In most cases it does not reach the Courts, but if it does, it is investigated by calm lawyers, not raged over by vindictive partisans, and a decision is arrived at, not distorted by theological bigotry and ignorance, party spite and oftentimes personal malice, but

in the quiet atmosphere of courts, following legal precedent and under the direction of the Lord Chancellor.

If, on the other hand, an Independent minister or, as the phrase has been by one of them satirically corrected, the minister of an Independent congregation, incurs the displeasure of that congregation, how great are the disadvantages under which he labours! He is accused, we will say, of some form of heresy. Who are his accusers? The congregation. Who are his judges? The congregation. Who are his paymasters? The congregation. Among that congregation there is probably not one man of sufficient learning to construe a chapter of St. John's Gospel in the original tongue, and very possibly not one either with sufficient natural acuteness or knowledge of theology to give him the least title to decide in a controversy involving matters quite beyond the stretch of ordinary abilities or acquirements. We ask, first, whether there is anything to tempt a man of even average information or culture into such a position as this; and secondly, if he finds himself in this position, is there not the strongest 'temptation' to preach what will please the congregation and so be a 'coward to his own convictions'? Let anyone compare the forms and results of the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Salisbury against the authors of 'Essays and Reviews,' and of the measures adopted by the Independent Body against the learned Dr. Davidson, after the publication of his critical opinions. By which tribunal would Dr. Davidson have preferred to be tried?

We have observed, in the early part of these remarks, that Mr. Miall and his party say little about disendowment, and we are aware that some of the more moderate Dissenters, such as Mr. Morley, the member for Bristol, appear to contemplate the possibility of disestablishment without disendowment. A measure of disestablishment might pass here, as in Ireland, without altogether stripping the Church of England of her parochial revenues. But it is certain that here, as in Ireland, episcopal and capitular endowments would have to be surrendered, or so much modified in their application as to lose their connexion with the Anglican Church. Now it should be borne in mind that it is not necessary to disestablish the Church in order to modify the application of episcopal and capitular endowments. These applications have been greatly modified already. The episcopal revenues are now held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and applied, first to the payment of 'bishops' salaries, and then to the augmentation of the incomes of the parochial clergy. Capitular property has been dealt with in a similar manner; and perhaps more may be done in

the application of that property to uses more urgent and more in accordance with the wants and habits of these times than the performance of a daily choral service in the cathedrals. In many parishes, the rectorial tithe is in the hands of a chapter, sometimes not even in the same county or diocese. The incumbent is starved while the rent-charge which ought to support him goes to pay for ornamental ministrations in a distant city. These impropriations of great tithes, whether lay or capitular, are a great abuse against which we have always protested; but they grew out of the system of the monasteries, and were not remedied (as they ought to have been) at the Reformation. Here there is surely room for reform. But, we repeat, this reform might just as well be carried out at present as it could be after Mr. Miall had walked in triumph over the ruins of the Church of England.\* Cathedral establishments have in unreformed times been the standing reproach of the Church to which they belong; and although she has been happily purged of Sparkes and Pretymans and Tomlines, there is far greater difficulty in defending the use of public money for æsthetic purposes or for the support of learned leisure and leisure not always learned, than in defending its use when applied to the relief of spiritual destitution and for purposes of general charity, as it may be said to be applied in the payment of the incomes of parochial clergy. Nothing however, so far as we know, stands in the way of the larger employment of the staff attached to every cathedral in general diocesan service. Much episcopal labour might be undertaken by canons who at present, though they mostly hold territorial designations, have no localised duties. But in truth in the Metropolis Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's are become again what they were of old, the very centres of the religious life of the nation. Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, York, Hereford, Chichester, and many more, are not less centres of religious life in the provinces. Is there a county in England having a cathedral which would

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\* Many of our readers remember the fine old church at Cromer in Norfolk, the fragments of the chancel of which strew the churchyard. The rectorial tithe belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Some time in the last century those worthies applied for and obtained a faculty to enable them to dismantle the church, which was a source of expense, and which as they alleged, perhaps not untruly, was not required for the purposes of public worship. They accordingly blew up the chancel with gunpowder, and are now (or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for them) in the receipt of the whole rectorial tithe of a parish of 1000 inhabitants, spending nothing in repairs, and contributing nothing to the income of a miserably underpaid incumbent.

not regard it as a public calamity to be reduced to the condition of Hertfordshire, which possesses the magnificent fane of St. Albans, but with no endowment to support it? Never since the cathedrals were built has so much been spent on them by voluntary liberality and pious enthusiasm as in the last twenty years.

We have already referred to episcopal peerages. They are treated as absolutely indefensible by all who advocate the disruption of Church and State. But, is there not something to be urged in favour of the only class of life-peers who now exist in an assembly, the constitution of which has been so vehemently denounced on the ground that *hereditary* legislators are an absurdity, by just the same school of politicians as proposes to eject the bishops because they are not hereditary but selected members of the Senate? Has not a great, though at present an unsuccessful, effort been made to place the leaders of at least one other profession in the same position as bishops? Is the Wensleydale Life Peerage discussion to have no result? And would it not be a pity, just as we are beginning seriously to contemplate changes in the House of Lords in the sense of giving greater prominence to individual merit and personal position, to inaugurate these changes by a so-called reform in precisely the opposite direction? In any alteration of the constituent elements of an Upper Chamber, it is impossible to suppose that the more prominent members of any of the professions can be overlooked. The greatest lawyers, the foremost soldiers, the most eminent physicians, the men of highest repute in art and science would have places in a new House of Peers. Why not the ruling members of an institution so important as the Episcopal Church must always be in England? Not to the exclusion of Dr. Binney, Mr. Newman Hall, Dr. Guthrie, Dr. Norman McLeod, or even Archbishop Manning. If the Nonconformist ministers took a more enlarged view of their own sacred profession, they would perceive that the presence of the prelates in the House of Lords is no inconsiderable element in the social influence of their own cloth. But these are anticipations; we have to deal only with the present, and we doubt very much if it be within the powers of Mr. Miall or of any member of the Liberation Society to prove that a House of Lords which lost the services of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the present Bishops of Winchester, St. David's and Peterborough, would be more useful to the country than the House of Lords is at present.

After all, however, that part of the question which awakens most of our sympathy or antipathy, as the case may be, is the

disestablishment of the parochial clergy. Episcopal and capitial disestablishment no doubt involves considerable issues. We may perceive, or think we perceive, arguments of great force on the one side or on the other. But the public mind is not vividly interested in this part of the case. It is not easy on the one side to impress men with the conviction that to deprive bishops of their seats in the House of Lords would produce injurious results to any class besides the bench of bishops, or that the progress of the national life would be seriously endangered by the abolition of deans and chapters.

The disestablishment of the parish clergy is a very different matter. It involves the substitution over a vast portion of the country of the congregational system in room of the parochial system. It assumes that those threads which connect the clergy with the complex agencies at work in parochial life are at once to be cut adrift, and points to the conclusion either that these agencies are worthless or that they possess sufficient individual life to re-establish themselves in other ways and dependent on other connexions. And be it remembered, that most of these agencies have only established themselves within the present century, that they are voluntary as far as the clergy are concerned, and that they have for the most part no analogues in the congregational system. They have to do with local institutions, charities, interests, and require assistance such as a parochial not a congregational superintendent can give.

Our younger readers, whose recollection of the clergy dates but a few years back, are possibly not aware of the marvellous generic change which has taken place among them, since, and probably in some measure in consequence of the abolition of pluralities and the prevention of non-residence. It is curious to compare with the experience of to-day what were looked upon as clerical pictures sufficiently exact for the purposes of satire, eighty and even sixty years ago. We will call three literary witnesses, a priest, a deacon, and a layman; all humorists, all skilled in word-painting, all keenly alive to the failings of a class with which they were intimately acquainted, and to which two of them in a sense at least belonged.

George Crabbe published his 'Village' some eighty-five years ago, and issued subsequent editions as late as 1809. How does he draw the Country Parson? At the end of that remarkable description of the Parish Workhouse—a description which ought always to be before the eyes of those who complain of the present Poor Law—comes this sketch of the clergyman summoned to attend a dying pauper:—

‘ And doth not he the pious man appear,  
He “ passing rich’ with forty pounds a year” ?



Ah, no; a shepherd of a different stock,  
 And far unlike him feeds this little flock :  
 A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday's task  
 As much as God or man can fairly ask ;  
 The rest he gives to loves and labours light,  
 To fields the morning, and to feasts the night ;  
 None better skilled the noisy pack to guide,  
 To urge their chace, to cheer them or to chide ;  
 A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,  
 And, skilled at whist, devotes the night to play ;  
 Then while such honours bloom about his head,  
 Shall he sit sadly by the sick man's bed,  
 To raise the hope he feels not, or with zeal  
 To combat foes that e'en the pious feel ?'

This, we may be told, is the language of satire. But satire loses its point if it speak false, and yet how hard would it be to find a counterpart of this picture among the clergy of to-day ! \*

But let us ask another witness. ' Rowland Hill's Chapel ' has been known by name ever since the days of ' Rejected Addresses,' but few of our readers, even those who have seen the dingy decagonal building in the Blackfriars Road, are aware how remarkable a man once ministered within its walls. Rowland Hill was of a good Shropshire family, uncle of the Lord Hill who played so prominent a part as one of Wellington's lieutenants in the Peninsular War. He was intended for orders, but although, after being rejected for irregularity by six bishops a seventh was hardy enough to ordain him deacon, he was unsuccessful in finding one to make him a priest. So he attached himself more or less to the Methodists ;

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\* Forty years ago there was a staff of ' galloping curates ' in almost every country town. The smaller parishes had no resident incumbent, and the Sunday ' duty ' was done in a most perfunctory manner by these clerical perambulators, who took two, three, or even four services in as many parishes, but never dreamt of bestowing a single hour of week-day labour on any of them.

In some parishes there was no service for weeks together. We remember a case where the non-resident incumbent came into the neighbourhood and testified a wish, perhaps not altogether unreasonably, to perform service in the church of one of his parishes. Word was sent over to the principal farmer, who was also churchwarden ; but here a most embarrassing circumstance presented itself. It was at the beginning of harvest, the weather had been showery and uncertain, and the churchwarden was obliged to reply, that they would have had much pleasure in seeing their clergyman amongst them, but that unfortunately there had been a deficiency in barn accommodation, and the church was *full of peas*.

built 'Surry Chapel' in 1783, and with constant preaching itinerancies remained its minister till his death fifty years afterwards. His only literary effort of any magnitude is a book, now almost forgotten, called 'Village Dialogues.' It is brimful of droll sketches of character mixed up with conversations, one chief object of which is to delineate his views of 'saving truth,' and his ideas of what a clergyman ought to be. His model parson is one Mr. Lovegood, under whose influence Farmer Littleworth becomes convinced of the errors of his ways. More or less attached to the sayings and doings of these personages and of one Thomas Newman, a labourer on Farmer Littleworth's occupation, are sundry other characters, lay and clerical, all with suggestive names, among which we find that of Mr. Doolittle, the country Rector, who dispenses the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper three times a year, denounces his parishioners if they go to church in the next parish, is proud of having studied divinity under the Reverend Dr. Blunderbuss, prefers the light of nature to the teaching of the Spirit, and nearly breaks his neck out hunting. Then we have Mr. Brisk the curate, who is sent for to attend a dying person but fails to come, being absent at Gambleton Races; Mr. Spiteful, another curate, who takes Mr. Brisk's place, but is obliged to leave a card-party in order to do so; Rector Fillpot, with his starving curate who serves two churches for fifty pounds a year; the Reverend Mr. Fribble, who attends races in the morning and card-parties at night; Mr. Archdeacon Wildblood, who rides his own horse at the races, and young Bob Dapper, also a parson, who rode his own horse too.

Such pictures of clerical life would now be entirely inappropriate, and the man who painted them would deserve a harder name than that of satirist, for false accusation is not wit. But the book passed through seven editions before 1818, and may be fairly taken as giving a view of the state of the Church of England fully borne out by facts as they then existed. But we have another witness, more renowned, and perhaps less prejudiced, than those we have previously called.

The life of Cowper was shadowed over by sadness which sometimes deepened into actual insanity. But his powers of observation were of the highest order, and if he satirised the clergy it was not because he read their characters amiss, or because he felt anything beside reverence for their calling and interest in the objects which they ought to have considered paramount.

What does he say?

'To such I render more than mere respect  
 Whose actions say that they respect themselves;  
 But, loose in morals and in manners vain,  
 In conversation frivolous, in dress  
 Extreme, at once rapacious and profuse;  
 Frequent in park with lady at his side  
 Ambling and prattling scandal as he goes;  
 But rare at home, and never at his books  
 Or with his pen, save when he scrawls a card;  
 Constant at routs, familiar with a round  
 Of ladyships,—a stranger to the poor,  
 Ambitious of preferment for its gold,  
 And well prepared by ignorance and sloth  
 By infidelity and love of world  
 To make God's work a sinecure; a slave  
 To his own pleasures and his patron's pride.'\*

This is the portrait of no clergyman of the present day; but in Cowper's time it must have represented a whole class, or he would never have painted it. But take another:—

'The things that mount the rostrum with a skip,  
 And then skip down again; pronounce a text,  
 Cry—hem; and reading what they never wrote,  
 Just fifteen minutes, huddle up their work  
 And with a well-bred whisper close the scene!

What, will a man play tricks? will he indulge  
 A silly fond conceit of his fair form  
 And just proportion, fashionable mien  
 And pretty face, in presence of his God?

Forth comes the pocket mirror,—First we stroke  
 An eyebrow, next compose a straggling lock,  
 Then with an air most gracefully performed  
 Fall back into our seat, extend an arm  
 And lay it at its ease with gentle care,  
 With handkerchief in hand depending low.\*

And so on, ending with bergamot for the nose, and an opera-glass to look at the ladies going out of church. In the present day this description would be so much out of place as to be simply ridiculous. No one can doubt its accuracy in the days of Cowper.

It would be easy to multiply evidence all tending to the same point; but without more references, it is perfectly clear that the physician of the last century with his bag-wig and sword; the soldier of the pre-revolutionary period with his

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\* Task, b. ii.

Prussian tactics; the sailor ignorant of steam; the mail-coach driver who had never dreamt of a railway, were not more different from their modern antitypes than a clergyman of 1780 from a clergyman of 1870. The truth is, that no class of men in English Society has undergone a change and reform so radical and so meritorious as the clergy of the English Church have accomplished in their own order, since we commenced, now just seventy years ago, the labours of this Journal. We shall not be accused of flattering them, for we have never ceased to combat their bigotry and to oppose their sacerdotal pretensions. But this shall not prevent us from doing signal justice to their merits. They have rooted out a multitude of abuses, and they have raised in many places in this land a lofty standard of what the Christian clergy of a free and enlightened people ought to be. They have placed themselves at the head of the great work of National Education, insomuch that the charge now made against them is that they are too eager in the cause. They have everywhere given new life and vigour to the spiritual work, which is the leaven of society. No doubt all this zeal tends sometimes to excess, but upon the whole it does good; and when we compare the deplorable abasement of the Church of England in the deep and sluggish corruption of the last century, with the spirit and energy of her present life, we know not which astonishes us most—that she should have at all survived that *nadir* of degradation, or that she should be threatened with Disestablishment at the very *zenith* of her utility.

This difference, moreover, is not merely in the performance of acts strictly professional. It is in the performance of acts undertaken, not at the bidding of a bishop, not even at the call of the flock, but from a pure sense of duty and entirely without hope or desire of pecuniary recompense. Coal clubs, clothing clubs, penny banks, lying-in charities, district-visiting societies, soup kitchens, cottage hospitals, Sunday schools, evening schools, the village or district school itself, the working-man's reading-room, penny readings, lectures in the school-room, school-treats, mothers' meetings, Christmas festivities and decorations—does the State pay for all these? Are they not as distinctly the result of voluntary effort as any Non-conformist institution that ever existed? We desire to look at the question not as theorists but as practical men, and we ask, How are these most valuable and civilising agencies to be kept up in a vast majority of parishes except by the aid of the clergy? Consider for a moment how parishes are made up. In many of them there is no squire or large proprietor,

and even where the land is principally or entirely owned by one person, he may not reside on his property, or if he does may not have, and very often has not, the inclination or the ability to undertake these semi-clerical functions. Is there one gentleman out of twenty residing in country parishes who would undertake the constant, wearing, fidgety labour involved in this multiplicity of petty duties, not one grand act of self-sacrifice, one blaze of enthusiastic effort, but a continuity of assiduous toil? Is there any vivid sensation of pleasure in sitting at a desk in a drafty school-room on a winter's evening to receive and to enter week by week the halfpence which nothing but regular attendance will arrest on their way to the beer-shop? Is it a very charming employment for an educated man to listen night by night to the stammering and stupefied efforts of blundering clowns at their horn-books. And does the ladling out of savoury soup into greasy cans brought by dirty and clamorous applicants constitute the highest reward of learning and piety? Yet this is a clergyman's life, and too often this life is embittered by private care, a sickly wife, ailing children, costly schools for the boys and lessons for the girls,—the principal farmer suspecting popery if chairs are substituted for benches in church, and the squire's wife looking coldly at her parson unless he preaches the formula inculcated by the religious newspaper taken in at the Hall.

We have treated the question as one of Disestablishment, which, in other words, is the deposition of the clergy from their legal and local position. At present the parson is in one sense the head of the parish. Disestablish the Church and he at once sinks to the level of a Congregational minister. Even if his church and parsonage be left to him, he has nothing but a roving commission. It ceases to be part of his duty to extend the offices of religion to the inhabitants of a certain area. He will no longer have to baptise, marry, or bury all who come as parishioners. He will no longer be *ex-officio* trustee of local charities. The vestry at which he will preside will be no longer parochial. Not only will it cease to be his duty and his right to hold this position and perform these functions, but, he ceasing to be the parson of the parish, there will be no one else with the slightest right to perform them as acts of public duty.

Nor will this change of the *status* of the clergy have the effect which, we fancy, some opponents of Establishment anticipate. It will not lower them to the level of their Dissenting brethren, but the position of the Voluntary minister being, to use a

mathematical phrase, a function of that of the clergyman, as the latter goes down in the scale of society the former will go down too; but always with a gap, not to say a gulf, between them. The profession being thus lowered as a class, highly educated men of the upper ranks will no longer take orders, except from intense religious zeal. We should therefore have a clergy poorer, more ignorant and with a lower standard of manners and feelings. Yet these men would claim to exercise the same, perhaps a larger amount of spiritual power. Precisely this is the curse of Ireland—an ignorant, low-born, and dependent priesthood. In Scotland, where virtual Disestablishment may be said to exist already, no family of any station puts a son into the Church. In France, since her Revolution destroyed the Establishment and seized the property of the Church, the priests are all taken from a very humble class in society, and the consequences are deplorable. Some of the Nonconformist ministers appear to consider it an intolerable grievance to live in a country where the leading divines of the age are peers of the realm, and the whole of the clergy mingle on terms of equality with the highest classes of society. We only wish these much respected gentlemen could see for themselves what the social condition of the clergy has become throughout the South of Europe, in Portugal, Spain, Italy, and even France, since it has been disestablished and disendowed. The priest has sunk to the level of something between a peasant and a mendicant, who is barely invited to the hospitalities of the servants' hall. The representative of religion is become one of the lowest and most ignorant members of the community—and one of the most despised, because he does not work.

It is idle, however, to expect that Disestablishment will come and not bring Disendowment with it. And if Disendowment takes place, how are the spiritual needs of the country parishes to be supplied? It has never yet been shown, and we do not believe that it can be shown, that from any source and by any means it will be possible to raise a sum of money anything like equal in amount to that which now represents the income of the parochial clergy, underpaid as they even now are. If something of this kind is not done, parochial ministrations are *pro tanto* extinguished. And the poorest, the most out-of-the-way, the most neglected, the least populous parishes, where spiritual help is most needed, are the parishes which will suffer most.

We ask Mr. Miall and his supporters whether they are prepared for these consequences. 'A religion that is worth

‘ anything will always contrive to find the means of its own sustentation and culture and extension. It always has done so except where its elasticity and vitality has been withered by a system of public endowments.’ So says Mr. Miall, speaking marvels. Protestantism surely is a religion that is worth something. Protestantism has not been withered by public endowments in France, Spain, or Italy. Has Protestantism contrived to find the means of its own sustentation and culture and extension in those countries? \* And even if the Church of England could so contrive, being disestablished and disendowed, still to live and flourish, is that any reason for disestablishment and disendowment? ‘ A man who is good for anything will always contrive to get his living.’ Is that any reason for stripping him naked and turning him out in the midst of a wilderness? ‘ Depend upon it that faith in Christianity is not yet at so low an ebb in this country as to suffer a single village community to remain destitute of the means of religious instruction and Divine worship!’ And are we to deprive the village communities of their present means of religious instruction and Divine worship, just to satisfy ourselves whether Mr. Miall’s estimate of Christian faith in England is or is not extravagant? ‘ Yes,’ says Mr. Miall, first because ‘ the Church is convulsed by internal dissensions.’ Well, but after all, these internal dissensions do not harm him, and surely he might give the dissentients an option to take the initiative in self-cure. If the Church of England thinks that her internal maladies are not likely to be cured by social humiliation and pecuniary fine, why should these remedies be adopted on the advice of one who is not supposed to be particularly friendly to her practices or her doctrines?

But then he adds, to all the Nonconformist bodies ‘ the State Church, in the very nature of things presents itself in the light of a monopoly, sometimes barefaced and repulsive, sometimes veiled and unobtrusive, but always unjust.’ A monopoly of what? Of the right to teach the people religion? This is not so. Every town, every hamlet, is open to Mr. Miall. He can raise his ‘ Ebenezzer ’ wherever he likes, and in

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\* Not long ago we were asked by the minister of a Protestant church in a great city of Southern France to subscribe for the repair of his Temple (as he called it). We remonstrated, on the ground that the Protestants of Clermont could surely rebuild their own church, if they wanted one. The answer was, that the fund could not be raised without English assistance; and, preposterous as the claim was, we believe the worthy man got his money.

many places it has been done. The Church costs him nothing, and if it were disendowed that disendowment would not bring him a penny towards building his chapel. Many village churches would doubtless be shut up or feebly supplied by the incompetent and uninfluential ministrations of literates and scripture-readers. But not more chapels would be built, and the 'hungry sheep,' who at all events have been to a certain extent kept from spiritual and moral and intellectual death by the husks of an Establishment, would perish in too many cases of absolute inanition.

But perhaps Mr. Miall will say the monopoly of which he speaks is a monopoly of State support. Does he then want concurrent endowment? Certainly not, for State pay is the accursed thing which he will not touch. Then worse than the dog of the fable, he will exclude the parson from a manger which he himself refuses to enter!

Last of all, says Mr. Miall, 'to the great wage-earning class both in the large towns and in the rural districts the Church has ceased to have any attractions.' It certainly has more than it ever had before. But has Dissent any greater attractions? In the rural districts we think not, except as to a very few, the pious poor, who are so apt to adopt some form of Methodism, and those we suppose we may say Mr. Miall has already. And even in the towns, if Dissent be in any wise more popular than Episcopacy, every man is free to choose the chapel, nor would men be more free in their religious choice if the Church of England were disestablished and disendowed to-morrow.

It is possible we may be told by the advocates of Disestablishment to look to the case of Ireland. There is this great distinction between the case of Ireland and our own, that in Ireland a parochial system existed ready to take the place of that parochial system which was being abolished, and which was not the system of the people. True that the Roman Catholic chapels in Ireland are not legally parochial, but they are practically so, and the priest exercises a territorial function in Ireland just as truly as the parson in England. We do not desire to underrate the English peasant. He has good qualities which are little known except to those with whom he comes in immediate contact. But a fondness for the services of the Church to which he belongs is not one of these good qualities, and if the continuance of those services depended on his efforts, he neither could nor would make any effort to continue them. The Irish peasant feels it to be a part of his duty to go to Mass, and he contributes largely to the



support of the parish priest by the payment of enormous dues on the baptisms, marriages, and funerals which occur in his family. The English peasant never has had to pay more than a trifle for these rites; if he had, he would assuredly rather go without them, as he does not believe that his own salvation, or that of his family, depend upon them.

Where the Congregational system exists, as it now does to a great extent in all towns, there the Congregational system would continue alike among Churchmen and Dissenters. Of the seven hundred London churches perhaps not one-tenth is parochial except in name. If a Tyburnian Evangelist migrates into South Kensington, his congregation follows after him Sunday by Sunday. The listeners who hang upon Broad Church eloquence in St. James's Square are gathered from all parts of London, just as the lovers of ritual hasten from every quarter to All Saints Margaret Street and St. Paul's Knightsbridge. And so it will be after Disestablishment as well as before it, except that seat-room for the poor, slender and inadequate as it is at present, will then, in all probability, become still more slender and still more inadequate. But where the parochial system prevails at present, and subject to existing incumbencies, the whole charge of maintaining a minister will fall upon the comparatively few who are both willing and able to undertake it. Mr. Miall tells us that the revenue of the Church of England is 'abstracted from the common fund' . . . . to provide religious means for the upper and richer 'half of the community.' We deny this *in toto*, so far as the incomes of the parochial clergy are concerned. We defy Mr. Miall to prove that this, or anything like this, is the case. There is no such thing as a 'common fund,' except in so far as money is raised by taxation or rent-charge for public purposes. It is perfectly true that in the country parishes the squire, like all who choose to go to church, gets his religious services for nothing so far as the payment of the minister is concerned. But who pays the clerk and sexton, the lighting, cleansing, warming, and repair of the church? In all cases 'the upper and richer half of the community.' In towns, and especially in London, both the expenses of the services and the salary of the minister are very frequently paid by seat-rents; but in almost every church there are many free sittings, the occupants of which contribute nothing either as tithe or as church-rate. They pay nothing either to the officiating minister or towards the office itself.

The fact is, and the statistics of Nonconformity prove it, that the country is not ripe for a Congregational system. In

the towns, in the more respectable parts of the Metropolis, and in the larger villages, we find the bulk of Nonconformist chapels. In the smaller villages and in the more degraded parts of the Metropolis they are hardly to be seen. We have only to consider the methods by which new 'interests' are created among Churchmen on the one hand and among Dissenters on the other, to see that without centres of population the Congregational system cannot live, except perhaps after the manner of the Primitive Methodists. Among Churchmen, the first thing done in a new neighbourhood where a want of church services is felt is to build and to some extent endow a church, cutting off a district of which the new church is to be the ecclesiastical centre; then to appoint a clergyman; lastly to collect a congregation. Among Dissenters on the other hand, the 'interest' begins by drawing together a few persons to a religious service, probably conducted by a theological student or a layman; if numbers increase, a room is hired, a regular minister undertakes the service, and a congregation grows; last of all an effort is made, and a chapel rises. The processes are thus exactly the converse of one another. In the one we have, first the material building, then the minister, then the flock—in the other, first the flock, then the minister, then the material building. But if we have a sparse population and very little interest in religious matters, as in most country districts, or a swarming population and no interest at all, as in so many of the lower town districts, it seems impossible to take the very first step. And even if the first step has been provided as in country districts by existing fabrics, where is the vast sum to come from which is to endow twenty thousand churches? Will the 'rush of 'voluntary effort' supply six millions a year, or five millions, or three millions, sums equal to an income-tax varying from fourpence to twopence? But when we urge these considerations we are met by an argument in another direction. Look, says 'the Nonconformist,' at the reports of the Commissioners who have examined the question of the employment of women and children in agriculture, and see what they say of the rural parishes, and after that, defend if you can the existence of so useless a body of men as the Rural Clergy.

We do defend it. We say that had it not been for the Rural Clergy, deficient as in past times especially their ministrations have been, the small amount of 'sweetness and light' which now exists in the rural parishes would have been changed into unmixed bitterness and darkness which could be felt. We say that the poor would have lost their best, often

their only friend; that so far as religious instruction goes, the most that could have been hoped for in very many parishes would have been the unlettered teaching of some section of Methodism, and that all those influences which a clergyman can bring, and mostly does bring, to bear on behalf of the physical, educational, and moral improvement of the people would have been utterly lost and extinguished. And for what end? There is but one end that we can see, and that is in order that the inferiority of position under which Dissenting ministers labour as compared to the clergy of the Established Church may be done away with.

Mr. Miall tells us that the operation of this State Church policy has been to condemn by law one half, or thereabouts, of the people of this kingdom, 'to occupy before the law an inferior position as compared with the other half; to be tolerated, endured, humiliated in that which they regard as their most incontestable right, and in the discharge of their most sacred obligations.' And he further asserts that thereby is 'the lesser half (we will say) of the community beholden to the greater half for their liberty to worship God as conscience may direct them; and whilst they do so, witnessing the appropriation of resources common to both, to the exclusive support of the religious institutions of the stronger of the two.' We think we have said enough as to the duties which the clergy discharge to prove that this last assertion is by no means accurate; but if it were, it comes with an ill grace from the mouth of a man who repudiates all desire for concurrent endowment, and we can hardly believe that even Mr. Miall would rejoice at the reduction of the National Debt by the absorption or realisation of the tithe rent-charge. But to turn to the earlier part of these quotations. How does a Dissenter occupy before the law an inferior position to a Churchman, and how would that position be altered by disestablishment and disendowment? Has not a Dissenter the same rights, the same liberties, the same opportunities of worshipping God according to his conscience? How can it be said that Churchmen 'tolerate,' 'endure,' or 'humiliate' Dissenters in the discharge of any obligation sacred or otherwise? It *was* so, but it is so no longer. Let us try to state the case as history gives it, and as it actually exists.

From the date of the Act of Uniformity up to nearly the present time, in consequence of the bigoted and intolerant conduct of University authorities mostly clerical, backed by a Parliament which after two reforms does not clearly comprehend the principles of religious liberty or of national edu-

cation, there was no opportunity for Nonconformists to obtain admission for their children in the public schools or at the national universities. The consequences have been productive of manifold injury to Dissent and to Churchmanship also. Six generations have been born and have died since Charles II. For a certain number of years, the children of the richer Nonconformists had the advantage of private training under ministers who had studied at the universities before the evil days of exclusion. This could last but for a time, and died out early in the last century. There was then nothing left for them but 'academies' as they were called, that is, private schools, with the chance of a Scotch university for those who desired and could afford college training. What applied to the laity applied also to the clergy, and Mr. Miall himself will tell us how keenly this educational inferiority of their ministers has always been felt among the more enlightened of his co-religionists. But it had a double effect. It lowered the social position of the second and successive generations of Dissenting ministers, and it deterred members of the Nonconformist aristocracy from entering the ministry. It did still worse. It produced a continuing sense of wrong, galling and tormenting beyond measure, most injurious to manliness and straightforwardness of character, and most difficult to bear.

We have used the word aristocracy as applied to the higher class of Nonconformists, a word at which some of our readers may smile, but which yet in our view conveys a distinct meaning. Pride of birth is not a passion confined among Anglo-Saxons to the English landowner. It exists in a remarkable degree among our Transatlantic cousins. There is among them something akin to the old Greek feeling of heroic descent, attaching to a pedigree traceable from an English ancestor. One curious instance of this feeling we may mention, one out of many which have come under our notice. Some years since a church in Suffolk required extensive repairs, its tower having suddenly collapsed, nearly burying the congregation in the ruins. A 'whip' was accordingly made among all who might be, and among many who might not be, supposed to take an interest in the parish. Among the largest contributors was a native of Massachusetts, whose ancestors had been lords of a neighbouring manor in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and whose family emigrated to America a century and a half ago. Their property had passed into other hands, but their descendant, himself a Unitarian, sent fifty pounds to rebuild a church he had never seen, in a country he had never visited, and belonging to a religious communion alien from his own.

This pride of birth has always existed in the old Nonconformist families; but it has not been a feeling unmixed with pain. It is not pleasant to be distanced in any race, and least so when the defeat is owing to being handicapped by one's enemies. So petty persecution has had its ordinary result, and the fourth and fifth generations of Nonconformist families have silently and gradually deserted the meeting house, and returned to the Church which drove out their forefathers.

But the educational exclusion produced another evil result to clergy as well as laity among the Nonconformists. One of the many pieces of chance good fortune which has accrued to the Church of England is the fact that her ministers have never been subjected to a different course of university training from that which her laymen undergo. Their college career has been the same, they have sat in the same lecture-rooms, dined in the same hall, attended or neglected the same religious services, mingled in the same sports. It may be said that special religious preparation was not given where it ought to have been, but that is a want which has been of late years in great measure supplied. The effect of this general education has been very much to diminish that narrowness which is so apt to attach to any merely professional drill, and to prevent the young ecclesiastic from forgetting, while taking orders, that he is still a citizen. With Dissenters, unfortunately, this has been too little the case. Since the middle of the last century their academics have been exclusively theological, and the future pastor has had no opportunities of social and educational intercourse with those who are to be the members of his flock. Religious tests have shut him out from what ought to be, and what are rapidly growing to be, national institutions—the old universities, and the accidents of custom have deprived him of any chance of a general education elsewhere. How could it be that he should be otherwise than keenly professional, and therefore keenly alive to any slight put upon his order? We believe that we shall not be very far wrong if we ascribe the greater part of the movement for Disestablishment and Disendowment to this feeling; and it is, to say the least of it, curious that both the mover and seconder of the Resolution of last session are retired Dissenting ministers.

Is there then no cure for this state of things except the cure suggested by Mr. Miall? Or would his cure be successful? Social inequalities are not to be levelled by Acts of Parliament, nor can any measure of Disestablishment and Disendowment raise a half-educated Dissenting minister to the same point in the social scale as his better-born and better-

taught Episcopalian rival. But there are influences at work which we sincerely hope may bring about a better state of things. A notice contained in 'the English Independent' of Nov. 23, 1871, struck us as a good omen for the future. It is as follows:—

'The services in connexion with the ordination of Mr. Charles E. B. Reed, M.A., *late scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge*, . . . were held on Tuesday and Wednesday last.'

Mr. Reed is, we believe, a son of the M.P. of that name, and grandson of Dr. Andrew Reed, a well-known and in his lifetime very distinguished Dissenting minister, founder of the Reedham Asylum, and otherwise eminent for good works. Mr. Reed's social position, therefore, will admit of no question. But it is the fact that he has distinguished himself at the first college in the empire—that he has held his own against the picked men of the public schools—which will insure him respect, wherever he goes, from his clerical neighbours of whatever denomination. No clergyman in his vicinity can fail to recognise Mr. Reed's claims, except by forfeiting his own character for good sense; no neighbouring layman will feel that any social barrier exists such as too often excludes the Dissenting minister from the hospitalities and acquaintance-ship of the well-to-do and educated classes. The peculiar advantage of an English clergyman is, that he is, so to speak, on a level with all. Like a still more inevitable personage,—

'æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,  
Regumque turres.'

But it is on account of his supposed education, not on account of his monopoly of tithe-rent charge, that every door is thus open to receive him. And it is only by similar means that Mr. Miall and Mr. Richard will be able to bridge over that great social gulf which is fixed in English society between Churchman and Dissenter, especially between the clerical members of both communions.

Perhaps no controversy has ever more signally illustrated the old rule that '*dolus latet in generalibus*' than this controversy as to the separation of Church and State. Of this species of fallacy Mr. Miall's speech is full; and as these lines pass through the press we have met in 'The Bee-Hive' newspaper with an address from a committee of working men to the working classes of Great Britain, which is noticeable on account of a similar peculiarity. After remarking that 'Mr. Gladstone closed his speech by suggesting to Mr. Miall that he must first convince a majority of the people of the wisdom

‘and justice of his policy, before expecting Parliament to ‘adopt it,’ the address summarises the views of its writers:—

‘1. They regard matters of religion as belonging to the domain of conscience, in which everything must be left between man and his Maker.’

This sentence has the advantage of making nearly equal sense however we may transpose it, as it happens that ‘matters of ‘religion,’ ‘the domain of conscience,’ and ‘everything between ‘man and his Maker,’ are nearly convertible terms. What is meant, however, no doubt is the safe but not altogether novel proposition that men should worship as they please and where they please. Possibly some members of this Committee take one step farther and add ‘and if they please;’ but at all events it is hard to see how liberty of conscience would be promoted by Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England.

‘2. They are of opinion that since the State Church in one part of the United Kingdom has been disestablished, it is both unjust and inconsistent not to deal in a similar manner with the State Church of the other parts of the United Kingdom.’

In other words, perhaps more homely, what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, even though the alleged gander be a bird of an entirely different feather or perhaps not even a bird at all. We might just as fairly say that, as no part of Ireland is forty miles from salt water, it is ‘both unjust ‘and inconsistent’ that any part of England should be so either.

‘3. They are persuaded from observation and experience that the State Church has utterly failed to accomplish the task for which it was established; and are also convinced that its existence, as such, is a fatal hindrance to the attainment of those objects which churches of any kind profess to keep in view.’

Probably the person who composed this sentence meant to say ‘the task for which it is established,’ as if he has any clear notions on the history of the subject it is not likely that he exactly approves of the objects for which lords of manors gave their land and paid their tithes in the twelfth century. But, passing this, let us take only one example of its usefulness, and ask the working man where the education of the country would have been at this moment if it had not been for lay and clerical members of ‘the State Church.’ So long ago as 1858 there were 19,559 week-day schools supported by the Church of England, with 1,187,086 scholars, while there were but 362,226 scholars in the 3,088 schools supported by other denominations, and 43,098 in the 357 schools not specially con-

nected with any denomination. No doubt these first numbers have since 1858 greatly increased, and no doubt also they will still more increase in the next two years, when the effect of those building grants which the secularists so much dislike shall become apparent. Yet why there should be any cause to regret that an expenditure from the public exchequer of not more than 400,000*l.* should draw upwards of 1,600,000*l.* from private pockets we cannot imagine, particularly when this will give school accommodation to nearly half a million of children. The fact is that in this, as well as in a much larger sense, the Church is the greatest educational establishment in the country; and while we are spending and proposing to spend vast sums raised by rates and by taxation for the support of schools, we are asked to abolish a means of education which costs us nothing. Just as we are founding a vast national establishment to teach everything except religion, we propose to sweep away another national establishment which teaches too, and whose only cause of offence is that religion is what it teaches.

While these people are talking of endowment and establishment as things of the past, created long ago, and which have failed to accomplish their task, they seem utterly unconscious that the work of endowment is going on every day on an enormous scale under their eyes. Bishoprics have been founded, churches are built, cathedrals are repaired, charitable trusts are created, the Bishop of London's Fund has reached half a million; and all this property has accumulated and is accumulating, by voluntary gifts for the national benefit, and is now invested on the faith of *what?* *On the faith of the laws which maintain and govern the perpetuity of the Establishment of the Church of England.*

We must now conclude. We have endeavoured to show what Establishment really means, and what changes would be produced by Disestablishment. We have marked out the results, most injurious as we believe, which would inevitably ensue from Disendowment. We have given what we think to be sound reasons for a belief that the whole agitation arises as much from soreness of feeling as from any deliberate conviction that any wrong is done by the present system. And we have expressed our view that it is not legislative enactment which will cure professional jealousy, and that no abolition of the parochial system will place a half-trained and, as a rule, humbly-born class, on a level with men whose very profession, implying as it does a participation in the best education the country can afford, is their passport to a position entirely independent of birth or lineage.



ART. V.—*Memoir and Letters of the late Sir Charles Bell.*  
London: 1870.

THIRTY years have passed since the death of the distinguished physiologist whose letters are published in the volume before us; and the volume itself has been for some time in the hands of readers. We need not, however, offer any apology for devoting a few pages to an analysis of its contents, and of the character, merits, and services of a most accomplished and remarkable man; thinking that it may not be devoid of interest to a new generation to study the career and characteristics of one of the most unobtrusive, but, in our times, one of the greatest benefactors of our race. In these letters we find photographed the inner life and common thoughts of one who united to rare practical genius social graces and tastes which do not always accompany it. The picture is a very pleasing one, and suggests several points of interesting reflection.

Sir Charles Bell was the youngest of four brothers, all of whom started in the race of life with few adventitious aids. Their father was an Episcopal clergyman, in the north of Scotland, who brought up his family on the slender emoluments which, in the last century, such a vocation implied. Even now, the clergy of that communion in Scotland are but scantily provided for; but, in those days, they had but precarious and very limited sources of income. Although generally some of the wealthier classes attended their ministrations, they were still in the rank of Dissenting clergy, with little hold on the body of the people, and with but little means or hope of extending their influence, or of raising their position. The father of these young men came of a Presbyterian house, but had changed his ecclesiastical views at college; and he lived and died in the humble calling he had chosen, and left to his family little but the independent spirit of his example, and the refined and intellectual cast of his character.

The career of his four sons—Robert, John, George, and Charles, although none of them rose to any pinnacle of worldly fortune, affords an instructive lesson to the aspiring spirit of youth. They all made their mark on the world, and were eminent and distinguished in the professions which they adopted. They started in very narrow circumstances, and were sustained by their own self-reliance, and by mutual aid. They were a type of what Scotsmen in those days were. We are not sure that the type remains; but we may see in their

history, and read very clearly and graphically portrayed in this little volume, the national character as it stood towards the end of last century. That century had done great things for Scotland. The Union had carried off its Parliament, and among other results had carried off with the Parliament a host of jobbers and intriguers who had repressed and stifled the energies of the nation. From that time, rivalry with England in the field of intellect, and a desire to gain not a local but an imperial position, was the incentive which fired every well-descended Scot. At home, political eminence was all but excluded; but the energies of the race were devoted to two sources of progress—to the cultivation of their barren hills and marshy plains, and to those intellectual pursuits which might bring them up to the mark of their richer sister. Before the century had nearly closed, these efforts, pursued amid many disadvantages, had resulted in the formation of a Scottish school of agriculture and of a Scottish school of literature. The golden prizes of the East thrown open to her sons, sent back many a cadet of an ancient house, who had left the ancestral castle penniless, to spend his well-earned rupees on the slopes and valleys of his native land. Meanwhile the reputation of Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, and Reid had founded a school not of thought only, but of study. To write as these men had written, so as to command the attention and applause of England, was the one great ambition of the aspiring Scottish student, and the desire infused into the scholastic and academic life an amount of impulse and incentive to thorough work which we fear has in these days much abated.

The four brothers, of whom Sir Charles Bell was the youngest, were very early deprived of their father, who died in 1779. At this time the eldest, Robert, was little over twenty-one; the second, John, was only seventeen; George, only nine, and Charles, five. Yet, like more than one Scottish family—the Malcolms, for instance, to whom Sir John and Sir Pulteney belonged—they all became distinguished. But the Malcolms, although only the sons of a substantial Scottish yeoman, had good friends and early advantages. The family of the poor Episcopal clergyman had no such aid. Under what difficulties they received their early training may be gathered from the fact simply told in a little memoir compiled by George:—‘Our circumstances,’ he said, ‘were so narrow, that my education was much stinted, the rest of the family expenses having gradually increased; so that my schooling, which required no more than five shillings a quarter, could not

'be continued after I was eleven years old.' The rest was accomplished by his own private study, and the efforts of a most affectionate and praiseworthy mother. Such were the foundations on which, in those days, the energy and aspirations of Scottish youth could build the attainments and cultivation of a gentleman and a scholar.

Of the four brothers, Robert, the eldest, on whose exertions probably much of the progress of the family depended, had the least conspicuous career, although he was a man of undoubted ability, kindly disposition, and clear judgment. He adopted the legal profession, and was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet. He ultimately became Professor of Conveyancing in that body, and was the author of several practical works of standard reputation on various legal subjects. He died in Edinburgh in 1816.

The second son, John Bell, was a much more remarkable man, and was gifted with rare powers of very varied and uncommon quality. Devoted, as it was said, by his father, out of gratitude for a successful operation of which he was the subject, to the medical profession, he became one of the most renowned surgeons of his time. Slender as may have been his original advantages, he not only obtained a thorough education, but had travelled through Russia and the north of Europe, before he commenced his professional career. Between 1786 and 1796, young as he was, he lectured with great success on surgery in Edinburgh, and very early formed for himself a high reputation; while as an operator his fame became second to none in Europe, and many resorted to him from England and all parts of the Continent. He had many accomplishments. He was a clever draughtsman, a good classic, and had literary knowledge, as well as literary ability, of a high order. After failing health had compelled him to travel, he wrote and illustrated a volume of '*Observations on Italy*,' indicating considerable powers of appreciation as well as of composition. He died at Rome in 1820.

He was a singular, restless, persistent, combative man, inspired with a volatile essence of genius, which made him popular, interesting, and sometimes uncertain. His good taste, refined artistic perception, his love and knowledge of music, and his resources in conversation, rendered him a favourite in society. His enthusiasm for his profession, and his habits of thorough investigation, brought him to its head, while his ill-concealed scorn of venerable pomposity embroiled him with many combatants. We looked the other day into a volume which contained the letters of '*Jonathan Dawplucker*,'

a sobriquet which having been used against John Bell by a professional antagonist, he adopted in a very effective retort. It was a provincial squabble among Edinburgh surgeons; and one cannot help being amused by the power and vigour expended in a conflict, the cause of which no reader of the present day can discover. But the combatants, Barclay, John Bell, and Gregory, were masters of their weapons; and even in total ignorance of the *casus belli*, it is impossible not to be struck, as well as diverted, by the keenness of John Bell's style, his fertility of illustration, and his wonderful command of picturesque personality.

George Joseph Bell, the third son, was eight years younger than John, having been born in 1770. We have already mentioned how scanty were the resources of his education. Yet indomitable spirit carried him through, and he joined the Scottish Bar in 1791. He says he was then devoid of friends and interest, but he was, before long, in the centre of a very brilliant circle. He was contemporary with Scott and Jeffrey, and some years older than Brougham, Horner, Cockburn, and Moncreiff; but with them and their associates his lot in life was cast, and he maintained throughout a long and distinguished career a foremost place among them. As a lawyer, he has left a reputation which renders his authority scarcely inferior to that of Lord Stair, the great oracle and arbiter of Scottish jurisprudence. His great work on the Laws of Bankruptcy, which was afterwards expanded into a profound Commentary on Mercantile Law, will ever remain as a monument of his learning, sagacity, and logical power. It was the first attempt which had been made, with the exception of some desultory although ingenious essays by Lord Kames, to harmonise and elucidate the principles of the Law-merchant as practically applied in the Courts of the two kingdoms. Its authority and reputation has grown rather than diminished since his death, not only in Scotland but in England and in America; \* and every resort to it in order to solve emerging questions only tends to illustrate more strongly the perspicacity and breadth of his legal knowledge. The present Bankrupt Law of Scotland, with which traders seem to be fairly satisfied, has been built entirely on the foundations which he laid, and conduces not less to the substantial benefit of the nation than many more ostentatious although not more solid reforms.

\* His work is quoted in the American Case before the Geneva Court of Arbitration.

His professional career as regards practice was for many years very successful. He had unusual powers of work and thorough knowledge of his profession, and especially as a consulting counsel stood very high. But Themis is a fickle goddess, and in the jostling of the distinguished crowd to which he belonged, in the end he was distanced by younger men. He belonged to the unfashionable school of Whig politicians: nor did the sun of patronage begin to shine on that side of the wall until George Joseph Bell had passed his meridian. At one time his promotion to the Bench seemed certain. He had been summoned to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1824, on the state of the Law of Scotland, and was placed on a commission of inquiry which was then appointed. But although Sir Robert Peel, much to his honour, appointed shortly afterwards four of the Whig leaders to the Scottish Bench, they were all in front of him in professional practice. His acceptance of the Chair of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh, although his election was a deserved tribute to his eminence, rather increased the current which drifted him from ordinary business.

So, however, it was. The ebb of the waters set in, as it has done with many another man of mark in that unstable ocean. It did so with Henry Erskine, who had been a leader at the Bar of Scotland for twenty-five years, and it did so with George Joseph Bell. His later years were spent in the less ambitious duties of his professorship, and those of the office of one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session, in which Walter Scott had preceded him.

In private he was a most amiable, cultivated, and agreeable man. He was refined, even fastidious in his tastes, and ardent in all intellectual pursuits. With none of the mercurial restlessness of his elder brother, he was graver, and of sedate and dignified deportment. But he was full of latent fire and life: a sound though not surly critic; popular with his own circle, and very genial and kindly to a rising generation—a sure sign of a well-regulated heart. A noble picture of him by Raeburn, one of that master's best portraits, hangs in the great hall of the Parliament House in Edinburgh, where it holds a worthy place in a collection remarkable both for subject and for artistic merit. It recalls very vividly the features and expression of the Professor, and the combined acuteness and geniality of his pleasant face. But had he been left to choose a memorial for himself, we are not sure but he would have preferred to the enduring fame of his Commentaries, or the immortality conferred by the pencil of Raeburn, the unob-

trusive but most touching and graceful lineaments, sketched in the volume before us. The letters of Sir Charles Bell are letters mainly to his brother George—commenced in comparative youth, and continued throughout the struggles, successes, and anxieties of riper age. The warm-hearted affection and thorough sympathy which subsisted between the two brothers is charmingly portrayed in the series of letters before us. They represent the younger in an interesting and attractive light; but on the whole they are more in this respect the memorial of George than of Charles. It is natural and usual for a warm-hearted and affectionate younger brother to look up with admiration and love to one some years his elder, and already launched on the stream of life. But it is rarely that the elder, engaged in the novelty and excitement of the life struggle, with new associates and new cares, will open his heart, and surrender his attention to anxieties, and interests, and associations he has so long left behind. In this respect the mingled paternal and fraternal solicitude exhibited throughout these letters by the older for the younger—the generous pride which he takes, and the confidence he reposes in his brother's abilities, the soundness of judgment and the warmth of heart which are ever at his command—indicate a character at once elevated and solid, devoid alike of selfishness and of impatience. Fatherless himself, he took his fatherless brother to his arms, and from the first trod the path of life with him in equal companionship. Both lived to see the hardships of their early days crowned by reputation and applause, and to rejoice over the successes of each other.

The brothers had not been separated during thirty years before these letters begin. They parted at last in 1804, when Charles left Edinburgh for London. George writes in his Memorandum, 'I felt when he went away that he had left me 'never to meet again except for a visit; that our long brotherly 'life of companionship was at an end. Yet I believed this to 'be most manifestly for his advantage, and forced my inclination to advise and promote it.' He had his reward for his gentle and kindly fostering of his brother in his steadfast affection and growing fame.

Charles, with whose course we are chiefly concerned, must have been a remarkable boy, as he was a remarkable man. Although naturally of an ardent and joyous temperament—finding sources of pleasure in common things, 'contented wi' 'little and canty wi' mair,' as the Scotch song has it—there ran a thread of melancholy through the texture of his character not unusual in the case of those whose early years have

been marked by adversity. Witnessing daily, even before he could understand them, his mother's constant cares and struggles, marking the troubled cast of thought and the weary lines, worked by an unequal contest with the world, on the face he so dearly loved, tinged the complexion and current of his thoughts. To that overworked anxious mother he seems to have been devoted. He wrote of her: 'For twenty years of my life I had but one wish—to gratify my mother and to do something to alleviate what I saw her suffer;' a true and never-failing test of nobility of mind. We can see the operation of this double element of liveliness and depression—not alternate but coincident—throughout his whole career. It added sentiment and interest to his character, if sometimes, as it did, it affected and retarded the completeness of some of his greatest efforts.

He was a thoughtful, ardent, desponding, idle, ambitious boy, chained and subdued by an inability to master the ordinary schoolboy tasks—an inability often more imaginary than real, and consisting not so much in unfitness to go the pace as in starting too far behind in the race. One can easily understand, that with the previous desultory training which his home could furnish, his two years at the High School were years of torture and humiliation. We have heard of a professor of mathematics, who used to say, that in his first session he was only one problem in advance of his students. But one problem was enough. He was never overtaken. So it may often happen that a clever boy's school days may be wholly overshadowed by the simple fact that he started behind the rest, and never overtook them. But it soon appeared that he was no ordinary youth. Education, he himself said, he had none beyond what he learned from his mother. His real training was the example of his brothers. John had become a celebrated man while Charles was still at school, and George was at the bar when Charles was seventeen. From their example and from George's counsel he gained the spark which fired his ambition. He soon discovered where his strength lay. In exact science he began to find all things easy; and he possessed, like his brother John, a rare facility with his pencil, which was fostered by his intimacy with David Allan, a painter of considerable merit, who took kindly to the clever lad, and hailed him as a brother of the brush. Rambles round Edinburgh with George, in walks in which they dreamed ambitious dreams and built castles in the air, formed no slight part of his early training. Some of these castles, however, were really built afterwards on solid ground. George recounts

one ramble in which they formed the magnanimous resolution that each should write a book, and the walk bore fruit in the lawyer's 'Commentaries on the Law of Scotland,' and the young surgeon's 'System of Dissections.'

Such was the training with which Charles Bell started as the assistant of his brother John, to whose profession he had been long destined. Such had been his progress that George says of him, 'Charles's natural clearness of head, and neatness of hand, and the vigorous correctness of his conceptions, made him an admirable surgeon, and one of the first anatomists of the day, when he was yet a boy not entered on life.' John Bell had great originality, and an active creative mind. He probably was a greater benefactor to the science of surgery than the wrangling and jealousies of the time permitted to be recognised. The main novelty of his teaching was the application of anatomy and pathology to surgery; an association of cognate branches which, although so plainly essential, was at that day strangely but greatly neglected. Charles Bell's position as his assistant was, probably, more useful to him than altogether pleasant. John had been for years launched on the waters of controversy before his youngest brother joined him; and their disparity of years, and a dash of peremptory impatience, as is the wont of clever elder brothers, rendered their association not one quite on an equal footing. But whatever might be the roughnesses he may have encountered, 'Charles's sunny temper and quiet courage made light of them. In his brother's rapid energy and intellectual vigour he found an unceasing spur to his own powers of thought and reflection. His admiration of him was intense; and the amount he learned from him when he prevailed on him to pour out his stores, he always referred to as invaluable. 'He did *dunch* and press one,' he writes after his brother's death; 'but since I lived with him, I have scarcely enjoyed what may be called conversation.'

Charles Bell remained associated with John until 1804. Previously to 1798, his duties were mainly confined to attendance at the dissecting rooms, furnishing his brother with drawings and preparations, in which he was singularly expert, and assisting him in composing and illustrating his surgical and anatomical works, the plates to some of which he contributed. The amount of unpretending but solid aid which John Bell received from him, especially in those publications on which the great fame of the former to this day rests, was very valuable. In 1798 Charles applied for admission to the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. So hotly burned the flame of professional discord,



that an attempt was actually made to disqualify John's pupils on the ground that he himself had been irregularly admitted fifteen years before; and it required a threat of legal proceedings before the College authorities consented to admit him. From that time forward Charles was combined with John in the course of lectures, and their success was immense. Charles had published in two volumes his 'System of Dissections,' and remained living in his brother George's house until he left for London. His publications had brought him considerable reputation; and, in particular, his skill as a draughtsman, through the plates to the published works, had made his name very favourably known to the profession south of the Tweed. His proficiency as an operator, rapid and resolute, had often excited attention and admiration, and as a lecturer he had a class of about ninety pupils. But the medical squabbles of the time in which his brother's keen wit and sharp pen had involved himself and the profession rendered the position of Charles irksome. They resulted in the managers of the Infirmary excluding from operating within its walls all members of the College of Surgeons who had not attained a certain seniority. This somewhat arbitrary proceeding excluded both John and Charles Bell from a field essential to their public teaching. John Bell ceased to lecture; and Charles resolved to quit Edinburgh, and launch his solitary canoe on the wide waters of London.

Before we take our leave of the metropolis of the North, and follow Charles Bell's fortunes to England, let us turn back for a moment, and recall the position, features, and society of the city which he quitted, and sketch hastily some of the more prominent characteristics of a circle, circumscribed indeed, but still embracing some elements of distinction and interest, and containing at that time the seeds of progress which were destined ere long to bear important fruit. In 1804 Scottish society was in a transition state. The nobility and landed gentry, deeply imbued with the old Jacobite spirit, had transferred to a large extent their royalist predilections to the reigning Sovereign, not so much from favour to the Hanoverian dynasty, as from dislike to the principles of democratic government. It was a singular transition, but not an unnatural or inconsistent one. Culloden still rankled in their hearts, nor was the Union absolutely forgiven; but face to face with the French Revolution, they had to deal with an enemy nearer their gates; and they rallied round the dynastic principle of prerogative as embodied in the person of George III. with the same loyalist devotion as that which

inspired their ancestors in the '15 or the '45. Country society in those days of impassable roads, when as yet neither Macadam nor Stephenson had arisen, was difficult; and the lairds generally spent their winter months in Edinburgh, when they could afford it, or, if not, in their nearest country town. Even so small a place as Anstruther, on the coast of Fife, was wont to be the winter residence of some of the county magnates.

In this way Edinburgh at the commencement of the century became, during its busy winter months, while the University was in session and its Courts of Law in their fullest activity, the resort of men of position from many quarters; and this gave to its social circles, and the men of intellect and education who had influence over them, a certain national character which has hardly been maintained since. Facility of communication always has a tendency to provincialise all but the actual capital; and Edinburgh, although flourishing still, and grown to much larger dimensions than she possessed in 1804, has not altogether escaped its effects.

When Charles Bell turned his steps from Edinburgh, he left behind him a city much changed indeed from what it had been during centuries of its history, but very different also in aspect from the features it now presents. For fifty years preceding, her dignitaries had begun to emerge from their dwellings in the narrow alleys branching off the High Street, and to occupy the more modern residences of the New Town on the northern side of the Castle Hill. It is doubtful whether the change—not without a certain picturesque element of its own—has not left something to regret. Our ancestors were not so ignorant of sanitary laws, nor so regardless of atmospheric conditions, as has sometimes been supposed. Old Edinburgh, encircled and protected by its rare amphitheatre of hill and rock, and sloping to either side of the ridge, had the advantage of shelter and natural drainage; and although compressed mainly for purposes of defence, and sadly deficient in cleanliness, was not ill adapted to the exigencies of a northern climate, exposed to the blasts which cross the German Ocean. To quit the fastnesses which nature had provided, and give battle to the elements in the open plateau of the New Town, without a single barrier against their artillery, was questionable strategy. A wiser general would have extended his lines to the southward, in a direction in which the citizens are at last retreating—a situation not less romantic, and with a climate much more salubrious.

In 1804 the New Town was bounded on the north by the ter-

race of Queen Street, which is now about the centre of that part of the city. From the description given by Sir John Stoddart in his 'Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland in '1799 and 1800,' it appears that the ground in front of it was at that time entirely unoccupied and untrimmed, although the magnificent view which it commanded of the Frith of Forth, and its well wooded and undulating foreground, made it, what it has long ceased to be, the fashionable promenade in summer evenings. The same writer says: 'Edinburgh, however improved in opulence and comfort by the Union, has lost much of the species of grandeur arising from the residences of the Court and nobility. The latter, like the hotels of the French noblesse, had an insulated character very distinct from the houses of the wealthy citizens; some of them remain, as Queensbury House, Lothian House, &c., but the greater part have undergone strange revolutions.' 'The Lord Justice Clerk Tinwald's house was possessed in 1783 by a French teacher; Lord President Craigie's by a rousing wife, or saleswoman of old furniture; and Lord Drummore's house was left by a chairman for want of accommodation.' The exodus to the New Town, however, was not universal; and even within memory one very distinguished and characteristic specimen of the old school, the late Sir William Miller (Lord Glenlie), who sat on the Bench for about fifty years, used to be carried in his sedan-chair in full court suit from his house in Brown Square up the narrow 'close' or alley which led to the Parliament House.

The same transition from the French to the English model was in operation on Scottish intellect, education, and culture. The Edinburgh circle of the period we write of was probably the last which retained a tinge of the old Continental polish, which had till then formed so large an element in Scottish manners and learning. Indeed, in all branches of intellectual cultivation the Scottish student had formed himself on European models. The time, no doubt, had long passed when the Scottish man of letters was as much at home in the French and Italian schools of learning as in his own—when Buchanan was a professor first in a French, and then in a Portuguese university; and when even a man of action like Knox was master of the languages of France and Italy, and spoke them familiarly in his family. Still even at the time of which we write, the Scottish student was wont to draw his law and his medicine from the schools of Leyden or Utrecht. His theology and Church polity had sprung from Geneva; and both in exact and in mental science he formed himself on the example

of Continental philosophers. All this was in great measure to cease. The closing of the Continent caused by the wars of Europe barred the egress of the next generation; and although the literature of Europe is cultivated now more widely than it ever was, the old-fashioned flavour of foreign modes of thought and speech and manners has left the ancient winged Castle of the North never to return.

This, the last generation of the traditional Scottish school, however, could boast a very distinguished circle of able men, in society, in the University, on the Bench, at the Bar, and in the Church; and Edinburgh, combining as it did the luminaries of the Law with the most distinguished ornaments of the University, brought a very brilliant intellectual assembly within a comparatively narrow circle. The professional men of that day were almost uniformly of varied and solid acquirements. The Bench was no longer lighted up by the ingenious philosophy of Kames and Monboddo; but Lord President Campbell and Lord Justice Clerk Macquhen were profound and powerful lawyers; and few men who have occupied the Bench ever combined in a greater degree general accomplishment with legal eminence than Allan Maconochie and Sir William Miller. Henry Erskine, Robert Blair, Charles Hope, and John Clerk were the leaders of the Bar. The first, Lord Erskine's elder, and probably abler, brother, was the charm of society, as he was the ornament of his profession. The second, afterwards the President of the Court, stood pre-eminent for legal knowledge, dignified elocution, and thorough scholarship. The third, Charles Hope, who succeeded Blair as the head of the Court, was thought by Brougham the most eloquent speaker he ever heard. He held his high position until 1842. The last, John Clerk, was a very learned, able, and eccentric man. For many years he held the ring of general practice without a rival. Utterly scornful of the graces, utterly contemptuous of dignities, the avowed despiser of constituted authorities in the law, and believing very thoroughly only in himself, he was withal a man of deep and varied learning, with a grim but genuine and caustic humour, and considerable taste. The young Whig lawyers were nurtured under his wing, and regarded with deserved respect his legal power and his vast erudition.

The Universities, which, under Adam Smith, Reid, Robertson and Ferguson, had risen to great reputation, worthily maintained it under their successors. Dr. Black had but just ceased his labours as Professor of Chemistry, a chair to which his fame had attached a European celebrity. The venerable

Alexander Monro *Secundus* had but lately handed over to his son the Chair of Anatomy, which he had done so much to adorn; and Cullen's great reputation was equalled, and his academic popularity even surpassed, by his successor Gregory. The latter was an imposing and formidable autocrat. The irreverent 'Jonathan Dawplucker' declared that he was the fifteenth professor in lineal descent in his family. He ruled with undisputed sway over the physical framework of his fellow-citizens, with a firm but kindly sceptre, for nearly twenty years more, and was carried to the grave amid demonstrations of popular interest and respect which are rarely evoked. But there were three men occupying chairs of public instruction in Scotland during Charles Bell's early manhood, who, although they had no direct influence on his career, were yet so instrumental in moulding the modes of thought of the society to which he belonged, and were such powerful agents in determining the subsequent current of affairs, that this sketch would be imperfect without some mention of them.

Lord Cockburn in his Memorials has described the state of political feeling which was prevalent in his younger days in Edinburgh society. The Tory reign was absolute, and brooked no resistance. The avengers were no doubt at hand, but in the form of a knot of unknown young men, with neither ancestral nor social distinction; and who, although their names were Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, Mackintosh, and Sydney Smith, with a circle of friends of their own age, were as little considered by the dominant rulers of society or of the learned professions, as any other insignificant members of the rising generation. To these George Joseph Bell attached his fortunes, and among them Charles Bell found the companions of his youth and the friendships which lasted for his life. But the three men who more than any other determined their future course were John Millar, John Playfair, and Dugald Stewart.

John Millar was Professor of Law in Glasgow—a Whig, and something more in political opinion—a lecturer of immense range and power of expression, and with that magnetic influence which seems an instinct, of attracting, warming, and charming the enthusiasm of youth. In vain did the exacting spirit of conformity to the tenets in vogue brood over Scotland, while session after session, to fresh relays of eager and delighted listeners, John Millar's eloquence fixed deeply in their minds the principles of free constitutional government. His class thus became a great training school for the lawyers and statesmen of the next generation; and many of them in

after-life owned that Millar's prelections had first given the impulse which stimulated them throughout life. It is said that both Jeffrey and Brougham were his pupils. Lord Melbourne, Lord Lauderdale, Moncreiff, and many others, certainly were so; but there can be no question that the bold lines of thought on which the 'Edinburgh Review' was afterwards constructed, were first laid down by his masterly hand. He died in 1801. In our ninth volume an article from the pen of Jeffrey records, with grateful homage, the services of this great instructor.

The others, Playfair and Dugald Stewart, were Professors in the University of Edinburgh, and in the zenith of their reputation when Charles Bell left. The former, who was Professor first of Mathematics and then of Natural Philosophy, and President of the Royal Society, was a man of rare accomplishments, of the highest scientific distinction, and of great social influence. He too, although unobtrusive in his demeanour, was a frequent contributor to our pages. The name of the last is too well known in the annals of philosophy to require lengthened notice. But he was the centre in Edinburgh circles of all that was distinguished in literature, science, or intellect, while as a public lecturer he was, and has remained, without a rival. He raised the Chair of Moral Philosophy to very high reputation; and, in consequence, his house was selected for the residence of several pupils of rank. Lord Ashburton, Lord Dudley, Lord Warwick, Lord Palmerston, and his brother Mr. Temple, were inmates of his house about the beginning of the century: at which time it was the resort, as his son Colonel Stewart tells us, 'of all who were most distinguished for genius, acquirements, or elegance, in Edinburgh, and of all the foreigners who were led to visit the capital of Scotland.' His house stood near the foot of the Canongate. Sixty years afterwards, Lord Palmerston, being in Edinburgh, went to look at his old haunt, but was disappointed to find a brewery occupying its place. There was, however, one relic left of his student life. An aged female, who had been the professor's 'lass' in his college days, still survived; and the good-natured premier went off one morning by himself, and paid the old lady a visit at her lodging at the south side. 'Eh, maister Harry, hae ye come back at last?' is said to have been the exclamation with which she received him.

Our canvas would be incomplete without one other figure, in a humbler sphere, no doubt, than those we have mentioned, but of one who probably, as much as any, swayed the tone

and cast of opinion in the next generation of Scotsmen. We mean Dr. Adam, at that time rector of the High School of Edinburgh. It was *the* school of Scotland at that time, and within its walls, at the cost of a few pounds a year at the most, the sons of peers and those of peasants, of lairds and lawyers and shopkeepers, and even artisans, were trained together. There Scott, and Brougham, and Horner, and Jeffrey, and a long list besides, received the elements of their instruction, and had the means of carrying scholarship to some degree of critical eminence. Like other old characteristics, this one also has departed. The High School remains and flourishes; but the system which brought together on one form the scions of nobility and the sons of artisans has perished. It had its drawbacks, but it had also its influence for good; and, could it have continued, social lines would have been less marked at the present day. Adam was a considerable scholar, a great and enthusiastic teacher, and an ardent lover of liberty, as schoolmasters are apt to be. Charles Bell thought him a tyrant, but only because the defects of his early education prevented him from appreciating his qualities. He raised the school to great reputation, and had the art of infusing his own spirit into the boys, and of rousing in their minds an enthusiasm equal to his own. His detestation of despotism, and his zeal for freedom, pervaded the whole complexion of his teaching; and there can be no doubt that the seed he flung broadcast germinated and ripened in the next generation.

Such was Edinburgh when Charles Bell, entirely unaided and alone, left the house of his brother George, where they had spent so many years, to seek his fortunes in London, and when the series of letters which are contained in the volume before us commence. They are, to our mind, a very charming, although very fragmentary collection, and, simple as they are, leave a clear impression, not only of the things he writes of, but the manner of man who wrote them. They are mainly addressed to his brother George, and extend from 1804 to 1842, a range of thirty-eight years. They possess no pretensions of style, and are evidently the unpremeditated thoughts of the day, poured out as they arose, to one who had all his confidence. His admiration for his brother seems to have had no bounds. 'Horner and Jeffrey,' he writes in one letter, 'are all very well; but they are not nearly equal to you.' In writing to the lady to whom George was about to be married (Miss Shaw), he says of him, with point and sweetness, 'he has many faults, and sometimes I have been teased with them,

‘sometimes have laughed at them, and always, on recollection, have liked them better than *the best virtues of other people.*’ The concord of brothers could go no farther.

But although the letters are entirely devoid of literary pretension, they are by no means devoid of epistolary merit or interest. On the contrary, they are full of what letters ought to contain—light and shade, cloud and sunshine, a dash of genial and discriminating humour, and sentiment always manly, if sometimes sombre. He sketches off passing events with a light, firm, and incisive hand; and we could fill pages with his vignettes, full of spirit and life.

The character of the man, thus written by himself, comes out as clear and transparent as it really was. There was nothing of the inscrutable or reticent about him. Ardent and kindly, intent on progress, and eager, even fretting to be on, he could yet stop by the wayside to jest with a passer-by and admire even a roadside flower. Though he chafed under obstacles, he was never daunted by them, but pursued the end he had seen far off in spite of all discouragement. True of heart, and sweet of temper, we should take him from his letters to have been, although at times answering to the ruffling of the breeze. His nervous temperament and his moral constitution seem to have been alike sensitive; but what gives this book its charm is the high, refined, and manly tone of thought which it indicates, loving the good wherever it is found, and nursing within the sacred fire of pure and noble ambition. So he charmed all who came into close contact with him, and discerned the mingled truth and gentleness of the man.

Intellectually, beneath this surface of simple and playful confidence, it is not difficult to trace the suggestions of the power beneath—the clear, subtle, discerning spirit, fertile and original, which in the end has made his name illustrious. Nor, on the other hand, do we fail to see one element in his character which, if it was not weakness, at least concealed his strength. He wanted, so to speak, tenacity of fibre, that coarser quality which turns the finer to immediate account. While pursuing the secrets of Nature through her most occult recesses, and throwing light on her darkest corners, he would not stop to proclaim what he had found, in the ardent desire for further discovery. It was enough that he had found it; whether men knew him for the finder or not, was, if not indifferent, at least not the end for which he toiled. Some men are ever solicitous for their own fame, and are discontented even with the greatest results, unless the credit also is theirs. Others are careless of the renown, and are content with the



complacency of conscious success. But Charles Bell was neither. The result once obtained was only of value to him for what lay beyond it; and so he treated with what almost amounted to indifference the most brilliant achievement, in the pursuit of still more hidden truth. Who but himself would have allowed a discovery which was not less important than that of Harvey to lie for more than ten years utterly dormant, although he was perfectly aware both of its certainty and its immense importance? The reward of his neglect was that his discovery was first questioned, and then claimed by others; and the world is only now beginning to do justice to one whose devotion to science and indifference to self it is only now able to comprehend. Still, Charles Bell would have been even a greater man had he been of harder texture.

Such is our general estimate of the book and the man. His career, as indicated in these pages, is interesting as the record of the struggles, successes, and vicissitudes of a great intellect, surrounded by many obstacles, encountered, and, for the most part, surmounted, with great courage. He went to London, as we have said, almost without a friend. Such friends as he had were of that spirited and brilliant, but quite obscure circle, of whom we have spoken. Our Review had only seen its first year, but its editor, Jeffrey, was the fast friend of the two brothers. When Charles Bell arrives in London, those he consorts with are mainly refugees like himself. He dines with the Edinburgh Club, 'about fifteen of us, mostly of the law--' all except Smith (Sydney) and Elmsly the Grecian.' He adds, 'I was terribly annoyed with Greek the whole time.' This was two months after his arrival. A month or two afterwards (July, 1805) he dines with Longman. 'All Scotch--Horner, Brougham, Allen, S. Smith, Abernethy. 'No one will interfere with my language.' Abernethy and the host were the only men of celebrity in the party: yet it is not long before Fame's trumpet begins to sound the names of the others. On the accession of the Whig Government in 1806 he writes with wonder of the new dignities of his college friends: 'It is a curious thing to see our old boyish acquaintances getting places in the Ministry. Horner's office, 'I am told, is worth 1,500*l.* a year. Brougham, I understand, is to be made private secretary to Fox.' It was not so; but the two Edinburgh lads had made much way in the interval.

Charles Bell's first intercourse with Jeffrey after quitting Edinburgh seems to have been in September 1806, on the occasion of the duel, or attempted duel, between Jeffrey and

Moore. Charles Bell's account of the combat has a spice of drollery in it. In a letter to his brother's intended wife on this topic, he says with demure solemnity: 'Even to-day the 'proof' of this is before me in a letter where a valued public 'character (Jeffrey) is taking leave of the world, and conjuring 'him (George Bell) to support his afflicted friends.'

There is not much of Brougham in the early part of the volume, but of Horner many notices, all redolent of that generous and kindly spirit which he possessed. He seems to have been, in those early solitary days, Charles Bell's fast friend and counsellor, revising his proof sheets, and the companion of his leisure. They go together to the play, and 'Frank was as 'enthusiastic as a boy.' He gives a dinner, the object of which is to make Horner acquainted 'with the "Scotch Teniers," 'Wilkie,' who was a pupil of Charles Bell. John Richardson of Fludyer Street joined the band of exiles in 1806, and from that time until death separated them was his constant companion and never-failing friend. These men and Campbell the poet seem, with the exception of his medical associates, to have constituted the circle with whom he lived. In his first idle months he sometimes wanders to the play, and hears Grassini and Catalani, and sometimes to the House of Commons and hears Pitt, and Fox, and Sheridan, and Whitbread, with the result apparently of thinking less than he did of oratory in general, and those orators in particular. Fox, however, he says, cured him of a headache the others had given him by providing a new stimulus. 'His manner is that of a man who 'has more within him than he can give utterance to, or find 'words to express.'

These, however, are his idle thoughts, but they flow with a pleasant and genial current, and are good companions. We must now glance at his professional career on his new field.

He started with hardly a professional introduction excepting such as his reputation gave him. The teachers in the London medical schools at that time were Cline and Cooper in the Borough, Abernethy at St. Bartholomew, Sir Everard Home and Wilson in the West. He had to make his own way with them, and when he arrived in London in November 1804, his letters have an amusing air of bewilderment as to which way he is to turn. The great Baillie, then in the height of his practice, showed him much kindness, and Sir Joseph Banks, 'a very kingly figure of an old man,' whom he describes as surrounded by 'the absurdest animals, German and French 'toad-eaters,' gave him a general invitation. Abernethy was very kind and cordial. Sir Astley Cooper was civil; but his

greatest sympathy and aid came from Lynn, the surgeon to the Westminster Hospital, and Dr. Maton, the Court physician. The latter was a man of considerable ability, unbounded kindness, and singularly polished and courtly address. It is said of him that although in the height of the most fashionable and lucrative practice, he lived and died comparatively poor, having voluntarily devoted his great gains to the discharge of family liabilities. Such a man must have warmed to Charles Bell, and their intimacy seems to have been unbroken. He had also a fast friend in his own fellow-townsmen and contemporary Cheyne, afterwards so celebrated in Dublin, like himself one of the refugees from the strong hand of Gregory.

Withal, he was about as solitary as a man could be, and went about, as round Edinburgh of yore, dreaming dreams, and raising castles of renown: 'In short, I was as romantic as any young man could be, though the prevailing cast of my mind was to gain celebrity and independence by science—and perhaps this was the most extravagant fancy of all.'

Not as to celebrity, which he at last acquired, in the way we are now to recount. But doubtless had the acquisition of fortune been his main object, his devotion to science stood not a little in his way. Had he surrendered the glory of discovery for the certain emoluments of practice, there can be no question as to his power to have attained them. But who shall say his choice was not the nobler?

In his 'System of Dissections,' published while in Edinburgh, he had indicated a remarkable amount of reflection, as well as induction, on a subject at that time little studied or understood—the connexion between the outer demonstrations of emotion and volition, and the hidden mechanism which links them to the thinking spirit. These thoughts he had, before he left Edinburgh, elucidated in his work, the 'Anatomy of Expression,' a subject which his combined knowledge of anatomy and art gave him peculiar facilities for treating with effect. He brought the MS. with him to London, and at first found a difficulty in obtaining a publisher. He found that, although he had crossed the border, he had not left professional jealousy absolutely behind. He describes the envious surmises which had been produced by his new work being seen on the table of Sir Joseph Banks, and attributes them to national prejudice, in the light of which he appeared as 'an insinuating young Scotch-man.' The truth, however, was, as we learn from a very vigorous and interesting article in the 'Quarterly Review' for May, 1844, the old Edinburgh dissensions and jealousies were still at work, and had extended themselves to the profession

in London to an extent greater than Bell had dreamed of. The 'Anatomy of Expression' was published at last in 1806, and at once established the reputation of the author, and assumed the rank of a standard work. His friend Dr. Maton communicated to him the desire of the Princess Elizabeth to have a copy for the Queen, which was accordingly duly presented by Maton. 'Oh happiness in the extreme!' he irreverently exclaims, 'that I should ever write anything fit to be 'dirtied by her snuffy fingers.'

The book was extremely well received both by the medical profession and by artists, although the sale was slow. Flaxman and Fuseli covered him with compliments; but neither anatomical nor artistic merit could gain for him the Chair of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, although it was thrice filled during his career. We do not stop the course of this rapid notice to analyse the merits of this interesting work. It has made its own reputation. If Charles Bell had never done anything else, it was enough to have stamped him as a man of learning, originality, and genius. Its main importance to our present theme is that it was a stage on his great path of discovery.

His book made him famous, but not rich. The means of starting in practice and as a lecturer were still to be found, and in the wilderness of London not easy to find. At last he hired a house in Leicester Square, which had been the residence of Speaker Onslow, and, as he found afterwards, the scene of the exhibition of the Invisible Girl, the mechanism connected with which he discovered in raising some boards in the flooring. In spite of the brave heart which the letters disclose, there is something unspeakably dreary in his description of his commencement as a lecturer in this haunted tenement. He had but forty listeners to start with at his opening anatomical lecture in January 1806, and only three pupils. Reflecting on his ninety students at Edinburgh, he betrays in his letters much discouragement, and for some time meditated return. Gradually, however, practice began to flow in his direction; and, at the end of four years and a half, he is able to write to George: 'My little red book says now '990*l.*: D.'s fee will make it 1,000*l.* That is a comfortable 'reflection to come down to Scotland with. After a man has 'secured that, final success as to making money must depend 'on himself.' The next year he writes: 'On March last, I 'had 1,000*l.*; this year, I hope to run near the 1,500*l.*'

He was now on what seemed the highway both to fame and fortune; and, in 1811, he married. The lady, Miss Marion

Shaw, was the sister of his brother George's wife, and whatever clouds at times overshadowed the rest of his career, this union seems to have been a source of unchanging sunshine. His wife was his companion and aid in all his subsequent course, and still, we are glad to think, survives, cherishing his memory with the affectionate pride which breathes in the 'Recollections' appended to this volume.' He left his dull quarters in Leicester Square, and removed to Soho Square, and there his earlier married years were spent.

Meanwhile, however, though struggling with his earlier difficulties, he had been following out a clue which he had long before laid hold of, and which enabled him to place the coping stone on his fame. In one of his letters in 1807 he writes: 'I have done a more interesting *nova anatomia cerebri humani* than it is possible to conceive. I lectured on it yesterday. I prosecuted it last night till one o'clock, and I am sure it will be well received.' He was just on the brink of his great discovery. The stages by which it was given to the world were characteristic, and as regarded himself and his fame, eminently injudicious. But before we proceed we must endeavour, as far as we can, and apart from the technicalities of anatomy, to convey to unscientific readers a clear impression of Charles Bell's remarkable discoveries in the physiology of the nervous system. It is a task of some difficulty, because our limits exclude detail, and a mere statement of results would be unintelligible. We must content ourselves with describing in a general way the principal truths which he established, by which he laid the foundations of a vast superstructure which subsequent labourers have reared.

The physiology of the nervous system was most confused, narrow, and unsatisfactory, when as a teacher of anatomy Charles Bell seriously applied his mind to its elucidation. Its anatomical structure, and the relations of its various parts, had been carefully investigated. It was well known that the double nerves which are distributed from either side of the spinal marrow are inclosed in a single sheath. These double nerves have two distinct roots which are not inclosed in the sheath; and of these roots, the posterior has a ganglion or bulb, and the anterior none. Every anatomist also knew that the nerves proceeding both from the brain and from the spinal marrow were possessed of two functions—one controlling muscular action, the other conveying sensations to the *sensorium*. But it never occurred to any of them that separate nerves were needed for these separate functions. When a nerve was divided either accidentally or by a surgical operation, they

observed only one invariable result—the part supplied by the severed nerve was deprived of both action and sensation. Instances must have come under their notice, one knows now, in which this double result did not take place; but the unexpected fact escaped their observation, or at least attracted no attention. Alexander Monro *Secundus*, the second of the Edinburgh professors of that name, had discovered that the ganglions, or bulbs of the spinal nerves, were formed in the posterior roots, and that the anterior roots passed the ganglions; thus furnishing a starting point to Charles Bell in his inquiries. Santorini and Wrisberg furnished him with another point by describing the two roots of the fifth pair of nerves of the brain; and Prochaska and Soemmering unwittingly supplied a third point of guidance by calling attention to the resemblance between the spinal nerves and the fifth pair. These last anatomists seemed on the very verge of the great discovery; because they said, why should the fifth nerve of the brain, after the manner of the nerves of the spine, have an anterior root passing by the ganglion and entering the third division of the nerve? But these men, eminent as they were, had not found the key which would unlock the secret and open many mysteries besides, which were as yet hidden. Antonio Scarpa, the greatest anatomist of his day, and a contemporary of Charles Bell, tried his hand at the lock, and failed. ‘Is the posterior root,’ he said, ‘a proper and peculiar kind of nerve, belonging exclusively to the spinal marrow, while the anterior root is a ‘cerebral nerve?’ Soemmering, seeing that three nerves went to the tongue, instead of conceiving, as is really the case, that they had three distinct functions, satisfied himself by supposing that several small nerves were equivalent to one large one; and Dr. Monro suggested that two nerves were given to the face, lest by the accidental division of one the face should be deprived of nervous power altogether. Such were the misty speculations afloat even in the highest quarters when Charles Bell began his researches. We have taken these facts from the introduction to his ‘Nervous System.’

After much thought and careful consideration of the anatomical details, both in his own dissections and the elaborate plates of Scarpa, the happy idea took shape in his mind of looking to the origin or starting-point of the nerves, in order to find out their functions. This was the novel basis, the great initial step, in his splendid career of discovery. He observed, throughout the whole course of the spinal nerves, their exact resemblance to each other. He then proved by experi-

ment that their two roots had different powers, and that they really were, what anatomy had indicated to him, double nerves, although combined in one sheath after starting from the double root. Till then, in the cases of severed nerves which had been observed, the nerve had been cut across after the junction; and as both combined nerves (supposed to be only one) were divided, both motion and sensation ceased. Charles Bell, by irritating the roots separately, before their junction, discovered that one of them, the anterior, which had no ganglion, presided over or conferred motion and motor power. With characteristic caution he at first satisfied himself with the conclusion that the posterior root did *not* confer motor power. Most observers would have hurried to the inference that the posterior roots, with their ganglions, bestowed sensation, and conveyed nervous influence from without inwardly. But he satisfied himself of the validity of this conclusion by a more careful process.

Among other ideas at that time current, it was believed that ganglions on nerves were intended to cut off sensation. But all the nerves which had thus been found not to confer motion had ganglions. He therefore brought this to the test of experiment, selecting two nerves of the brain—the fifth, which has a ganglion, and resembles very much the spinal nerves; and the seventh, which has no ganglion. On cutting across the nerve of the fifth pair in the face of an ass, the sensibility of the parts to which it was distributed was entirely destroyed; on cutting across the nerve of the seventh pair the sensibility was not in the slightest degree diminished. Further inquiry showed that the fifth nerve, being a ganglionic nerve, is the sole organ of sensation in the head and face; and as ganglions were thus shown not to cut off sensation, he was confirmed in the opinion that the ganglionic roots of the nerves of the spine *conferred* sensation. He then examined the fifth nerve of the brain more closely. It has double roots, like those of the spinal nerves—an anterior, passing by the ganglion, and a posterior, passing into, or forming it. Charles Bell conceived that the anterior of the double nerves, common to men and animals, orders the voluntary motions. This opinion also he tested by experiment. As the unganglionic portion is distributed to certain muscles of the jaw, if that root of the nerve were divided, these muscles ought to be paralysed. The result was as he expected—the jaw fell.

The key was now in his hand, and he used it to good purpose. Instead, however, of being seduced into a course of cruel operations on living animals, which many of his contem-

poraries indulged in, he adhered to his own method of following the indications of anatomical research, and merely testing his conclusions by a few well-devised experiments. The other method was repulsive to his humane disposition and his inductive turn of mind, and would probably have misled him, as it did others who claimed the merit of his discoveries. By tracing upwards the anterior columns of the spinal cord from which the motor nerves were seen to emerge, and by looking to their distribution, he was able to establish, both inferentially and experimentally, the functions of various other nerves. Pathological phenomena were now cleared up which had previously baffled the acuteness of physicians and surgeons; and in many instances the results of disease and accident threw a reflex light on physiology. We cannot pursue this theme into the many inductions which have been drawn from his great discovery. His views as to the respiratory system of nerves, and of the nerves of expression, are most valuable, and full of interest; although we doubt if some of them have hitherto received the attention they deserve, and will eventually command. The substance, however, of his discovery was simply this: that these double nerves external to the spinal column and enclosed in the same sheath do not constitute, as had been universally supposed, one nerve with double functions, but remain distinct throughout, with separate functions; the ganglionic root and nerve conferring sensation, and the other motor power. This simple fact revolutionised the physiology of the whole subject; and its discovery fills the unprofessional mind with wonder that the very elements of physical motion and sensation had remained so utterly concealed until then.

His work on the Nerves (1830), a goodly quarto of four hundred pages, amply illustrated by drawings and narratives of cases both of accident and disease, can alone convey an adequate conception of his researches. Even professed students, whose reading on the subject has been limited to mere systematic treatises, which are usually curt and bald, can hardly appreciate the very large share which Charles Bell had in working out various results now accepted as undeniable. We need only refer to his essay on the nerves of the eyeball and its appendages, to show how impossible it was before his discoveries for the best-informed physicians and surgeons, who held the old belief in the double function of the nerves, to explain numberless symptoms which are now clearly understood. A similar remark is applicable to the physiology of respiration; and the brilliant investigations of Marshall Hall



in regard to the excito-motory, or reflex function, virtually took their origin from the discoveries of Bell.

Years, sometimes generations, roll past before great discoverers are permitted to assume their rightful place in public estimation. The fate of this great contribution to the physiology of our frame was not altogether an exception. But prejudice, ignorance, and jealousy have now cleared away, and Charles Bell's name may fairly claim its place beside that of William Harvey. Without derogating from the merit of Harvey, the remark has often been made that, when we examine the four valves of the heart, and the numerous valves of the larger veins, particularly of the lower extremity, it is a wonder that no anatomist before his time had reasoned out the subject to the same splendid result. But the wonder is of another kind when we contemplate the discoveries of Bell. He had no mechanical arrangements to guide him; the nervous system presented to the eye of the anatomist a maze of confused structures apparently inextricable; and the difficulties were greatly enhanced by the intellectual, emotional, and sensational elements so closely associated with it. In discovering the master key he won for himself a very exalted and almost solitary place among the cultivators of physiological science.

Bell recounts, in one of his letters which is not in this volume, a warm discussion which he had with Lord Cockburn as to whether a man should confine himself to the acquisition of fortune, or should endeavour to accomplish something for the benefit of science. The Scotch judge, who was somewhat *poco curante*, in words at least, although earnest enough in reality, scoffed at the notion of sacrificing guineas to an abstraction. Probably he knew his friend, and was trying by antagonism to remind him of one scientific fact which he sometimes overlooked, that two and two make four. He tried to persuade Bell 'that it was quite as respectable to fill your 'station well without making exertions to improve science, to 'make discoveries, or fill the chasms in knowledge.' Bell stood out stoutly against this, and 'regretted that Baillie disregarded 'what was great in his profession, and would retire from 'practice as he had done from teaching when he had found 'what he wanted.' Cockburn's sagacity had probably shown him that if Bell courted science and neglected or slighted fees, he would lose a fortune, even if he gained fame. The history of this great discovery of his gives point to the moral. It was present to his mind not much later than 1807. He plainly thought that the profession was as enthusiastic and as single-eyed as himself. Had he been wise in his generation, he would

have waited until his views were thoroughly matured, and then, avoiding professional channels, would have blown a blast on his own trumpet which would have resounded through scientific Europe. What he did was so much the reverse of this as almost to be incredible. He printed, in 1811, for private circulation among his medical friends, a pamphlet, which he entitled, 'An Idea of a New Anatomy of the Brain, submitted for the Observation of the Author's Friends.' The work contained a clear indication of his discovery; but 'the author's friends' made no 'observations' at all. Few attended to it; none apparently appreciated it; and one or two, who had an impression of its importance, without communication with the author, were preparing to contest the originality of his views. By the modest, candid, and open course which he followed, Bell only reaped one reward. His *brochure* of 1811 enabled him ten years afterwards to scare away pilferers from his reputation. But whether disheartened by the apathy of his brethren, or intent on farther discovery, he threw aside this marvellous triumph of inductive science, as if his task were completed, and little more was heard of it until he proclaimed it at the Royal Society in 1821. He woke next morning, and, like Byron, found himself famous; and his fame grew higher on the Continent even than in this country—the Continental physiologists having no part in the professional jealousies which pursued him all his life. But sure as vultures to the prey, came swooping down detraction and envy, to rob him of his rightful honour. Those of the school of Majendie of Paris, vivisectors, who maintained that no system of investigation could be trustworthy which was not founded on actual experiment, claimed to have obtained similar results from their operations before Sir Charles Bell published his views. A controversy on the subject of prior discovery lasted for some years, but time and universal opinion has now settled it; and Charles Bell's claim is acknowledged by all. Indeed, other considerations apart, the treatise in 1811 proved the priority beyond dispute. It seems, however, doubtful whether Majendie's doctrine was really either identical with that of Bell, or was sound in itself; as the results of vivisection as the basis of inductive reasoning have been found to be materially different from those at which Charles Bell had arrived by a path less liable to lead astray. Among the great physiologists of the Continent, his claim has always been recognised. When he visited Paris, Roux dismissed his class after Charles Bell had been introduced, with the words, 'C'est assez, messieurs; vous avez vu Charles Bell.' Cuvier,

Tiedeman, and Scarpa regarded him with honour; and in the Continental schools he was classed, as we have ventured to class him, as not inferior to Harvey. His cup of celebrity had no doubt some little ingredients of ingratitude and incredulity. Nevertheless, it was well filled, and in his unselfish simple way he enjoyed it. Now the clouds are gone, and his lustre shines unsullied.

The first ten years of his married life were on the whole very prosperous, and raised his professional position to a great height. He concluded a transaction by which he became a part proprietor of the great anatomical school in Windmill Street, which John Hunter had founded. There he lectured for many years, and formed a valuable and interesting museum. He was elected, after a severe contest, surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital in 1814; and was admitted a Fellow of the London College of Surgeons. In 1824 he was appointed Professor to that College, and had overflowing audiences. His practice was large; his reputation as a hospital operator stood exceedingly high; and Fortune seemed to be atoning to him for her former caprices. We turn back to our pleasant book, and glance at the interval over which we have passed.

The termination of the war brought a large influx of foreigners to London. Charles Bell had made military surgery and gunshot wounds the subject of careful study. It was a favourite subject of John Bell's, who in 1804 had made a proposition to the Government for the institution of a large staff of military surgery, which for the time was very favourably received, but which, like many other reforms, still remains to be effected. Charles Bell, after the battle of Corunna, had, at the commencement of his London career, gone down to Plymouth to attend the wounded there; and in his work on Surgery, he had devoted a chapter to gunshot wounds. So in 1814 he found himself fashionable, and the Peninsular surgeons, as well as many foreigners, attended his lectures at the Middlesex Hospital.

'Patients are certainly increasing,' he writes, 'and my occupations becoming more general. I have been engaged the greater part of the day with a Parisian surgeon, a M. Roux, of the Hospital de la Charité. More foreign medical officers have visited the Middlesex Hospital than ever before. If they force me to speak French, why, I must, but it would divert you to hear me.'

Patients of distinction repaired to him, among the rest General F. Driesen, of the Emperor of Russia's Imperial Guard; of whom he tells with simple pride how the General

and his suite dined with him, and how he found, when he went down to dinner, a silver mug on either hand, inscribed 'En gage de l'amitié de Baron Driesen.'

In 1815 came the Hundred Days and the Battle of Waterloo, and Charles Bell exclaimed to his brother-in-law John Shaw, who had been with him from a lad, and to whom he was devotedly attached, 'Johnnie, how can we let this pass? Here 'is such an occasion of seeing gunshot wounds. Let us go.' And go they did, on the 26th of June, and reached Brussels on the 29th. There is nothing better in the volume than the diary of what he saw at Brussels and Waterloo. Charles Bell's pen was as graphic as his pencil. He writes in a firm incisive style with a play of fancy which, had that been his vocation, would have made him eminent as a descriptive writer. If our limits permitted, we should have been glad to have transcribed some extracts; but we content ourselves with one or two. On the field of Waterloo there still remained a moveable scaffolding sixty feet high, from which the Emperor surveyed the wreck of his fortunes. Up this Bell climbed:—

'The view magnificent. I was only one third up the machine, yet it was a giddy height. Here Buonaparte stood surveying the field. What name for him but Macbeth—a man who stands alone. There is something magnificent in this idea—there, exalted to a giddy height; and how much farther to fall than to the ground; his friends dispersed, his squadrons broken—all in *déroute*; and well he knew, for he seems to know mankind well, he knew the consequences. I was filled with admiration of a man of his habit of body who could stand perched on a height of sixty-five feet above everything, and contemplate, see, and manage such a scene. Already silence dwells here; for although it is midday and the sun bright and all shining in gladness, yet there is a mournful silence contrasted with the scene which has been so recently acting. No living thing is here, no kites, no birds of any kind, nothing but a few wretched women and old men scattered on a height at a distance, and who are employed in gathering balls.'

There is true poetic feeling in this, hastily thrown off as it is.

What we said in the outset of this paper of the Continental element in the old Scottish society is amusingly confirmed in Charles Bell's impressions of Brussels:—

'Can you recollect the time,' he writes to his brother, 'when there were gentlemen meeting at the Cross of Edinburgh, or those whom we thought such? They are all collected here. You see the old gentlemen with their scraggy necks sticking out of the collars of their coats—their old-fashioned square-skirted coats, their canes, their hats, and when they meet, the formal bow, the hat off, to the ground, and the powder flying to the wind.'

His description of the wounded French soldiers may interest in contrast with some recent events:—

‘You would conclude with me that those were fellows capable of marching unopposed from the west of Europe to the east of Asia. Strong thickset hardy veterans, brave spirits, and unsubdued, they cast their wild glance upon you, their black eyes and brown cheeks finely contrasted with their white sheets: you would much admire their capacity of adaptation.’

He says, however, that this is forced praise, for he cannot express his detestation of these trained banditti.

Bell seems to have been of great service to the wounded; and his sketches, which he afterwards enlarged to drawings of very great merit, are partly in the museum of the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, and seventeen of them in the Royal Hospital at Netley, to which institution they were presented by his widow. Among his English patients was a ‘perfect little gentleman, Sir H. Hardinge, who has lost his forearm.’ He thinks little of the political value of the victory. ‘How much more wholesome a little chastisement would have been than these glorious victories. The state of the world as to Government and all that is enough to disgust one. *I, for my part, have no pleasure but in anatomy.*’

Some clouds, however, gathered during this most prosperous period of his career. The eldest brother, Robert, died in 1816. John, after vainly looking for health under Italian skies, died at Rome in 1820, in circumstances far from affluent. These events brought on the brothers who survived many cares. Mr. Wilson, with whom Bell was associated in the Windmill Street establishment, died suddenly, and large as was Bell’s income, it was all he could do to meet the calls which this calamity threw on him. In the end, the museum was purchased in 1824 by the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, and, in 1827, after the death of his attached and much loved friend and brother-in-law, John Shaw, his connexion with the school finally ceased. This last event was the greatest grief of his life; and nothing testifies so strongly to the thorough worth of his character, and warmth of his heart, as the unbroken affection which subsisted between these two men in relations so close, so confidential, and so constant. John Shaw had aided him in all his struggles. He thoroughly believed in and admired him; and in this respect Charles Bell stood the herotest so few can stand. The more intimately he was known, the more he was respected and loved. The loss which he sustained in John Shaw’s death was very grievous. It threw on him labour beyond his strength, and, indeed, laid the

foundations of the malady which fifteen years afterwards destroyed him.

At this period of his life, he was again thrown into the society of Brougham, with whom in later years he had not had much in common. The brilliant course of the great advocate dazzled him, but he had always complained that it was cold, if magnificent. 'How Brougham mounts higher and higher,' he writes in 1821: 'God grant he may not fall into the Icarian sea—I like him.' Fourteen years afterwards, when the catastrophe he dreaded had occurred, he says: 'Times, too, are strangely altered, both with Lord Brougham and me. His fault has been attempting too much, and his weakness in doing things the most opposite in their nature at the same time.' This association led him to publish his volume of 'Animal Mechanics,' for the Library of Useful Knowledge: one of the ablest popular treatises which ever was composed on a scientific subject. He had delivered the substance of the book in his lectures as Professor of Anatomy to the College of Surgeons; but the work itself is a wonderful triumph of clear exposition, on a subject which none but a master could have handled, and which even a master might have failed to render intelligible or attractive to an ordinary reader. In 1831 he was selected to write one of the 'Bridgewater Treatises,' and received a thousand guineas for his work on the 'Hand.' These two treatises would of themselves suffice to stump his reputation.

One characteristic deserves mention. Probably no man ever penetrated farther, perhaps no one ever penetrated so far, into the material structure of the soul's tabernacle. Had Charles Bell had strength and leisure, we believe there were floating in his subtle but strong intellect, views and processes in regard to the action of matter on mind, and mind on matter, as novel and as important as those he published, which might have seen the light. But no tinge of materialism ever coloured his clear vision. All he saw, only enabled him to trace more clearly the working of the First Cause, a quality which comes out in a very marked manner in the two works we have just referred to; and which proves, how weak a delusion it is that scepticism increases with knowledge. Few physiologists ever knew as much, or saw as clearly, or reasoned as safely, as Charles Bell; and if men differ from him as to the lessons which science teaches, it is certainly not because they are more in the secrets of nature than he was. He was as far from scepticism as he was from dogmatism. What he knew preserved him from the first, and what he knew he did

not know from the second; and therein he set an example which we could wish were more generally followed.

In 1831 he received from the King, along with Leslie, Herschel, and Ivory, the Guelphic Order of knighthood; an honour not too great even for those merits which were then undisputed, and very inadequate, as we think, for his real services to science and the world. Charles Bell, however, was gratified, as much by the association with Herschel and the others, as by the distinction itself, and records the incidents of the ceremony with his usual liveliness:—

‘I persuaded Herschel,’ he says, ‘that on this occasion he represented the higher sciences, and that therefore he must precede me in receiving the accolade; and he did precede me into the presence-chamber; but in approaching the lord in waiting he lost heart, and suddenly counter-marched, so that I found myself in front. My niece’s dancing-master having acted the king the night before, I had no difficulty.’

With the exception of his short but unsatisfactory connexion with the London University, which he severed almost as soon as it was formed, we have now adverted to the most important features in his professional career in London. Save in making money, he had done all that even his old dreams could have pictured. He had gained European celebrity; his position in practice was eminent; the Middlesex Hospital under his guidance had attained a great pitch of prosperity and usefulness, and one far beyond its dimensions when his connexion with it commenced; his lectures at the College of Surgeons commanded the greatest attention and interest. At home he had all which could make life pleasant: a social position which brought him into intimacy with the most cultivated intellects of the day, and tastes, habits, and refinement of thought and feeling which turned all these elements to true enjoyment. One taste he had acquired, not perhaps a usual one for a struggling professional man, immersed in London smoke, and dust, and dinginess, but which threw much sunshine over his own life. In the dark recesses of Fludyer Street, the narrowness and gentility of which Charles Bell commemorates in one of his earliest letters—it was his first resting place—lived for all the period of which we write, John Richardson, of Kirklands, the well-known Scottish solicitor, the chosen friend of Charles Bell, as indeed he was of all that circle and many beyond it. He was a man with a head for business, a heart for friendship, and a taste for elegant literature, not, indeed, without some pretensions to poetical power. But the

object of his idolatry was neither fees nor society nor fame. He worshipped fly-fishing. He had brought with him from the North a love of fresh breezes and a deadly hand and heart against trout and salmon, which neither the parchments of the law nor the pursuit of fortune had availed to quench. Charles Bell became his devoted disciple, nor did he pursue science with more intense ardour than this favourite and absorbing sport. In the height of his popularity, and with the pressure of many cares upon him, he found time and space for his pastime. He meditated on the Nerves at Chenies, and composed, he tells us, the best passages on the 'Hand' at Pansanger. His love of nature, his intense delight in external beauty, his simple, natural, almost boyish tastes, entirely unsophisticated by metropolitan life, and the discriminating eye and artistic hand which he was happy in possessing,—all contributed to make him an enthusiastic brother of the rod; and many a cheerful day did these two schoolboys spend in this pursuit, the world forgetting for four or five hours, and bringing back from the water-side pleasant pictures of breeze, and sun, and cloud, which gave fresh spirit to their professional toil. The art of enjoying is in itself a great endowment; the art of preserving the capacity of enjoyment when half a century has passed is still rarer and more valuable. Some of his graver brethren looked solemn on this his superstition, and were wont to decry it. Whether with Charles Bell's temperament, so little apt to take a utilitarian view of his own doings, it may not have absorbed more of his energy than self-interest would have suggested, we have no means of judging. But he was a man unusually anxious and distressed by the incidents which he witnessed in his practice. He could not shake off the associations of pain, and disease, and death, with which such a life was every day familiar. If an hour or two on the stream side could charm the brooding gloom from the soul, and restore the healthy action of the spirits, who shall say they were not well spent? There is a little sketch from his ready pencil introduced into this volume, which tells its own tale in a very amusing manner. No one but an angler could have drawn it. An elderly Piscator, rod in hand, sits on the bank, his flies bobbing in the breeze in coils of inextricable intricacy. The task is plainly hopeless, but indomitable earnestness and patience are expressed in the countenance. Grave, absorbed, and resolute, amid the torments of the gusty wind, he is pursuing his efforts to disentangle his tackle, with little or no chance of success, but as if the fate of nations depended on it.



Lady Bell thus pleasantly describes his fishing life in the neighbourhood of London :—

‘ From his habits he could not be inactive—he must fish or sketch, and he did both alternately. In the bright hours he laid aside the rod for the pencil. He was often on the waterside before sunrise, indeed before he could see his flies; and he did enjoy these morning hours. I came down with his breakfast, bringing books and arrangements for passing the whole day, even with cloaks and umbrellas, for no weather deterred us. He liked me to see him land his fish, and waved his hat for me to come.

‘ At the little inn of Chenies we were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Pratt, as if it were our own home—a lovely place it is; and driving there in the evening was very sweet. We saw the meadows and the mill, and the sun lighting up the little river like a stream of gold. We returned home next day, and his health was so well preserved by the exercise that I had cause to bless it.

‘ There it was that he composed and dictated the greater part of his works. But he left these enjoyments without regret, as he could return to his other works and pursuits with renewed vigour.’

Life, fame, fortune, honour, have nothing, after all, much more substantial than days spent as these were.

But his London life was to cease; and, after thirty-four years, he was again to return to the city he had quitted in his youth. The Chair of Surgery becoming vacant, the Town Council of Edinburgh, no longer self-elected, but freely chosen by the ratepayers, placed it at the disposal of Sir Charles Bell; and not without some reluctance, and some painful sundering of long-accustomed ties, he accepted the invitation, and returned to fill a most important position in the University of the City, which he had left because the doors of the Infirmary had been closed against him. The vision of secured ease and leisure for scientific pursuits proved irresistible, and he again turned his footsteps to the North, and entered on his honourable task.

All was changed in the grey metropolis since 1804, excepting the warm and friendly hearts which welcomed him. Its area had been nearly doubled. He was lodged, as he writes, in a palace, where he had left the beautiful and leafy groves which had formed the foreground to the Queen Street Terrace. He walked, he said, as in a city of tombs. At every turn he met with memorials of men, and women, and associations, all gone, or changed. He found age where he left youth, and a new generation in vigorous manhood treading on the venerable footsteps of the brotherhood he had quitted in the fresh ardour and ambition of dawning power. The old institutions, the old dominion, had disappeared. The venerable social

traditions, the quaint Continental formalities, the exclusive political rigour, even the broad lines of party demarcation, were socially obliterated. Not more certainly had the blooming spinsters he had left yielded their supremacy to their successors, than had the social circles and usages of the Edinburgh of 1804 surrendered to those of 1836.

The sages of the University were gone, and had given place to new celebrities. Syme and Christison filled, in the medical world, the places of Monro and Gregory. Abercrombie and Alison were at the head of medical practice. One element, however, remained, changed no doubt, but changed only in years and honour. That knot of Whig lawyers and politicians, so little regarded by the magnates of the day, the dawn of whose influence and success made but a faint streak on the horizon when he went forth to seek his fortunes, remained almost unbroken. Excepting Horner, the London refugees were alive and prosperous—Brougham, Sydney Smith, and Richardson. Those who had pursued their career in Edinburgh still remained. They were a very remarkable circle, who raised the reputation of the Bar of Scotland as high as its position admits of; and were besides men of vigorous and cultivated intellect, whose persistent efforts in the cause of free government have not, perhaps, been duly appreciated. No longer, as Sydney Smith described them, eating indigestible suppers among barbarous sounds, but the leaders and ornaments of the community, and the pride and honour of the ancient city. Of those whom Charles Bell left, a struggling and uninfluential band of young advocates, Cranstoun, Jeffrey, Moncreiff, Cockburn, and Fullerton, were all on the Bench when he returned. John Clerk was dead, but Gillies still survived, retaining after twenty-five years of judicial life the vigour and power of his early days. Murray was Lord Advocate, and Rutherford, the most powerful of the new recruits, a man of singular ability, unrivalled as a lawyer, and of profound literary accomplishment, was then, or shortly afterwards, Solicitor-General. It must have looked to Charles Bell like a transformation scene in a play, when he bridged over in imagination the space between, and recollected what the stage had disclosed when the curtain fell on the first act. All the positions were reversed. The fashionable tenets were out of fashion, the despised doctrines in the ascendant; and power, and place, and popular incense followed in their train. The principles which Adam loved, and Millar taught, and Dugald Stewart and Playfair had recognised, had at last borne a prodigious harvest. Nor

was the least gratifying feature in Edinburgh society in those days the breaking down of the old party barriers in social life, which, in the days gone by, had been so wide and so insuperable. John Wilson and Mackenzie, the son of the author of the 'Man of Feeling,' and fully his father's equal in originality and genius, lent the lustre of their great social powers to the same circles as the leading Whigs of the Review. Not one remains. They have all disappeared from the scene, and it will be long before Edinburgh can again boast of a society so brilliant.

From politics, of course, and from literature for the most part, Jeffrey and his judicial contemporaries had necessarily ceased; nor do we stop here to recall what well deserves to be recalled, how much they had done, with little aid but their own right arm, to promote what they believed, and what the country had accepted as sound canons of political thought and sound principles of literary criticism. It was from Edinburgh that the first notes were sounded, and although the subsequent progress of opinion has thrown some of their efforts into the shade, the work was ably done, and could only have been done by able and earnest men.

His old friends received Charles Bell with open arms and profuse hospitality. He was kindly welcomed at the University, and began his new duties with energy. He was universally treated with the respect due to his great reputation, and he began to meditate still further scientific triumphs, and to plan and execute some piscatorial expeditions which were crowned with great results. But in some respects the process of transplanting was not altogether successful. Some local difficulties in the University to a certain extent affected the attendance on his lectures, and the amount of consultation practice on which he had reckoned was not realised. The ground of course was occupied, and it is no easy matter for a man, however able, when past his meridian, to start on a new career of professional labour; and Bell was in his sixty-third year.

One object, however, his comparative leisure enabled him to accomplish. He undertook a journey to Rome, and thereby satisfied an old craving of his life. This was in May 1840. There with his usual energy he sketched, and ransacked, and worked for materials for his new edition of the 'Anatomy of Expression,' and was in his element of intense exertion. 'As to Rome,' he says, 'there I was driven as a slave, rode upon like one of the Galeotti. Heat, sleep, palaces, churches, sketching, drawing, and the oppressive but kind interference

‘of friends made it a month of labour, excitement, delight, and disappointment.’ But he had filled two sketch-books.

But our limits compel us to finish this desultory notice. His Italian journal contains this passage: ‘Went to poor John’s grave. The Pyramid of Cestius attracts you from a distance. A plain stone marks the place as you enter the ancient reformed burying ground. A single antique column is between the enclosure and the pyramid. Remembering old times, a fitting resting-place.’ The career of the survivors was drawing to a close. George Joseph had been attacked by blindness the year before. Charles Bell himself had been subject to spasmodic fits of illness. Indeed, since the death of John Shaw, and the distress and labour which he then underwent, his health had never been satisfactory. His symptoms in the spring of 1842 became more distressing, and he resolved, when his University Session closed, to leave for London, which he did. He reached Manchester, where he had an attack so acute, that he says in a letter to Richardson that he called for death. On the 27th he and Lady Bell reached Hallow Park, the seat of Mrs. Holland. Next day he seemed well, and walked about the grounds, but had a severe attack at night. It was relieved for the time, but in the morning he awoke with a spasm, laid his head on his wife’s shoulder, and so died.

And never passed away a gentler, truer, or finer spirit. His genius was great, and has left a legacy to mankind which will keep his name fresh in many generations. But the story of his life in this little book has a more potent moral. It is the story of one who kept his affections young, and his love of the pure and the refined unsullied, while fighting bravely the battle of life; whose heart was as tender as his intellect was vigorous and original; who, while he gained a foremost place among his fellows, turned with undiminished zest to his home and his friends, and found there the object, the reward, and the solace of his life. George Joseph Bell died in the following year; and so ends this record of the brothers.

- ART. VI.—1. *Geschichte des Golfstroms und seiner Erforschung von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf den grossen amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg.* Von J. G. KOHL. Bremen : 1868.
2. *Ocean-Currents and their Influences.* By A. G. FINDLAY, F.R.G.S. (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, vol. xiv.)
3. *Soundings and Temperatures in the Gulf Stream.* By Commander W. CHIMMO, R.N. (Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, Feb. 8, 1869.)
4. *Physical Geography in its Relation to the Prevailing Winds and Currents.* By JOHN K. LAUGHTON, M.A. 1870.
5. *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt.* Von Dr. A. PETERMANN. Gotha : 1870–1872.
6. *Reports on the Scientific Exploration of the Deep Sea, during 1868, 1869, and 1870, conducted by* WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., J. GWYN JEFFREYS, F.R.S., and Prof. WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D., F.R.S. (See Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1868–1871.)
7. *The Gibraltar Current, the Gulf Stream, and the General Oceanic Circulation.* By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, LL.D., M.D., F.R.S. (See Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Jan. 9, 1871.)

WHEN Lothair first honoured Mr. and Mrs. Putney Giles with his company at dinner, we learn from his biographer that his hostess ‘expounded to him with brilliant perspicuity ‘the reasons which had induced her to believe that the ‘Gulf Stream had changed its course, and the political and ‘social consequences that might accrue. “The religious sentiment of the Southern races,” said Apollonia, “must be wonderfully affected by a more rigorous climate. I cannot doubt,” she continued; “that a series of severe winters at “Rome might put an end to Romanism.”’ If Mr. Disraeli intended this as a sneer at the shallow nonsense which has been talked about the Gulf Stream, and at the exaggerated estimates of its potency which have been put forward by men (as well as women) who ought to have known better, he could have scarcely hit upon a more apposite illustration. As Dr. Hayes (the American Arctic explorer) truly remarks :—

‘Weather predictors without end have launched upon it their stupidities; meteorologists have deluged the world with their assumptions respecting it; theorists of all kinds have floated their notions upon it.

One whirls it away into the Arctic regions, and opens a passage to the Pole with it; another compels it to give a climate to countries where otherwise there would be no climate worth mentioning; while still another spins it round in the Atlantic Ocean, and its widespread arms close upon a stagnant Sargasso Sea. . . . Through means such as these mankind has come to look upon the Gulf Stream with a certain degree of awe. It is a "breeder of storms;" the giver of heat; it might become the father of pestilence. Will it always continue to do its duty as hitherto? or will it start off suddenly with some new fancy, and by pursuing some new course upset the physical and moral status of the world?

Is it really in the power, we may add, of our Transatlantic cousins—as one of them has recently asserted—by buying up the Isthmus of Panama, and cutting a sufficiently wide channel through it, to convert the climate of France and Austria into that of Canada, and to turn England, Germany, and Northern Europe into a frozen wilderness like Labrador?

These questions may now, we think, be answered with a considerable approach to certainty; much light having been thrown on the subject from various sources, since we last brought it under the attention of our readers in a review of Capt. Maury's 'Physical Geography of the Sea' (April, 1857). The careful investigations which have been carried on by the officers of the United States Coast Survey, under the able direction of the late Professor Bache, have brought together a body of trustworthy information as to what the Gulf Stream *is* and *does*, between its exit from the Gulf of Mexico and its final departure from the seaboard of New England. Our own surveyors have examined its thinned-out margin near the Banks of Newfoundland; and our Hydrographic Department published in 1868 a set of Wind and Current charts of the Atlantic Ocean, embodying all the information that has been obtained of late years in regard to the temperature and movements of its superficial stratum. And the investigations in regard to the Temperature of the sea, both at the bottom and at various intermediate depths, which have been made under the direction of Dr. Carpenter and Professor Wyville Thomson in the 'Lightning' and 'Porcupine' expeditions of 1868-70, have thrown an entirely new light on the cause of that north-easterly 'set' of ocean-water, which carries into the Arctic circle between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla the warmth of Temperate seas, and seems likely to afford the best opening to the navigator who seeks to penetrate the Polar ice-barrier, so as to find his way into that 'open Polar sea' which some of our physical geographers regard as a myth, whilst others represent it as an all but proved reality.

The history of our knowledge of the Gulf Stream has been worked out with true German industry and exhaustiveness by Herr Kohl, whose published travels in various regions had given ample evidence as well of his scientific as of his literary ability. During a visit which he paid to the United States between 1854 and 1857, his attention was drawn to the subject by Professor Bache; at whose request he prepared for the Archives of the United States Coast Survey an account of the earlier contributions to our knowledge of the Gulf Stream, from the discoveries of Columbus to the first third of the nineteenth century; and to this is now added an excellent summary of the results of the inquiries which have been since carried on under Professor Bache's direction. The eight periods, however, into which he divides his history seem to us reducible to three, which may be defined as follows:—The *first period* we regard as commencing with the current-observations of Columbus and his immediate successors; and as closing with the great generalisation of Anghiera, who had been the personal friend of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Sebastian Cabot, and Cortes, and had watched their discoveries with the most vivid interest. By the correlation of the data he had even thus early collected, he was able, in the important work 'De Rebus Oceanicis et Orbe Novo,' which he published in 1523, to trace the deflection of the Equatorial Current by the opposition of the American coast-line, to recognise its rotation around the Gulf of Mexico, and to follow the extension of the vast and rapid stream which issues from the Florida Channel, as far as Newfoundland and the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

The *second period* includes all the additional information gathered by European voyagers as to the course, velocity, and extent of the Gulf Stream, down to the important discovery of Drs. Franklin and Blagden, that the passage of the Stream across the Atlantic between the parallels of New York and New England may be recognised by the elevated temperature of its water. The history of this discovery is more correctly given by Kohl than it had previously been by Maury, on whose account of it we relied too implicitly in our former article. As there stated, the attention of Dr. Franklin was first drawn to the subject by his learning from a Nantucket whaling captain, whom he chanced to meet in London in 1770, that he had come to the knowledge of the course and limits of the Gulf Stream, by finding that whales are found on either side of it, but never in it. When returning to America in His Majesty's ship 'Liverpool' in 1775, he made a series

of thermometric observations on the surface-temperature of the Gulf Stream, which satisfied him that it is recognisable by its elevated temperature alone; so that the captain of a ship only needs to use a Thermometer, to know whether his vessel is or is not within the influence of its current. In the very next year, however, Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Blagden, who was then serving in the British fleet as Physician to the Forces, made the same discovery; and he published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1782 the observations which he had made in 1776 and subsequent years; while Dr. Franklin's observations, having been kept back for political reasons during the War of Independence, were not published in the 'Transactions of the American Philosophical Society' until 1786. Blagden is thus fairly entitled to the merit, not only of having independently made this important discovery, but of having been the first to publish it; and he is fully credited with this by Kohl, though Captain Maury left him altogether unmentioned, assigning to Franklin alone the honour which is justly due to both.

In the *third period*, the most important contributions to our knowledge of the Gulf Stream, as regards its phenomena in detail, are, undoubtedly, those furnished by the recent investigations to which we have already alluded. But a general inquiry into its relation to the other currents of the Atlantic, and into the agencies by which these are sustained, had been previously carried on with great perseverance and sagacity by Major Rennell, whose work, published posthumously in 1832, must be regarded as furnishing the basis of all sound doctrine on the subject. To make our readers understand the great merit of this laborious treatise, we must briefly explain the mode in which the data for the determination of the course and rate of currents in the open Ocean are obtained.—In the navigation of a ship at sea, the first thing to be ascertained is the course and distance she has traversed in a given time, say twenty-four hours; and this is worked out in two modes—by dead reckoning, and by astronomical observation. The 'dead reckoning' is kept by the measurement (by means of the log) of the ship's motion through the water, along the course steered by compass; these two data, if accurately determined, enabling the navigator to mark his place day by day on his chart, provided that the surface of the sea through which he is sailing has no movement of its own. But independently of the errors occasioned by leeway, imperfect steering, &c., since the log measures not the actual motion of the ship, but its rate of movement through the water, it is



obvious that if a ship be sailing *with* a current of (say) a mile per hour, she will have made *more* way between noon and noon by twenty-four miles, than the log gives her credit for; whilst, if she be sailing *against* such a current, her run will be *less* by the same amount than that which the log indicates. Now in times when the method of determining the Longitude of a ship at sea with anything like accuracy was unknown, and observations of Latitude afforded the only check upon the 'dead reckoning,' a ship might be carried by a current hundreds of miles to the east or to the west, without her navigator finding out its influence until the end of the voyage; when he would sight the land some days (it might be) earlier or later than he expected, but would have no means of knowing in what part of his course he had been thus aided or kept back. In these old times, to quote the words of Captain Maury,—

'The navigator *guessed* as much as he *calculated* the place of his ship. Vessels from Europe to Boston frequently made New York, and thought the landfall by no means bad. Chronometers, now so accurate, were then an experiment. The Nautical Ephemeris was itself faulty, and gave tables which involved errors of thirty miles in the longitude. The instruments of navigation erred by *degrees* quite as much as they do now by *minutes*; for the rude "cross-staff" and "back-staff," the "sea-ring" and "mariner's-bow," had not yet given place to the nicer sextant and circle of reflection of the present day. Instances are numerous of vessels navigating the Atlantic in those times being 6', 8°, and even 10° of longitude out of their reckoning in as many days from port.'

It has been only, therefore, since Chronometers have come into general use among Navigators, and the improvements in their construction and in the means of checking their errors have justified full reliance on their indications, that it has been found possible to fix a ship's true place by observation for Longitude, as well as for Latitude, as frequently as the weather permits; and thus to test from day to day the agreement or discordance between the result of the 'dead reckoning' and the course actually run. There can be no doubt that, as Major Rennell remarks, 'a current' is often made the scape-goat for the navigator's imperfections and mistakes. Still, when a number of such discordances, presented by the journals and logs of different vessels traversing the same sea, are found to point in the same direction, an inference may be fairly drawn from them as to the existence of a current in the locality in which they occur. But it is only by the collection and comparison of a great body of such data, that its rate and

direction, and the amount of its seasonal variation, can be predicated with the exactness desired by the Navigator.

The great merit of Major Rennell's work consists in its presenting in a concise form the results of a laborious and indefatigable study of the vast mass of information supplied by the journals of the most competent navigators; only those being used which he had reason to regard as furnishing the most trustworthy data. He seems to have taken the greatest care in the selection of his materials, and to have exercised a judicial impartiality in the use he made of them; so that the names he assigned to the different currents, the descriptions he gave of them, and the charts on which he laid down their course and rate, have needed little alteration to adapt them to the existing state of knowledge. The distinction he drew between *drift* and *stream* currents is one of fundamental importance. A 'drift'-current is the effect of a constant or of a very prevalent wind on the surface-water of the ocean, impelling it to leeward until it meets with some obstacle which stops it and occasions an accumulation; this obstacle being either land or banks, or a stream-current running in a different direction. A 'stream'-current, according to Major Rennell, is the flowing-off of the accumulated waters of the drift-current, caused by its effort to return to the general level of the ocean. A 'stream'-current may be of any bulk, depth, or velocity; but a 'drift'-current is always shallow, and its rate seldom exceeds half a mile per hour.—Of all *stream*-currents, the Gulf Stream is the most notable. It is distinctly traceable to the interruption given by the coast of Central America to the Equatorial *drift*-current that is continually being urged westwards by the action of the Trade-winds into the Gulf of Mexico; and this, to use Major Rennell's language, acts as the reservoir of water that feeds the Gulf Stream, which issues from it as a *stream*-current through the narrow Florida Channel.

It is not requisite, however, to suppose with Major Rennell that this or any other stream-current depends on the existence of what is called 'a head of water.' As Sir John Herschel has justly remarked, 'a circulation in a closed area, produced by an impulse acting horizontally on the surface-water, may perfectly well co-exist with a truly level course of each molecule. A billiard-ball runs along a level table by an impulse from the cue, quite as naturally as if it rolled on an inclined plane by its weight.' The Equatorial drift-current which starts from the Gulf of Guinea, being subject to the nearly constant action of the Trade-winds across the whole breadth of the Atlantic, is continually accelerated thereby. But so

soon as its onward motion is checked, and its course deflected, by the obstruction presented by the American coastline, it gathers no further momentum; and its whole subsequent movement, whether within or without the Gulf of Mexico, depends upon that which it has already acquired, which, of course, is continually undergoing reduction by the resistance it encounters. The increase of velocity which it acquires in passing through the 'Narrows' is attributable, not to a 'heaping-up' of water at their entrance, but to the propulsive force exerted by the vast mass of water behind; which causes the rate of the current to increase in proportion to the contraction of the channel through which it flows. That there is really no such heaping-up in the Gulf of Mexico, has been ascertained by the land-survey made by the U.S. engineers; who, having carried a series of levels from the mouth of the Hudson to the mouth of the Mississippi, found that there was no sensible difference in the sea-level of the two stations.

This is not the only point on which Major Rennell's doctrine of Ocean-Currents seems to us to require modification. Whilst rightly attributing to the action of prevalent Winds the initiation of nearly all great movements of Oceanic water that are limited to the surface, he failed to perceive that every such movement must necessarily have some counter-movement as its *complement*. Water cannot be continually swept off from the surface of one portion of the oceanic surface, without being as continually supplied from another; and thus a *drift-current* proceeding *from* a particular area must produce an *indraught* current *towards* that area—just as the ascent of heated air through the chimney produces an indraught through every chink and cranny that admits air from the outside. This we take to be in part the explanation of the strong current which is known to set along the west coast of Southern Africa from the Cape of Good Hope northwards. It was considered by Major Rennell, indeed, that the current known as the Agulhas Current, which he believed to set to the westward round the Cape of Good Hope, and to derive its impetus from the Equatorial current of the Indian Ocean, is the real commencement of the Gulf Stream; but later investigations have shown that the Agulhas Current is for the most part turned back by an Antarctic drift-current, which sets towards Table Bay from the west and south-west, greatly lowering its temperature; and that only a portion of its warm water unites with this cold drift, to flow northwards along the west coast of South Africa.

There is another agency that must not be left out of view in any attempt to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of Ocean-

currents :—namely, that which in a river or tide-way produces what is known as *back-water*. If an obstruction of any kind—such as a projection from the bank of a river, an island or a ship at anchor in its midst—lie in the course of a current, the stream, after passing the obstruction, will turn round and run up towards it, often from a considerable distance. Of this Mr. Laughton gives a curious instance within his own experience. At the ‘Fords of the Jordan,’ about four miles above the Dead Sea, a bank of gravel, with a depth of water of only a few inches, stretches nearly across the river, leaving only a narrow channel near the eastern bank, through which the water rushes with great force, so as to drag downwards any incautious bather who places himself within its influence. But after shooting this rapid, and having been carried probably sixty yards below it by the force of the stream, Mr. Laughton states that, on edging across towards the western bank, he was ‘taken by the back-water, and carried up by a gentle ‘sleeping current, so as to land without difficulty on the lower ‘side of the shingly barrier.’—So it was mentioned by Sir Samuel Baker that the body of a young woman, who had been washed away by a flood of the Atbara, was found some days afterwards by floating a piece of wood down the river, and watching it with the expectation that it would turn into the same back-water; which proved to be the case.—The explanation of this phenomenon lies in the fact that a stream carries along *by friction* a much larger amount of water than that which received the original impetus. The water below an obstruction being in a state of comparative rest, but a portion of it being dragged away by the adjacent current, a void is created, which must be filled from the nearest available source. The supply cannot come from above, for the barrier shuts off all supply; it must, therefore, come from below; and the continual repetition of the same process will keep up a constant *back-draught*.\*

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\* The little instrument termed the Odorator, by which liquid perfume is scattered through a room by a blast of air from the lips, furnishes (as Mr. Laughton points out) a good illustration of this principle, as applied to aerial currents. By blowing strongly through the horizontal tube, the axis of which is so adjusted that the blast passes immediately over the top of the vertical tube, the lower end of which is immersed in the liquid scent, the friction between the air thus set in motion horizontally, and that which occupies the upper part of the vertical tube, is sufficient to drag away the latter, so as to produce a vacuum, into which the liquid rises; and this being in its turn acted on by the blast, its surface-particles are torn off by friction, and scattered about the room.

Now this we take to be the explanation of the curious fact, that, alike in the Atlantic and in the Pacific Ocean, in the region of Equatorial Calms, where the N.E. and S.E. Trade-winds have lost their westward momentum by imparting it to the Ocean-water, an *easterly* current sometimes prevails, attaining a rate even of sixty miles a day. For the northern and southern portions of the Equatorial current, having comparatively still water between them, will drag a portion of this still water with them towards the west, and thus produce a 'back-water' in the opposite direction.

A *horizontal circulation* will thus be kept up by the combination of *drift* and *indraught*, with *back-water* in certain cases, in any self-contained area (such as that of a pond or lake), one part of the surface of which is acted on by a wind blowing continuously or predominantly in the same direction. And though the case is in some degree altered by the intercommunication of the great Oceanic basins, yet each of them, as Mr. Findlay points out, has a horizontal circulation of its own, which is mainly kept up by the influence of the Trade-winds upon its Equatorial portion. The subsequent course, however, of the currents which originate in the westerly drift thus produced, is modified by the direction of the coast-lines that bound each ocean, and by the prevalent winds which they may encounter in their course.

We shall briefly trace the course of this circulation in the Atlantic, as set forth in the Admiralty Current Chart already referred to. The action of the N.E. Trade in producing a tolerably steady westward drift, shows itself in the western part of the Atlantic as far north, while the sun is on the north side of the Equator, as  $25^{\circ}$  N. Lat.; the Northern Equatorial current of from six to twenty miles per day, being traceable over the whole area of the 'Sargasso Sea.' Between the eastern margin of that area, however, and the coast of Africa, the prevailing current sets towards the south; part of this, which seems to consist of the portion of the Gulf Stream that has turned southwards round the Azores, flows westwards when it comes into the line of the Northern Equatorial current, which it reinforces; whilst the portion nearer the African Continent is a continuation of a current that sets from the north towards the Mogador coast, and continues its southward flow past Cape Verde and Sierra Leone, into the Gulf of Guinea. That this current is partly due to the prevalence of northerly winds along that coast, may, we believe, be pretty safely affirmed; but its increase of strength along the Guinea Coast, where it flows *eastwards* at a rate of sometimes sixty miles a day (off

Cape Palmas even three knots an hour), reinforced by the easterly flow of back-water just described, seems to indicate a strong 'indraught,' such as would be required to *feed* the Southern Equatorial current. It is commonly stated that this last commences in the Gulf of Guinea; but it would be more correct to assign the Bight of Biafra as its reservoir; for it is as completely cut off from the Guinea coast by the Guinea current, as the Gulf Stream is from the coast of the United States by the Polar current. The two currents are not only opposed in direction, but differ considerably in temperature; for while the temperature of the Guinea current is pretty constantly  $80^{\circ}$ , that of the Southern Equatorial current, near its origin, ranges through a large part of the year between  $72^{\circ}$  and  $78^{\circ}$ . And the line of demarcation between them is traceable nearly east and west, a little to the north of the Equator, with almost as much definiteness as the 'cold wall' off the seaboard of the United States. The comparative coldness of the Southern Equatorial current, near its commencement, is obviously due to the proportion of Antarctic drift, which (as just now stated) flows northwards from the Cape of Good Hope along the South African coast into the reservoir. This flow, like the southward flow along the North African coast, is probably attributable in part to the prevalent winds of the region; but it seems to us clear that it is partly an *indraught* required to feed the great Southern Equatorial current, which sweeps across the Mid-Atlantic with an accelerating rate towards the opposite coast of America, there to be deflected partly northwards and partly southwards, in the manner to be presently described.

Thus, if we trace *backwards* the source of supply for the entire mass of water that is driven across the Mid-Atlantic by the Trade-winds, we find that part is supplied by the North African current, part by the South African, part by the return of a portion of the Gulf Stream, and part by the Equatorial 'back-water.' If we trace its *onward* course, we find that the greater part of it is directed northwards by the opposition of the American coast-line; for while the greater part of the Northern Equatorial current enters the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, to come forth again in the Gulf Stream, this also receives a large part of the Southern Equatorial current, which, meeting the salient angle of Cape St. Roque, is caused to slant northwards along the Coast of Guiana into the Caribbean Sea. That part of the Northern current which does not pass into the Gulf of Mexico, seems to be deflected northwards and drawn into the Gulf Stream after

its exit from the Florida Channel. That part of the Southern current, on the other hand, which is deflected southwards along the Brazil Coast, by the projection of Cape St. Roque, turns eastwards beyond  $30^{\circ}$  S. Lat., forming the Southern Connecting current; which, impelled (as it would seem) by the Southern Counter-trade, re-enters the South African current, and thus completes the *horizontal circulation* of the South Atlantic, which, in its great features, is comparatively simple. That of the North Atlantic is, in part, scarcely less simple. The Gulf Stream, gradually expanding itself, and at the same time thinning out, progressively loses its initial velocity; and it is obvious that the greater its horizontal expansion, the greater will be the retarding effect of its friction in passing over the subjacent water. Before it thus died out, by merging into the general north-westerly Atlantic drift, a large section of it turns to the southward round the Azores, to re-enter the Northern Equatorial current; thus completing what Dr. Carpenter (borrowing a term from Anatomy) calls the *shorter circulation*. But over the *whole surface* of the North-eastern portion of the Atlantic, the prevalence of south-westerly winds, or Counter-trades, maintains a pretty constant N.E. *drift*, of which the rate varies from six to thirty miles a day. This will, no doubt, take up and carry onwards a large quantity of water that has been transported by the Gulf Stream into its area; but as there is no evidence that this water either retains any portion of its initial velocity, or has a temperature above that which it would derive from the air that blows over it, there is no adequate ground for representing it as in any sense a prolongation or extension of the *real* Gulf Stream which issues from the Florida Channel. Still, as a large quantity of water is undoubtedly carried by it towards the Arctic basin, that water must return; and it is, as we believe, by the *superficial* portion of the Polar current, which comes down laden with icebergs, along the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and extends southwards between the Gulf Stream and the seaboard of the United States, that the *longer circulation* of the North Atlantic is completed. Of the *deeper* portion of that Polar current, we shall hereafter show that another account is to be given.

Having thus indicated the relation of the real Gulf Stream to the general Current-system of the Atlantic, we shall now give a summary view of what has been made known by recent researches as to its volume, rate, temperature, and course.

It was in the year 1845 that the careful and systematic examination of that part of the Gulf Stream which lies in

proximity to the American seaboard, was commenced by the officers of the United States Coast Survey. Fourteen distinct sections have now been taken across the Stream, perpendicularly to its axis; beginning within the Florida Channel between Tortugas and Havana, and ending off Cape Cod. The depth of the sea-bottom, the temperature of the water from the surface downwards, and the rate of the surface-current, were ascertained at stated intervals; the line of each section being first fixed by a known point of the coast, and thence accurately determined by astronomical observation: and thus, as Dr. Hayes remarks, we may almost say we are as well acquainted with this portion of the Stream, as with any of our best-plotted rivers.

‘Prof. Bache has penetrated to its profoundest depths; he has shown the dividing line between its warm azure water and the cold strata which it overflows; and he has drawn topographically the bottom upon which that cold water rests in its turn. He has pointed out where the underlying cold water, following the ridges of the sea-bottom, comes up far through the warm, as winds of the valley creep up the mountain side; and he has shown how this warm stream of water, heated by the hot atmosphere of the equatorial region, thins away towards nothing as it spreads out in mid-ocean.’

The water of the Equatorial Current enters the Gulf of Mexico between the Peninsula of Yucatan and the westernmost point of Cuba, with a surface-temperature of about  $85^{\circ}$ ; and a part of it proceeds direct along the north coast of Cuba to the Florida Channel. The other part circulates round the head of the Gulf of Mexico, with a speed of about a mile an hour; and whilst doing so it loses rather than gains heat, its surface-temperature ranging from  $83^{\circ}$  in summer to  $73^{\circ}$  in winter.

The idea has been seriously entertained that the Gulf Stream is dependent on the discharge of river-water by the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico; but this is completely negatived by the very small proportion which the amount of water thence poured into the Gulf in a given time bears to the stream which can be shown to issue from it during the same period. It would not seem unlikely, however, that the remarkable *blueness* which distinguishes the water of the Gulf Stream from the oceanic water through which it flows, may be due to its retaining in suspension the finest of the sedimentary particles brought down by that river, the coarser having been deposited near its mouth; just as the intense blueness of the waters of the Lake of Geneva depends on its retention of the finest sedimentary particles brought down by the Rhone in the upper part of its



course, while that of the waters of the Mediterranean is due to its pervasion by the like particles brought down by the Lower Rhone and other rivers which discharge themselves into its western basin, and by the Nile in its eastern.\*

It is in the line of section between the Florida Keys and Havana, that the current first becomes confined within what is known as the Florida Channel, and that a marked acceleration shows itself in its rate; so that the 'Gulf Stream' may be said here to commence. But although the channel has a breadth of 82 miles at its entrance, the Gulf-Stream current does not occupy more than 40 miles of its southern side; the northern half being occupied by a counter-current which brings in sedimentary matter to be deposited on the *western* sides of the Florida Keys, which are continually undergoing extension in this direction, as was first shown by the elaborate geological survey made by Professor Agassiz in 1850-51. During stormy weather, the sea about the reefs is rendered milky by the stirring up of its bottom by the action of the waves; and this 'white water,' which contrasts strongly with the deep blue of the Gulf Stream, can be distinctly seen flowing in a directly opposite course, as much as 30 or 40 miles to the southward of the line of Keys.

But the southern part of the channel through which the Gulf Stream flows on the surface, is not by any means wholly occupied by that Stream; in fact, so far as a conclusion can be drawn from the data hitherto obtained, it may be affirmed that the depth of the Stream is not more than *one-third* of the depth of the channel, its current not reaching down to the top of a submarine ridge of which the summit lies at about 200 fathoms beneath the surface. That the deeper portion of the channel is occupied by a *Polar under-current flowing in the opposite direction*—that is, *from the Atlantic into the Gulf of Mexico*—is most distinctly proved by the temperature of its water; which falls from 60° at the top of the submarine ridge just mentioned, to 40° at 300 fathoms, and has been found as low as 35° at a depth of 600 fathoms off Havana. This last is a lower temperature than any yet found in the actual channel of the Gulf Stream; and the Polar water, whose presence it indicates, may have found its way thither from the outside Atlantic through some other passage.

It is between Cape Florida and the Bemini Isles (which rise

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\* See Dr. Tyndall's Paper in 'Nature,' for Oct. 18, 1870; and Dr. Carpenter's Report of Researches in the Mediterranean, in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Society,' vol. xix. p. 200.

from the western edge of the Great Bahama Bank) that the Florida Channel is most contracted; and this portion is known as 'The Narrows.' Even here, however, by no means the whole breadth of the channel, which averages about 40 miles, is occupied by the Gulf Stream; for we have the authority of Professor Bache for the statement that the width of the Gulf Stream proper is not more than 25 miles, and that it is separated from the coast of Florida by a cold band 10 miles broad. Of the maximum depth of this channel, which ranges to from 300 to 370 fathoms, it may be safely affirmed on thermometric evidence that the stratum forming the real Gulf Stream does not extend to more than *one-half*, perhaps to not more than *one-third*; and that it is underlain by a Polar current flowing in the opposite direction. The rate of the surface-current of the Gulf Stream in its outward passage through the Narrows is commonly stated at from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 miles per hour, or from 60 to 96 miles per day; according to Mr. Findlay, however, who has carefully correlated all the data he has been able to obtain, its mean *annual* velocity is 65.4 miles per day. There is no doubt that its rate is lower in winter when the north-easterly Trade-winds are less regular and powerful, than it is in summer when the sun is shining on the northern side of the equator; and there is reason to think that minor fluctuations may be due to tidal influences. It is a great mistake, however, to represent the whole body of the Gulf Stream as moving at this rate. Everyone who is practically conversant with currents knows that the velocity of a stream which flows rapidly through a channel is greatest *in the middle of its surface*, diminishing rapidly towards the sides and bottom of the channel, in consequence of the retardation produced by friction. In fact the bottom-water is often almost stationary; and a slight 'back-water' is frequently observable along one or both margins. Now since the Gulf Stream does not flow over a solid bottom, but over a current running in the opposite direction, it can scarcely be doubted that there is a plane between the two at which there is no movement; and that the rate of the surface-current gradually diminishes down to this plane, until it is reduced to zero. Mr. Findlay seems to us perfectly justified, therefore, in estimating the *mean* velocity of the whole body of Gulf-Stream water, flowing outwards through the Narrows, as not more than 50 miles per day.—It is much to be desired that this point should be cleared up by actual experiment. Two of our own hydrographers, Captains Calver and Nares, have recently shown that it is perfectly feasible to determine approximately by mechanical means the direction and rate of move-

ment of currents flowing at several hundred fathoms below the surface; and the whole subject of the Gulf Stream is of such general interest and importance, as well scientific as practical, that we may fairly expect the Hydrographers of the United States to furnish all the information in regard to the volume and rate of movement of the water forming this vast current at its commencement, that it may be feasible to obtain.

Emerging from the Florida Channel, in N. Lat.  $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , with a temperature ranging from  $83^{\circ}$  in summer to  $77^{\circ}$  in winter, the Gulf Stream flows nearly due north for a time, while the coast of Florida trends to the west; so that at the junction of the Florida peninsula with the continent in N. Lat.  $30^{\circ}$ , there is an interval of about 90 miles between its western edge (which is very well defined) and the American coast-line. The coast-line of Georgia and the Carolinas, on the other hand, trends to the east; and the Gulf Stream keeps a direction nearly parallel to it, maintaining an average distance of about 90 miles, until it reaches Cape Hatteras (North Carolina, lat.  $35\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ ), where it again approaches the coast-line; sometimes actually touching it, and sometimes receding 15 or 20 miles from it, according as the prevailing winds are easterly or westerly. The velocity of the most rapid part of the current—that which forms its western boundary—is reduced off Cape Hatteras to two miles per hour. Its surface-temperature, however, has only fallen from  $3^{\circ}$  to  $5^{\circ}$ ; which is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the Stream will have flowed from the Narrows to Cape Hatteras in about ten days, and that the atmosphere beneath which it has here passed will have exerted very little cooling influence upon it. In its progress, even thus far, the Gulf Stream undergoes a remarkable change in form; no longer flowing as a river through a deep channel, but spreading itself out as over a wide and shallow bottom. Its breadth increases to 140 miles along the Florida coast, and to 350 off Cape Hatteras; and its depth diminishes in like proportion. The Stream already shows a tendency to that separation into distinct bands, having bands of cold water between them, which becomes very marked in the latter part of its course, and issues in its final breaking up. The Arctic Current, to which allusion has already been made as passing into the Gulf of Mexico beneath the outflowing Gulf Stream, not only underlies it along the whole of this part of its course, but intervenes between the western border of the Stream and the coasts of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas; the line of demarcation between the two being so abrupt as to have received the designation of the 'cold wall.' Thus, when

H.M.S. 'Nile' was proceeding from Halifax to Bermuda, in May 1861, Admiral Sir Alexander Milne found the temperature  $70^{\circ}$  at the bow, while it was only  $40^{\circ}$  at the stern. In the actual body of the Stream, the cold stratum beneath can scarcely be said to crop-out at the surface; but it approaches and recedes from the surface, as the sea-bottom is depressed or elevated. Where this rises into a lofty ridge, the cold water comes up along its sides and overlies its crest, sometimes very nearly approaching the surface; and on 'soundings'—that is within a depth of 100 fathoms—a cropping-out occasionally occurs, so that warm and cold bands alternate at the surface.

Beyond Cape Hatteras the coast of the United States again trends northwards, receding from the course of the Gulf Stream; whilst this also soon changes in the opposite direction, turning much more to the east than to the north, about N.Lat.  $37^{\circ}$ ; so that the distance between the 'cold wall' and the seaboard of the Middle States rapidly increases. This direction of the Stream towards the middle of the North Atlantic basin is attributed by Dr. Hayes to the 'set' given to it by the coast-line before it passes Cape Hatteras, aided by the predominance of westerly winds—sometimes termed the 'Counter-trades'—in this region. But we see no reason for doubting the correctness of the doctrine advanced by Captain Maury and approved by Sir J. Herschel, that it is partly due to the greater easterly momentum which the water brings with it from the region it has left, in virtue of its excess of diurnal rotation. For a mass of water which has flowed *northwards* from a lower Latitude in which its rotation was more rapid, must tend to move *faster* than the earth, but in the same direction. And for the very same reason, a mass of water which has flowed *southwards* from a high northern Latitude will tend to rotate more *slowly* than the earth; and being thus left behind, it will set to the westward. It is on this account that the Arctic current passing down from the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, so persistently 'hugs the shore' of the United States, and limits the extension of the Gulf Stream along its inner border. The outer margin of the Stream is not by any means so well defined; so that its breadth cannot be stated with accuracy. Its rate of movement off Sandy Hook (New York) is reduced to about one mile per hour; but its temperature thus far shows little reduction in summer, that of the surface-water having been observed as high as  $80^{\circ}$ , though in winter it falls to  $70^{\circ}$ .

It does not by any means follow, however, that the whole mass of Gulf-Stream water has carried thus far the heat it

brought with it from its tropical source. For it will be obvious that whatever may be the cooling influence exerted upon the surface-water, either by contact with the atmosphere or by evaporation, that influence will not manifest itself in the temperature of the surface-stratum, so long as there is warm water underneath. For if the surface-stratum be cooled down below the level of the subjacent water, it will sink, and the warmer water beneath will rise into its place; and this process may continue with little reduction of surface-temperature, until the whole thickness of the superheated stratum has been thus acted on, which will, of course, take place the more rapidly in proportion as it is thinned out by extension, and as the temperature of the air is below that of the water. But when its thickness has been greatly reduced, the surface-temperature will be more rapidly lowered; and thus we find that off Nantucket, where the breadth of the Stream has increased to 410 miles, the *winter* temperature of its axis is  $10^{\circ}$  below that which it had in the Florida Channel, though its rate of flow is still nearly a mile an hour. Thenceforth, however, the Stream rapidly loses its characteristics. Being, as Dr. Hayes remarks, ‘a *resultant* current, and having no force applied to it to keep it in motion, its strength diminishes; the air of a higher latitude brings its temperature down to that of the North Atlantic generally; the water loses all its Gulf-Stream character as to course, warmth, and flow; and it dies away into the sluggish Atlantic drift which sets from a westerly to an easterly direction.’ By the time the Gulf Stream has reached the Banks of Newfoundland—which will not be in the case of its surface-water in less than fifty days from the time it left the Narrows, while a longer period will be required for the more sluggish movement of its deeper stratum—its temperature has undergone reduction from  $83^{\circ}$  to  $62^{\circ}$  in summer, and from  $77^{\circ}$  to  $58^{\circ}$  in winter. Here it is subjected to the full power of the Arctic current, which is forced by the S.E. direction of the coast-line of Labrador and Newfoundland to impinge upon it, instead of maintaining a separate course. This current has a surface-temperature of no more than from  $40^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  in June and July, whilst in January its surface-temperature is as low as  $30^{\circ}$ . Now the volume of water that carries from the Narrows a temperature of  $70^{\circ}$  or upwards, would not, according to Mr. Findlay’s calculation, form a film of more than sixty feet thick off Newfoundland; and it is easy to see, therefore, how rapidly its temperature will become reduced by the chilling influence of a powerful current cooled down by Polar

ice, icebergs, and dissolved snows, which it transports rapidly southwards.

The enormous evaporation which must be taking place from the surface of the Gulf Stream along its whole course, is here made evident by the precipitation of the vapour on its contact with the cold surface of the Arctic current, constituting the well-known fogs of the 'Banks' and of Halifax. It is not that the evaporation from the Gulf Stream is here greater than in the earlier part of its course; in fact it must be really much less; but it is rendered 'sensible' by the chilling influence of the atmosphere it encounters—just as the moisture of our own breath, which is unnoticeable in the air of a warm sitting-room, shows itself in a stream of vapour given forth with every expiration when we go forth into a frosty atmosphere. Now every particle of water that passes from the liquid into the gaseous condition, takes up with it (to use the ordinary well-understood phraseology) an enormous amount of latent heat; and this heat is imparted to the upper regions of the atmosphere, when the vapour which has ascended into them resumes the liquid state and comes down as rain. In this manner, therefore, the heat of the Gulf Stream, far removed as its warmer portion is from the shores of Western Europe, is largely conveyed thither by our vapour-laden south-westerly winds; and to this extent, it may be freely admitted, our climate is ameliorated by the transportation of a vast body of super-heated water into the middle of the North Atlantic basin. But we have now to consider what evidence there is that the Gulf Stream itself ever approaches our shores, or flows past them towards the Polar Sea.

That the northern portion of the Gulf Stream which does not return into the Equatorial current is practically 'dispersed and in fact destroyed' (to use Sir John Herschel's language) *as a distinct current*, about the 42nd or 43rd parallel of N. Lat., and between 40° and 30° W. Long., both by the thinning-off produced by its superficial extension, and by interdigitation with the Arctic current, is now, we believe, the unanimous opinion of those Hydrographers who have carefully examined into the facts of the case. When this doctrine was first advanced, it was repudiated as a monstrous heresy. Dr. Hayes states that he himself formerly participated in the generally-received opinion as to the extension of the Gulf Stream Proper to the Arctic Sea; but that having become convinced of its untenability, he has felt it a duty to enlighten the public on the subject:—

'It is an error,' he says, 'and one into which many persons have been led through lack of familiarity with facts, to suppose that the Gulf Stream sends off a branch from its northern limit to the Arctic Ocean, or even that it touches any part of the coasts of Europe. *As a definite current it is completely lost in mid-ocean.*'

That such *must* be the case, may be very easily demonstrated. Captain Chimmo, who was directed a few years ago by our Hydrographic Department to examine the Gulf Stream to the south-east of the Banks of Newfoundland, found that in N. Lat.  $44^{\circ}$ , and W. Long.  $48^{\circ}$ , it had a thickness of *not more* than 50 fathoms, the thermometer, which was  $61^{\circ}$  at the surface, going down to  $43^{\circ}$  at that depth. And, as no intermediate observation was made, it is quite possible that the thickness of the warm stratum may have been even less. Now since (as will be presently shown) the surface-layer of the Mediterranean, which has a temperature of from  $75^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$  in summer, is cooled down in winter to from  $55^{\circ}$  to  $58^{\circ}$ , it is inconceivable that so thin a stratum as this, extending itself still farther in breadth as it moves westwards, and therefore continuing to diminish in thickness, should be exposed for nearly *half a year* to the cooling influence of the atmosphere above it, without the entire loss of any excess it may have brought with it from its Tropical source. For the westward surface-drift which undoubtedly prevails over the middle and eastern part of the North Atlantic, in virtue of the prevalence of westerly over easterly winds in that area, is so slow, that 150 days would be required for a floating body to be carried from the Grand Banks to the Land's End; and the rate of movement of the water beneath the surface would be certainly even less. Moreover, the area over which the thinned-out margin of the Gulf Stream would have to spread itself, in order at the same time to impart its warmth to the western coast of Europe, and to enter the Polar area between Iceland and the Shetland Islands, has been shown by Mr. Findlay to be at least 1,500,000 square miles; and such an extension must reduce it to a mere film, the surplus heat of which, if any were conveyed thus far, must be speedily dissipated. But before reaching the North Atlantic, the northern branch of the Gulf Stream would have to traverse a gulf of cold water, which (as is shown by the looped bend of the isothermal lines) intersects its course to the south of the Banks of Newfoundland; this gulf being apparently formed by the intrusion of the down-bearing cold current, as far as 150 or 200 miles to the southward of its general limit, before it turns westwards along the coast of Nova Scotia.

Between W. Long. 40° and 30°, then, to use the words of Dr. Hayes,

‘The Gulf Stream has lost every distinctive character as a current: first, in rate of flow, which has become that of the general easterly “set” of the Atlantic; second, in temperature, which has become that of the general temperature of the air; third, in colour of water, which has lost the blue which it had when emerging from the Gulf of Mexico; in fact everything which goes to make up what we designate as an ocean-current, for we can hardly call a “current” that slow set of from less than one mile to a maximum of 4·7 miles per day, which we find between the Shetland Islands and Iceland.’

Having thus disposed of the *real* Gulf Stream, we have to inquire into the *rationale* of the phenomena which are popularly attributed to it. That the climate of the British Isles, taken as a whole, is much milder than that to which they have a right in virtue of their geographical position, is so constantly and unhesitatingly assumed, as to be commonly accepted as a truism. But though we are far from denying the existence of an amelioration derived from some extraneous source, we demur entirely to the justice of taking the climate of the American Continent under corresponding parallels of latitude as a standard of comparison. That Great Britain is warmer than Labrador, France than Newfoundland, and Spain than New England and the Middle States, is not only due to thermometric *elevation* on the European side, but to thermometric *depression* on the American. If *we* benefit by the warm and vapour-laden south-westerly winds, which carry into high latitudes the temperature and moisture of the air that has traversed the warmer portion of the Atlantic, our Western cousins suffer in at least an equal degree from the piercing chilliness and dryness of the northerly and north-westerly winds, which bring to them Arctic coldness and Continental aridity. Thus, says Dr. Hayes,

‘In the sea bordering on Labrador, where the prevailing winds in winter and spring are from north to north-west, there is a strong current setting down the coast, bringing with it immense fields of polar ice, upon which innumerable seals have sought a place whereon to rest and bring forth their young. This current reaches its maximum about March, after which time the winds cease to have such a decidedly northern character. By midsummer the prevailing winds have become south and south-east; and before the end of August the current has not only ceased altogether, but has turned sometimes in the opposite direction.’

So, again, he says:—

‘We have in New York strong north-west gales in the winter,



bringing low temperatures. This storm may continue for days. We suffer tortures from it; the snow whirls madly through every crack and cranny into our very sitting-rooms.'

It is not, then, with the climate of the great Continent on the other side of the Atlantic, but with the climates of Islands corresponding to Great Britain in size and as nearly as may be in latitude, that our own should be compared; and Dr. Hayes does not admit that we are under any greater obligation to the Gulf Stream than that which we derive from the warmth and moisture it imparts to our south-westerly winds. This, however, is disputed by Mr. Buchan, in his excellent 'Text-Book of Meteorology;' on the ground that the distribution of temperature indicated by the north and south direction of the winter isothermal lines traversing the British Islands, does not correspond with the direction of the prevalent winds, but indicates an afflux of warmth brought by the water that laves our western coasts. With this view we entirely accord; but we assign that thermal influence to a movement of Ocean-water kept up by an agency altogether independent of the Gulf Stream.

There is ample evidence that the cold of some parts of the North Polar area is greatly mitigated by an afflux of water bringing with it the comparative warmth of Temperate seas. It has long been known that cocoa-nuts, tropical seeds, trunks of tropical trees, timbers and spars of ships wrecked far to the south, and sometimes portions of their cargo, are found on the shores of the Western Hebrides, the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands, the north of Norway, and even Spitzbergen; and since their transport has taken place just in the course of the Gulf Stream if prolonged to the north-east, their arrival has been accepted almost without question as evidence of its agency. The evidence furnished by the surface-temperature of that north-eastern portion of the Atlantic Ocean which intervenes between Iceland and the North Cape, and then stretches away to the eastward between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, seems at first sight conclusive to the like effect. A large amount of additional thermometric evidence has been collected of late years; and this has been most ably digested by the eminent German geographer, Dr. Petermann, who has recently put forward a series of maps for different periods of the year in which these observations are embodied, and their results made obvious to the eye by the course of the isothermal lines, which in the summer pass between Iceland and the Shetland Islands, a little to the east of north towards Spitzbergen, and thence with more of an easterly bend even beyond North Lat. 75°. The

existence of a warm stream in this direction has been confirmed still more recently by two adventurous officers, Lieutenant Julius Payer, of the Austrian army, and Lieutenant Weyprecht, of the German army; who followed its path last summer in a small sailing vessel hired by themselves, and state that they found open water from E. Long.  $42^{\circ}$  to E. Long.  $60^{\circ}$ ; even beyond N. Lat.  $78^{\circ}$ ; the highest point they reached being N. Lat.  $79^{\circ}$  in E. Long.  $43^{\circ}$ . A Russian expedition under Prince Alexis Alexandrovitch, of which the distinguished *savant* Von Middendorf had the scientific charge, was about the same time exploring the Polar Sea between Nova Zembla and Iceland; and Von Middendorf has stated to the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg that 'the corvette "Wajag" has proved the extension of the Gulf Stream to the west coast of Nova Zembla, and that we find it on the meridian of Banin Noss (E. Long.  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ) still of a width equal to two degrees of latitude, and of a temperature of  $54^{\circ}$  Fahr., cooling down only  $4^{\circ}$  or  $6^{\circ}$  at depths of thirty and fifty fathoms.'

Now we fully accept, not only the great body of facts so industriously correlated by Dr. Petermann, but the inference he draws from them and from the more recent observations we have just cited, that the attempt to penetrate the Polar ice-wall to the north-east of Spitzbergen is more likely to be successful than the search for a passage in any other direction. And we rejoice to learn that the Austrian Government is about to despatch an expedition with this object, which may, we trust, succeed in settling the question of an open Polar Sea. But we altogether demur to the conclusion that this slowly-moving body of warm water is really an extension, as is commonly assumed, of the true Gulf Stream—that is to say, of the current of warm water which issues from the Florida Channel. By Dr. Petermann, indeed, it is admitted that the real Gulf Stream is here reinforced to an unknown extent by the general north-eastern movement of Atlantic water; and it seems to be considered by him and by other Physical Geographers, a matter of no consequence whether the name we give to this inflow into the Polar area does or does not correctly express its character. In our belief, of which we shall presently explain the grounds, the *real* Gulf Stream has no more to do with it than with the ripening of oranges at Naples, or the maintenance of Catholicism at Rome; so that even if its current were to be entirely diverted by the cutting of a wide channel through the Isthmus of Panama, not only would the climate of the British Islands suffer very little, but a north-easterly stream of warm water, forming part of a

General Oceanic Circulation sustained by opposition of temperature alone, would still mollify the severity of Polar cold, and help to render Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla accessible to Arctic navigators.

For the scientific study of the great general movements of the Water-system of the globe, a knowledge of *bottom-temperature* is just as necessary as that of the temperature of the *surface*. But Physical Geographers, as a rule, have concerned themselves with the latter alone; and so long as our knowledge of bottom-temperature was so inexact as to lead to wrong rather than to right conclusions, it was perhaps as well that they did so. Some of the earlier observations, it is true, seem to have been so far correct, that they were considered by such great masters in physical science as Humboldt and Pouillet to indicate the existence of Arctic or Antarctic currents, bringing Polar water along the depths of the great ocean-basins, even as far as the Equator. And Pouillet\* distinctly expressed his belief that the phenomena of ocean-temperature then known were best explained on the hypothesis of an interchange between the waters of Polar and Equatorial areas, sustained by opposition of temperature alone; a slow movement taking place in the upper strata of the ocean from the Equator towards the Poles, and a converse movement in its lower strata from the Polar basins towards the Equatorial. And though this doctrine made little way among Physical Geographers, it seems to have been very generally adopted by Physicists; who were familiar with the fact that movement *must* take place in any body of water of which the different parts are unequally heated, as was distinctly pointed out by Professor Buff in his 'Physics of the Earth.'

The Thermometric observations collected in Sir James Ross's 'Antarctic Voyage,' however, seemed to lead to a very different conclusion; viz., that a uniform temperature of about 39° prevails over the deep-sea-bottom in all latitudes. The care with which these observations were made, and the coincidence of their result with the well-known fact that a uniform temperature of about 39° is met with immediately beneath the icy covering of inland lakes, and even in summer at the bottom of such as range to great depths (as is the case with several of the lakes of Switzerland and Northern Italy), caused Sir James Ross's conclusion to be very generally adopted, especially in this country; and it

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\* 'Éléments de Physique,' 1847, tom. ii. p. 677; quoted by the President of the Geological Society in his Annual Address for 1871.

received the stamp of the high authority of Sir John Herschel, who, in his 'Physical Geography,' put forth the uniform deep-sea-temperature of  $39^{\circ}$  as a well-ascertained verity; further asserting that, as we proceed from the surface downwards, the temperature *falls* to this point in Equatorial seas, and *rises* to this point in Polar seas, there is a boundary between the two areas, which he fixed at about  $56\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , at which the temperature is  $39^{\circ}$  from the surface to the bottom.

The doctrine of Pouillet and Humboldt thus fell into abeyance, until revived on the basis of the observations made in the 'Lightning' expedition of 1868, and in the 'Porcupine' expeditions of 1869 and 1870; which brought to light a new and most unexpected series of facts in regard to the temperature of the deeper strata of the ocean, and at the same time proved the complete unreliableness of nearly all the deep-sea thermometric observations previously made, including those of Sir James Ross.

In the summer of 1868, the steam-vessel 'Lightning' was placed by the British Admiralty, on the request of the President and Council of the Royal Society, at the disposal of Dr. Carpenter and Professor Wyville Thomson (who had originated the application), for the purpose of exploring with the dredge the deep channel lying between the north of Scotland and the Faroe Islands; the deep dredgings carried on by the Swedish Government, near the Loffoden Islands, under the direction of the late eminent zoologist, Professor Sars, having yielded results of extraordinary interest alike to the zoologist and the geologist. Furnished with the best deep-sea thermometers then constructed, our explorers took every available opportunity of ascertaining the climatic condition of the sea whose biology was the object of their study; and they very soon met with results which not only demonstrated the fallacy of the prevalent doctrine, but opened out a new vista of research, which appears likely to have the most important bearing on the future of what has been appropriately termed by Canon Kingsley 'Bio-Geology.' For instead of a uniform deep-sea temperature of  $39^{\circ}$ , they encountered on some parts of the bottom of this channel, at depths not much exceeding 500 fathoms, and between  $59^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$  of N. Latitude, a temperature very little above  $32^{\circ}$ ; whilst on other spots not far off, the thermometer marked  $45^{\circ}$  at like depths; the surface-temperature being  $52^{\circ}$  in both cases. This difference of  $13^{\circ}$  between the bottom-temperatures of closely-adjacent parts of the seabed, corresponded with most marked differences both in the character of the bottom and in that of the Animal life which it

supported. For whilst on the 'cold area,' as it was designated by Dr. Carpenter, the bottom consisted of sand and small stones, the mineral character of which indicated their derivation (in part at least) from Jan Mayen or Spitzbergen, the bottom of the 'warm area' was composed of a greyish white calcareous mud, which is shown by microscopic examination to be essentially an animal product. And whilst the animals brought up from the sandy bottom of the cold area were distinctly Boreal in character, many of those which came up with the calcareous mud from the warmer bottom were no less characteristically referable to the Fauna of a more Temperate region.

The *rationale* of these phenomena suggested by Dr. Carpenter was, that two streams run in opposite directions through this channel; one bringing down Arctic water from the north-east, passing beneath a warmer surface-current flowing in the opposite direction, and probably discharging itself into the deep Atlantic basin to the south-west; whilst the warmer stream coming up from the south-west, meeting the Arctic stream at the mouth of this channel, would flow over it in virtue of its relative buoyancy, and continue its onward course to the north-east until it reaches the Polar basin. The fact that an excess of warmth was distinctly traceable to a depth of 650 fathoms at a point not far to the south-west of the Faroe Islands, was even then adduced by Dr. Carpenter as evidence that such a vast body of water flowing in a north-easterly direction could not be a prolongation of the thinned-out edge of the Gulf Stream, but must be kept in motion by some more general agency; and this view has been fully confirmed by his subsequent inquiries, which have led him to revert to the doctrine of Pouillet and Humboldt, as furnishing, when the conditions of the case are fully understood, a *vera causa* for such a movement.

The importance of the Physical and Biological results obtained in the 'Lightning' expedition of 1868, notwithstanding the brevity of its duration and the serious interruption to its work by unfavourable weather, was so highly estimated by the Council of the Royal Society, as to lead them to make a further application to Government for the prosecution of the same methods of research on a more extended scale. This application was readily and cordially responded to, both at the Admiralty and at the Treasury; the surveying ship 'Porcupine,' commanded by Captain Calver, an officer of great experience and practical ability, was assigned for the purpose from May to September 1869, and was placed, as the 'Lightning'

had been, under the scientific direction of Dr. Carpenter and Professor Wyville Thomson (Mr. J. Gwyn Jeffreys being associated with them in the zoological part of the work); and every arrangement was made that time and opportunity permitted, for the careful and complete prosecution of the inquiries they desired to carry out.

Among these preliminary arrangements, one of the most important was the testing of the Thermometers to be employed in taking deep-sea temperatures, for the determination of the amount of error (if any) that might be produced by the enormous pressure to which they are subjected. This pressure amounts, at the depth of 800 fathoms, to *a ton on every square inch of surface*; and, consequently, to *three tons on the square inch* at a depth of 2,400 fathoms, which is encountered in various parts of the North Atlantic basin. And it was quite conceivable that such tremendous force, which in previous expeditions had broken the bulbs of many of the thermometers subjected to it, would so alter the form of the bulb in such as might resist it, as to force up the liquid in the tube of the instrument, and thus to cause it to register a temperature considerably higher than that which it ought to mark. Although the existence of such a source of error had been suspected, it had never been proved; but as a series of careful experiments on the behaviour of thermometers in a vacuum—that is, on the effect of the removal of the pressure of a single atmosphere, or 15 lbs. on the square inch—had recently shown that this might produce an enlargement of the bulb, marked by a sensible lowering of the mercury in the tube, the probability was strong that the subjection of even the very best thermometers to a pressure of from 130 to 450 atmospheres must exert a very decided influence in the opposite direction. A suitable hydrostatic press, on the Bramah principle, was accordingly constructed under the direction of Mr. Casella: and a series of experiments on the influence of various degrees of pressure on thermometers of different constructions was carefully carried out by him, under the superintendence of the late Professor W. A. Miller, and of Captain Davis of the Hydrographic Office.

The result of these experiments was such as to excite general surprise. The very best Thermometers which Mr. Casella had been accustomed to construct for the Admiralty, were found to be so much influenced by a pressure of three tons on the square inch, as to record a temperature eight or ten degrees above that to which they were actually subjected; while other thermometers exposed to the same pressure registered twenty,

thirty, or even fifty degrees too high. The effect produced by low pressures was of course not so marked; but it thus became apparent that at any depth exceeding 1,000 fathoms, the temperatures previously observed must have been seriously wrong; and, while the *minimum* error might be pretty safely predicated in accordance with the depth to which each thermometer was sunk, the real error might have been considerably greater. Thus, when Sir James Ross observed  $39^{\circ}$  at depths between 1,500 and 2,000 fathoms, the *minimum* error must have been at least from  $6^{\circ}$  to  $7^{\circ}$ ; so that the real temperature of the bottom may be assumed to have been at or near the freezing point of fresh water, instead of being that at which fresh water attains its greatest density.

The existence of this source of error having been thus ascertained, the next question was, how to eliminate it. One of Mr. Casella's workmen set himself to make a thermometer which, he was confident, no pressure would affect, the bulb having nearly the same thickness of glass as the tube; but this proved no better than other instruments, the elasticity of well-annealed glass (and, if not well annealed, the bulb will break), enabling the wall of the bulb to yield to great pressure, whether it be thick or thin. A perfectly effectual and very simple method, however, was devised by Professor W. A. Miller, which consisted in enclosing the ordinary bulb of the thermometer in an outer bulb hermetically sealed round its neck; the space between the two being partly filled with spirit for the conveyance of heat from the surrounding medium to the liquid in the inner bulb, but a partial vacuity being left, which serves entirely to relieve the inner bulb from the effect of any pressure exerted on the outer. For, while it is obvious that if the space between the two bulbs were entirely filled with liquid, any pressure that reduces the capacity of the outer bulb must affect the capacity of the inner bulb to the same amount, forcing its contents into the tube of the thermometer, it is equally obvious that a reduction of the capacity of the outer bulb can exert no pressure whatever on the inner, so long as any void space remains between the two. Thermometers thus protected, having been constructed by Mr. Casella, were found to behave most admirably; for, when subjected to the full pressure of three tons on the square inch, they only showed a slight elevation (rarely exceeding a degree), which was fairly attributable to the actual increase of heat in the water of the apparatus itself, when reduced in volume by compression. The protected Miller-Casella thermometer, therefore, is an instrument which has now become indispen-

able in the prosecution of researches into the temperature of the deep sea; and it is mainly to the extended prosecution of such researches, that we must look for the extension of our knowledge of those great movements of oceanic water which are not dependent on the action of wind on its surface.

The Temperature-observations taken with the protected Miller-Casella thermometers in the 'Porcupine' expedition of 1869 were made at various points and at different depths along the eastern margin of the great North Atlantic basin, from the Faroe Islands to the line of the French Atlantic cable; in which, at a point about 200 miles to the west of Ushant, a depth of 2,435 fathoms was reached. Similar observations were extended in the summers of 1870 and 1871, along the coast of Portugal, and into the Mediterranean; and these last brought out a result of great importance in the contrast which they presented between the temperature-phenomena of the great Oceanic basin, and those exhibited under the very same latitude in a basin scarcely less deep, but cut off by a dividing ridge from all save very superficial communication with the great water-system of the globe.

The surface-temperature of the Mediterranean, as of the Atlantic under the same parallel, was found to depend upon the temperature of the air and the intensity of solar radiation; the effect of the *superheating* thus produced being limited to the first 100 fathoms. But the temperature at every depth beneath this was found to be *uniform*, even down to a bottom of 1,900 fathoms; as had, indeed, been previously ascertained by Captain Spratt, although his observations, made with thermometers not protected against pressure, set this uniform temperature too high. In the western basin of the Mediterranean, as shown by the 'Porcupine' observations of 1870, this uniform temperature is  $54^{\circ}$  or  $55^{\circ}$ ; being, in fact, the *winter* temperature of the entire contents of the basin, from the surface downwards; and being also, it would appear, the mean temperature of the crust of the earth in that region, as is indicated by two significant facts cited by Dr. Carpenter. In the little Island of Pantellaria, situated between Sicily and the coast of Africa, there is a deep cave in the side of its volcanic cone, which is reputed to be of icy coldness; but its real temperature, which appears to be the same all the year round, has been ascertained to be  $54^{\circ}$ . And this is also the temperature of the deepest tanks, excavated in the solid rock, and secluded from solar heat, which are used in Malta for the storing of water. The observations of Bischoff on the temperature of the crust of the earth in Central Europe, made by sinking ther-



mometers in the ground to a depth at which seasonal variation ceases to manifest itself, while yet too small to bring them within the sensible influence of the central heat, had given  $51^{\circ}$  as its mean temperature in that latitude; and observations made on the mean temperature of the air in deep cellars under the Observatory in Paris had given a closely approximative result. The temperature of the deepest recesses of Kent's Hole, at Torquay, is  $52^{\circ}$  all the year round.

It may be fairly affirmed, then, that the temperature of  $54^{\circ}$  or  $55^{\circ}$  is that which *normally* belongs to the great body of water occupying the western basin of the Mediterranean, in virtue of its geographical position; its surface-film alone being raised above this during a part of the year, by direct solar radiation and by the influence of the hot winds that blow from the African continent. This elevation, which in August and September reaches to nearly  $80^{\circ}$ , would be much greater than it is, but for the cooling effect of the enormous evaporation which is produced by the combined agency of solar heat and dry air; an evaporation which has exactly the same effect in *keeping down* the temperature of the sea under such conditions, as our insensible perspiration has in keeping down the temperature of the human body. Although no accurate data have yet been obtained as to its absolute amount in the case of the Mediterranean, there can now be little doubt that it is greatly in excess of the whole amount of fresh water discharged into its basin by rain and rivers; and that Dr. Halley was right in attributing to this excess, and to the reduction of level which it tends to produce, the continual inflow of Atlantic water which constitutes the strong easterly current through the Straits of Gibraltar.

The thermal condition of the Mediterranean basin, then, may be safely taken as a basis for comparison with that of the Atlantic basin under corresponding latitudes, and at like depths, in the neighbourhood of the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. If the temperature of each part of the Atlantic basin were dependent upon *local* influences alone—that of its surface upon direct solar radiation and upon the warm or cold winds blowing over it, and that of its depths upon the temperature of the subjacent crust of the earth—then it is obvious that in the portion of that basin which most nearly approximates the Mediterranean in geographical position, we might expect to find the closest similarity in temperature-phenomena. Such a similarity does present itself, with a slight modification, in regard to *surface*-temperature; but the temperature of the *deeper* stratum of the oceanic water oc-

cupying the Atlantic basin is so far beneath that of the Mediterranean at the like depths, as to afford evidence whose cogency can scarcely be resisted of the derivation of that stratum from a Polar source.

The excess of about  $5^{\circ}$  in the *summer* temperature of the surface of the Mediterranean above that of the surface of the Atlantic between the same parallels, is probably to be attributed in great part to the influence of the hot winds of the African continent in elevating the former. But it appears from the observations made last year under the direction of Dr. Carpenter in Her Majesty's surveying ship 'Shearwater,' that the surface-temperature of the Atlantic in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Gibraltar is depressed *below* its normal by a comparatively cold surface-current, which sets towards the Mogador coast (as had been previously suspected by Dr. Hooker) and sends a branch to the Straits of Gibraltar along its African shore. This current, whose temperature indicates its derivation for a part of the Atlantic four or five degrees farther north, may be regarded, we think, as part of the northern *indraught*-current which is one of the feeders of the Gulf Stream (p. 438); a portion of it being diverted into the Straits by the indraught occasioned by the excess of evaporation from the surface of the Mediterranean.

From a like comparison of the surface-temperatures of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic during the *winter* months, it appears that the approximation is extremely close; the mean temperature of the Mediterranean at Toulon during the months of December, January, and February being  $54.7^{\circ}$ , whilst that of the Eastern Atlantic between the parallels of  $43^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$  N. lat. is  $54.6^{\circ}$ ; and the mean at Algiers for the same period being  $57.8^{\circ}$ , whilst that of the Eastern Atlantic between the parallels of  $36^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ}$  N. lat. is  $59.5^{\circ}$ . This small difference of  $1.7^{\circ}$  in favour of the Atlantic is obviously quite insufficient to prove that the surface-temperature of that portion of it which laves the shores of Spain and Portugal is in any degree dependent upon an extension of the Gulf Stream; since it may be fairly attributed to the cooling influence of the winds that have blown over the snow-peaks of the North African mountains which are visible from Algiers. The very contrary, indeed, is indicated by the course of the isothermal lines in this portion of the Atlantic; since they tend southward (instead of northward) as far north as Bordeaux.

In regard to surface-temperature, then, there is no indication of any essential difference between the Mediterranean and the

Eastern Atlantic between the same parallels; and the thickness of the stratum that undergoes superheating during the summer is about the same. We have now to compare the temperature-phenomena of the *deeper* strata occupying the two basins. At the depth of a hundred fathoms, in the Atlantic as in the Mediterranean, the effect of the superheating seems extinct, the thermometer standing at about  $53^{\circ}$ ; and beneath this there is a slow and tolerably uniform reduction at the rate of about two-thirds of a degree for every fathom down to 700, at which depth the thermometer registers  $49^{\circ}$ . But the rate of reduction then suddenly changes in a most marked manner; the thermometer showing a fall of no less than  $9^{\circ}$  in the next 200 fathoms, so that at 900 fathoms it stands at  $40^{\circ}$ . Beneath this depth the reduction again becomes very gradual; the temperatures shown at 1,500, 2,000, and 2,435 fathoms (the last being the deepest reliable temperature-sounding yet obtained) being  $38^{\circ}$ ,  $37^{\circ}$ , and  $36.5^{\circ}$ .

Thus, then, the entire mass of Atlantic water at depths exceeding 900 fathoms is *at least fourteen degrees colder than the normal*, as shown by comparison with Mediterranean water at like depths and between the same parallels of latitude; while the temperature of the stratum that immediately overlies the deepest part of its bottom is *more than seventeen degrees below that which properly belongs to the crust of the earth whereon it rests*. And the rapid fall of the thermometer between 700 and 900 fathoms, as contrasted with its gradual descent both above and below that plane, clearly indicates the division of the water of this part of the Atlantic basin into two strata differing entirely in their thermal condition, with a 'stratum of intermixture' between them. The temperature of the *upper* stratum, as we have seen, gives no indication of its derivation from any remote source. We shall now inquire into the meaning of the almost glacial temperature of the *lower*.

Although, for the purpose of comparison with the Mediterranean, we have brought to the front the deep-sea temperatures recently obtained off the coast of South-western Europe, it must not be supposed that these are in any degree exceptional. The temperature-soundings previously taken at like depths during the 'Porcupine' expedition of 1869, to the south-west, west, and north-west of Ireland, between the line of the French Atlantic cable and the island of Rockall, gave corresponding results; except that the passage from the upper to the lower stratum was more gradual, the 'stratum of intermixture' not being so distinctly marked. And the bottom-temperatures recently taken by our surveying-officers in the Mid-Atlantic,

in the Arabian Gulf, and in the Indian Ocean nearly under the Equator, agree in indicating the *general prevalence of an almost glacial coldness over the deep-sea bed*, not less between the Tropics than in the Temperate zone. The most recent of these thermometric observations are the most satisfactory, as having been made with the 'protected' instruments upon which implicit reliance can be placed. In South Latitude  $3^{\circ} 18\frac{1}{2}'$ , and East Longitude  $95^{\circ} 39'$ , Commander Chimmo's soundings gave  $35.2^{\circ}$  as the bottom-temperature at 1,806 fathoms, and  $33.6^{\circ}$  at 2,306 fathoms.

We are at a loss to see what other explanation can be given of the low temperature of the water occupying the deeper portion of the great ocean basins, than that it depends upon a *continual outflow of Polar water* from the Arctic and Antarctic areas. For it is plain from the vertical uniformity of temperature in the Mediterranean basin, that depth *per se* does not tend to produce any reduction. And it seems also plain that if the deep water of any Oceanic basin were to remain stationary, like that of the Mediterranean, it must in time acquire the temperature of the crust of the earth upon which it rests; so that a temperature far beneath this could not be persistently maintained except in the Polar areas, if it were not for the constant renewal produced by a fresh inflow from the cold source. The hypothesis that the temperature of Tropical depths may be kept down almost to the freezing point of fresh water by *lateral conduction* from the corresponding depths of the Polar areas, is too absurd to need serious refutation. For the conducting power of water is so low, that, as every Arctic explorer knows, the water in a kettle half on and half off a fire may be frozen on one side whilst it is boiling on the other. And no cooling of the deep water that lateral conduction might produce, could be maintained against the constant warming influence of the subjacent sea-bed, which would be continually transmitted upwards by convection.

That such an outflow really takes place from the Polar areas, is indicated by the thermal condition of the deep channel that separates the Faroe Banks from the northern portion of the plateau which bears the north of Scotland and its adjacent group of islands; as brought to light by the temperature-soundings taken in the 'Lightning' expedition of 1868, and more fully determined by the systematic examination which was carried out in the 'Porcupine' expedition of 1869. This channel, which lies north-east and south-west, and has a depth of from 500 to 700 fathoms, constitutes one of the principal communications between the Arctic and the North Atlantic

basins ; for the bed of the North Sea, lying scarcely anywhere more than 100 fathoms beneath the surface, is like a coast-line to the deeper stratum of the Arctic basin. And the same may be said of the sea-bed between the Faroe Islands and Iceland, nearly the whole of which is traversed by a bank of about 200 fathoms' depth, that must serve as an effectual barrier to communication between all save the superficial strata of Arctic and North Atlantic waters. Between Iceland and Greenland, on the other hand, there is a channel of great depth, through the whole of which there is reason to believe that a vast body of Polar water is continually streaming southwards ; for although the *bottom-temperature* of this channel has not been ascertained, the depression of its surface-temperature and the diffusion of Arctic drift over its sea-bed, as shown by the soundings taken by Sir Leopold M'Clintock in the 'Bull-dog', afford very significant indications that the remarkable phenomenon we are now to describe, as presented in what Dr. Carpenter has designated as the 'Lightning' channel, would be exhibited even more impressively in this broader and deeper passage between the Arctic and Atlantic basins.

This phenomenon is the flow of an Arctic stream having a temperature *below the freezing point of fresh water*, at a depth of 300 fathoms from the surface, in a direction from north-east to south-west, to discharge itself into the deeper portion of the Atlantic basin. And this it does notwithstanding that it is overlaid by a warmer stream which flows slowly from south-west to north-east, and conveys the warmth of the Temperate Zone within the Polar circle. Over the whole of this channel the surface-temperature gives distinct evidence of the derivation of its upper stratum from a warmer source, being almost uniformly  $52^{\circ}$  near its south-west entrance in N. Lat.  $59^{\circ}$ , and only falling to  $49.7^{\circ}$  during sunless and chilly weather two degrees further north. In the first 150 fathoms, again, the reduction is everywhere nearly uniform, the temperature at that depth being only from  $5^{\circ}$  to  $6^{\circ}$  beneath that of the surface. But in the next 150 fathoms a rapid depression shows itself, the temperature at 300 fathoms being either very little above, or absolutely below,  $32^{\circ}$ , and showing at 640 fathoms a further reduction to  $29.6^{\circ}$ ; although at the very same depth, near the south-east entrance of this channel but out of the course of the Arctic stream, the temperature was  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  at 300 fathoms, and only sank to  $43^{\circ}$  at 600 fathoms.

We have already adverted to the contrast in the character of the sea-bed between the 'cold area' traversed by this Arctic stream and the 'warm area' on which it intruded ; and also to

the unmistakeably Boreal character of its Fauna. The like contrast between the Arctic drift which covered the greater part of the deep sea-bed between Iceland and Greenland, and the Globigerina-mud diffused over the general area of the North Atlantic, had been previously noticed by Dr. Wallich, who accompanied the 'Bull-dog' expedition; and had been attributed by him—we believe correctly—to the intrusion of an Arctic current into the area of the North Atlantic.

Thus, then, all the facts at present known concur to indicate that the depression of temperature in the lower stratum of the North Atlantic is due to a continual outflow, from the Arctic basin, of water which has been reduced to a glacial chilliness by exposure to Polar cold. The recent Temperature-soundings of Lieuts. Weyprecht and Payer in high northern latitudes have shown the entire fallacy of the doctrine that the temperature there rises with the depth; a temperature ranging from  $32^{\circ}$  to  $29^{\circ}$  being met with as soon as the surface-stratum had been passed through. The corresponding depression observed in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf must in like manner be attributed to an efflux of Antarctic water, which can take place without let or hindrance from any limiting continent or shallow; and that such an efflux really takes place, we regard as all but proved by the very observations made in Sir James Ross's Antarctic voyage, which were supposed to have a very different bearing; since, as we have seen (p. 456), the temperatures recorded by his thermometers, when corrected for their *minimum* error, indicate the prevalence of a temperature not above—and very probably beneath—the freezing point of fresh water, over the deep sea-bed of the great Southern Ocean.

But it is obvious that a continual *outflow* of cold water from the depths of the Polar into those of the Temperate and Tropical oceanic basins cannot take place, unless the supply be kept up by a corresponding *indraught*; and this indraught will be limited to the upper stratum. For, as Dr. Carpenter has pointed out, the effect of Polar cold on the water on which it acts will be to impart to it a *successional downward movement*; in virtue of the increase of density which it undergoes with every reduction of its temperature down to the freezing point of sea-water, which is several degrees below that of fresh water.—In this respect the condition of an oceanic basin differs altogether from that of a deep fresh-water lake. For in the latter case, the action of atmospheric cold upon the whole surface of the water, reducing its temperature and increasing its density, sends down successive films (to be replaced by the rise of warmer water from below) only until the

temperature of the entire mass has been brought down to  $39^{\circ}2$ ; any further reduction of the temperature of the surface-film causing it to expand instead of contracting, making it lighter instead of heavier; and thus keeping it at the surface until it freezes, while the subjacent water remains at  $39^{\circ}2$ .

When, on the other hand, a portion of an Oceanic basin is exposed to atmospheric cold, and the surface-water of that portion descends in virtue of its reduction in temperature and increase of density, its place will be taken, not by the rising up of water from beneath, but by an inflow of water from the neighbouring area; and since sea-water becomes continually heavier in proportion to its reduction of temperature, this cooling action will go on without the check which is interposed in the case of fresh water by its exceptional expansion. But since a column of *salt* water at  $28^{\circ}$  or  $30^{\circ}$  weighs much heavier, that is, exerts a greater downward pressure, than a column of the same height at  $40^{\circ}$  or  $45^{\circ}$ , there will be a continual tendency to the flowing off of its deepest portion into the warmer area by which the Polar basin is surrounded; producing a reduction in the level of the Polar area, which must create a fresh indraught of surface-water from the warmer area around to supply its place. This, in its turn, being subjected to the same cooling process, will descend and flow off at the bottom, producing a fresh reduction of level and a renewed indraught at the surface. Hence, as Dr. Carpenter points out, 'since what is thus drawn away from the adjacent area must be supplied from a yet greater distance, the continual cooling of the surface-stratum in the Polar basin will cause a "set" of water towards it to be propagated backwards (so to speak) through the whole intervening ocean in communication with it, until it reaches the Tropical area.' On the other hand, this continual surface-outflow from the Tropical area, combined with the inflow of a continual stream of Polar water along its floor, will cause a continual *upward* movement of the oceanic water in that region; each stratum being warmer than that which underlies it, and the water that has last arrived being the coldest, and thus lifting that which overlies it towards the surface. Each stratum, as it arrives at the surface, is exposed to the heating influence of the tropical sun, and is thence drawn off into the Polar basin, to repeat the same circulation. If the temperatures of the Polar and Tropical basins were to be equalised, equilibrium would speedily be established through the whole system; but so long as one is heated (though only at the surface), and the other is cooled by a process affecting the

entire column, so long must this *vertical* circulation take place.

A very simple experiment, shown by Dr. Carpenter at the Royal Institution, makes this clear. A long narrow trough having glass sides was filled with water, and a piece of ice was wedged in at one end between its side plates just beneath the top, whilst the surface of the water at the other end was warmed by a plate of metal, of which a part projected beyond the trough and was heated by a spirit lamp placed beneath it; thus representing the relative thermal conditions of the Polar and Equatorial basins. A colouring liquid viscid enough to hold together in the water, while mixing with it sufficiently to move as it moves, being then introduced, the liquid as it impinged on the ice was seen to sink rapidly to the bottom, then to flow slowly along the floor of the trough towards its opposite extremity, then gradually to rise beneath the heated plate, and then to flow slowly along the surface towards the glacial end, repeating the same movement until the ice had melted.—The only point in which this experiment does not correspond with the reality, is in the proportion between the length of the trough and its depth; but this will merely affect the *rate* of the flow, if there be a sufficient force to initiate and maintain it.

Such a circulation, maintained by the application of *cold to the surface*, would be, in fact, essentially analogous to that which takes place in every Hot-Water apparatus that is employed to impart warmth to our hothouses or to the halls and passages of large buildings; though the opposition of temperature by which the circulation is sustained, is here produced in a different mode, namely, by the application of *heat at the bottom*. This, by rendering the water in the boiler specifically lighter, causes it to ascend through the system of pipes which distributes it through the building, so as to impart its excess of heat to the colder atmosphere it there encounters; and while thus itself undergoing a reduction in temperature, it receives an augmentation of density which causes it to gravitate back through the pipe that conveys it into the lower part of the boiler, where, receiving a fresh dose of heat, it re-commences its calorific travel.

On the strength of all these considerations, Dr. Carpenter has propounded a doctrine of a General Oceanic *vertical* circulation, which may be regarded as that of Humboldt and Pouillet extended and made more definite by the demonstration of the action of Polar Cold as its *primum mobile*. It has scarcely anything in common with the vague doctrine of Captain Maury,



who, with singular wrongheadedness, first set himself to disprove the Trade-wind origin of the Gulf Stream (which is about as certain as the rotundity of the earth), and then to account for its current by vague and utterly untenable hypotheses. One of these hypotheses was that the elevation of the oceanic level of the Equatorial area above that of the Polar area, consequent upon the greater heat of its water, will give rise to a downward movement tending to their equalisation. The inadequacy of the force thus generated to produce a sensible current, has been completely proved by Sir John Herschel; and becomes still more clear when we consider the question with the additional knowledge we now have as to the thinness of the superheated film of water exposed to strong solar radiation. But the adequacy of Polar Cold to initiate, in the manner indicated by Dr. Carpenter, a 'creeping flow' of glacial water along the deep floor of the ocean towards the Equator, and a slow indraught of the upper warm stratum into the Polar area, was explicitly admitted by Sir John Herschel in a letter written to Dr. C. shortly before the commencement of his fatal illness, and subsequently made public in the 'Proceedings of the 'Royal Geographical Society.'

'After well considering all you say, as well as the common sense of the matter and the experience of our hot water circulation-pipes in our greenhouses, &c., there is no refusing to admit that an oceanic circulation of some sort must arise from mere heat, cold, and evaporation, as *veræ causæ*; and you have brought forward with singular emphasis the more powerful action of the Polar Cold, or rather, the more *intense* action, as its maximum effect is limited to a much smaller area than that of the maximum of Equatorial Heat. The action of the Trade and Counter-trade winds in like manner cannot be ignored; and henceforward the question of ocean-currents will have to be considered under a twofold point of view.'

Dr. Carpenter's view was also supported at the last meeting of the British Association by two of the ablest living Physicists, Sir William Thomson and Professor Stokes. And, as has been well remarked with reference to the opposition which Mr. Croll has raised against it on *à priori* grounds, the motor force that is generated by Polar Cold, in imparting a continual downward motion to the oceanic water subjected to it, is so enormous, that the *onus probandi* rests on those who would deny its action.

We have seen how completely this doctrine accounts for the glacial temperature which, as there is now ample reason to believe, prevails over the deep ocean-bottom, and of which no other rational explanation has been offered. We shall now

show that the character of the warm north-east flow into the Arctic basin is exactly that which the theory of a vertical circulation would indicate; while at the same time it is entirely inconsistent with the idea that this flow can be an extension of the *real* Gulf Stream.

A comparison of the 'serial' Temperature-soundings, taken in the 'Porcupine' expeditions of 1869 and 1870 along the eastern border of the Atlantic, between Lisbon and the Faroe Islands, gives this very remarkable result—that with a difference of twenty degrees of Latitude, and a reduction of *surface*-temperature to the amount of  $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , the temperatures of successive strata beneath the first 100 fathoms down to 500, are only about  $5^{\circ}$  lower at the northern than at the southern station. Now as these temperatures are considerably *above* the normal of the latitude of the Faroe Islands, it is obvious that the whole of this upper stratum *down to at least 500 fathoms* must have come from a southern source: and that it had flowed northwards from the coast of Portugal, is very strongly indicated by the gradual and regular reduction in the temperatures of the successive strata shown in soundings taken at intermediate stations. Now such a slow Poleward *indraught* of the whole upper portion of the ocean above the 'stratum of intermixture' is, as Dr. Carpenter points out, the necessary complement of the *outflow* of the deeper glacial stratum from the Polar area; and it is the possession of a relatively warm temperature by a layer several hundred fathoms deep, that, as in the case of the Gulf Stream near its origin, enables it to carry that warmth to a vast distance. According to Admiral Irminger, who has collected a body of trustworthy data from the Danish navigators who habitually traverse the North Atlantic between the Shetland Islands and Iceland, the northerly 'set' there amounts to no more than from 8 to 4·7 miles per day. A mere surface-film of warm water, therefore, which would be all that the expanded Gulf Stream could afford, must impart its whole excess of temperature to the atmosphere before it had flowed a hundred miles; and that a slowly-moving stream should retain a warmth of above  $50^{\circ}$  to the eastward of Spitzbergen, can only be possible if that stream has a depth sufficient to allow warm subjacent water to rise to the surface, in place of the surface-film which has been cooled by imparting its heat to the atmosphere, and has taken its place beneath the stratum which it previously overlaid.

Professor Wyville Thomson, indeed, who retains an implicit belief in the Gulf-Stream doctrine of Dr. Petermann, fully recognises this extension of surplus warmth to the depth of more

than 500 fathoms ; but accounts for it on the supposition that the wide but thin layer formed by the spread of the Gulf Stream over the north-east portion of the Atlantic, is gathered together again by the narrowing of its channel between Iceland and Norway, and is proportionally augmented in depth.\* But how after such a thinning-out it can retain enough of its initial velocity to force its way downwards and displace the colder water of the Polar area, so as to reach a depth at least three times as great as that of the Stream which issued from the Narrows, whilst its channel is at least ten times as wide, we are at a loss to conceive ; and we have not met with any Hydrographical authority who endorses Professor Wyville Thomson's idea. Further, such a gathering together would necessarily involve (as in the case of the Florida Channel) an augmentation in the velocity of the Stream ; and yet the north-easterly 'set,' which is from ten to twenty-four miles a day to the west of the British Isles, between 10° and 20° W. Long., is reduced, as we have seen, to less than five miles a day in this contracted passage.

Now even Dr. Petermann admits that the real Gulf Stream must be reinforced from some other source ; and such a source has been shown by Dr. Carpenter to be provided in the *vertical* Oceanic circulation, which the most competent authorities have pronounced to be as completely a *physical necessity* as the circulation of water in a hot-water apparatus. This circulation, he remarks, would continue, if the North and South American continents were so entirely disunited, that the Equatorial current would be driven straight outwards by the Trade-winds into the Pacific Ocean, instead of being embayed in the Gulf of Mexico and driven out through the Florida Channel ; so that such a diversion would have very little effect upon our portion of Europe, except in so far as it might lower the temperature and diminish the humidity of our south-westerly winds. And any circulation that has its origin simply in the opposition of temperature between Polar and Equatorial oceanic areas, must have been maintained throughout all Geological epochs in which these areas were in communication ; so that the formation of Glacial beds, marked by the presence of the Marine types of Polar waters, may have been taking place at any time and in any part of the Equatorial area, as it doubtless is now, without any reduction of the land temperature. Whereas if the amelioration of Polar cold by a warm stream from the

\* See his Lecture 'On Deep-Sea Climates' in 'Nature,' July 28, 1870.

equator, and the deep glacial flow from the polar to the equatorial sea-bed, which Professor Wyville Thomson regards as its complement, were solely due to the Trade-winds, this interchange would cease if the Equatorial current of the Atlantic could pass straight onwards into the Pacific.

The doctrine of a General Oceanic Circulation sustained by opposition of Temperature only, is, therefore, one of great importance and wide range of application. If substantiated by further inquiry, it must contribute largely to the explanation of those superficial movements of ocean-water, upon which the Navigator desires a scientific *rationale*; and it must furnish his best guidance in Polar exploration. To the Physical Geographer it opens up a new view of the Climate of the ocean-bed, and of the causes of what would otherwise be unaccountable anomalies in the distribution of Animal Life on the sea-bottom; while it affords a *vera causa* for that amelioration of the climate of the Arctic area, which a careful examination of the extent and power of the Gulf Stream shows to be utterly beyond its range.\* And to the Geologist who seeks to unravel the tangled history of past changes on the surface of the globe by the study of those at present in progress, it is of essential importance to possess clear ideas of the mode in which alterations in the boundaries or in the relative depth of different basins will be likely to have affected their Temperature and the distribution of their Marine Fauna. As Dr. Carpenter pointed out in his First Report,

\* A considerable modification, or even a complete reversal, of the submarine climates of adjacent areas, might have been consequent upon alterations in the contour of the land, or in the level of the sea-bottom;

\* We have purposely left unnoticed, on account of their extravagance, the calculations by which Mr. Croll attempts to estimate the amount of heat carried northwards by the Gulf Stream. Until set right by Mr. Findlay, he altogether left out of view the southerly diversion of a large proportion of the real Gulf Stream, which returns a large proportion of its waters to the Equatorial current. And not only does he still assume that a current of the average temperature of 65° flows at the rate of four miles per hour through the whole sectional area of the 'Narrows;' but he takes no account (1) of the enormous loss of heat *by evaporation* which it must be sustaining through its whole course, though this may not for some time make itself apparent in a reduction of surface-temperature; (2) of the cooling influence of the great body of Arctic water that impinges upon it off the Banks of Newfoundland; and (3) of the impossibility of the retention of surplus heat by a thin surface-film freely exposed to the atmosphere for at least *five months*, in its passage from the Banks to the western shores of the British Islands.

at a great distance. The effect of such a modification of temperature upon the respective Faunæ of these areas would probably depend upon the rate and degree of the change. If rapid and considerable, it might cause the extinction over those areas of a large proportion of the species which inhabited them; whilst others would migrate in the direction of the temperature most congenial to them, and transfer to new localities those types which could no longer exist in their previous habitats.'

The question recently much discussed among Geologists, how far Professor Wyville Thomson and Dr. Carpenter are right in affirming that the deposit of 'Globigerina-mud' now going on over the bed of the North Atlantic is a continuation, not a repetition, of the Chalk-formation of the European area, is so closely connected with that of which we have been treating, as to afford a singularly apposite illustration of its Geological importance. The doctrine of these explorers that 'we are still living in the Cretaceous epoch,' was doubtless open to criticism; since, as Sir C. Lyell justly remarked, a geological epoch is always understood to be closed with the disappearance of a large proportion of the types of animal life whose prevalence specially characterised it; and there is no epoch whose termination is more distinctly marked by such disappearance than the Cretaceous, notwithstanding the survival of a certain number of the lower types which present themselves on the new area. But Sir C. Lyell does not, as we understand him, object to the idea that the Globigerinæ, which are at present forming a New Chalk on the bed of the Atlantic, are the lineal descendants of those which formed the Old Chalk of the European area, having migrated from that area into the Atlantic basin as the former was elevated into dry land, while the bed of the latter was slowly subsiding. And the present President of the Geological Society, Mr. Prestwich, in his Annual Address in February 1871, not only explicitly adopted this view, but suggested the opening of a communication between the Polar Sea and the European basin, which there is other ground for believing to have occurred in the latter part of the Cretaceous epoch, as the explanation of the disappearance, through the reduction of temperature thus brought about, of a large number of the higher types inhabiting that basin. Those, on the other hand, which could accommodate themselves to that reduction, survived to migrate with the Globigerinæ and their Protozoic allies into the new area, over which their activity as producers of a Calcareous deposit probably far exceeding the whole aggregate of the Coral formations that have grown up in the same period, has since been continuously exercised.

We have learned with great satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government have announced their intention of despatching, before the end of the present year, a Circumnavigation Expedition for the Scientific Exploration of the Deep Sea. For we believe it to be the general opinion of Physicists, Naturalists, and Geologists, that there is no field of inquiry on any part of our globe, that promises to furnish so rich a harvest of discoveries of high importance. Among the researches which it will prosecute, the collection of adequate materials for the complete determination of the question of a general Oceanic Circulation may be regarded as one of its primary objects. Every surface-movement in the course traversed by the expedition, will doubtless be determined with the utmost precision that the skill of the scientific Navigator can bring to bear upon it; while the continual examination of the temperature of the ocean at different depths, especially on the borders of the Antarctic ice-barrier, and in the North Pacific, will show whether the movements of its deeper strata follow the course which that theory would indicate. It is satisfactory to know that as complete reliance can now be placed on the Thermometers to be used under a pressure of three tons on the square inch, as on those by which surface-temperatures are taken. And we are not without hope that means may be devised for testing mechanically the course and rate of movement of the lower stratum of ocean-water, if (as seems not improbable) the Antarctic outflow should sometimes manifest itself by its glacial temperature at such moderate depths beneath the surface, as the Arctic outflow does in the 'Lightning' channel, which may, we hope, be thus examined afresh by an independent expedition.

That it has become the duty of the greatest Naval Power in the world to follow up a Scientific inquiry which has excited the greatest interest abroad as well as at home, and has stimulated other nations to a generous rivalry in the same pursuit, is a point on which we scarcely suppose that there can be any difference of opinion. And we shall only express the hope that a spirit of wise liberality, which is in the end the truest economy, will preside over the equipment of this Expedition, especially as regards its Scientific department; and that adequate provision will be made for the subsequent working-up and publication of its results, in a manner creditable to the Nation.

ART. VII.—*The Works of John Hookham Frere.* In Verse and Prose, with Prefatory Memoir. Edited by his Nephews, H. and Sir BARTLE FRERE. 2 vols. 8vo. 1871.

MR. JOHN HOOKHAM FRERE, the subject of this memoir by his nephews (one of them lately the distinguished governor of Bombay) was born in London on the 2nd of May, 1769—the year which gave to the world Napoleon, Wellington, Canning, and other celebrities. ‘He came of an ancient stock, long settled in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.’ What is more to our present purpose, he was bred to the inheritance of a fair landed estate; enjoyed all the advantages of the most fashionable English education at Eton and at Cambridge; early found powerful patrons and influential friends, who introduced him at the greatest possible advantage to public life; married a lady of rank and family position; had no children, and was exempt from the cares which attend on them; was possessed of social qualities, wit, conversational talent, and *savoir vivre* of no common order, as well as high literary qualities. Nor was he wanting in patient industry, so far as regards the acquisition of knowledge. He had, moreover, throughout his career, the benefit of a strong clique connexion with the circle originally formed by Canning, and continued by Scott, Ellis, and Company, ready to back him to the utmost. Never was a life, as casual observers might have judged, more free from anxieties and more calculated for worldly success. Except a certain amount of failure in his diplomatic achievements—which his friends and editors still contend was no failure—no cross accident occurred to mar the continuity of a fortunate career, prolonged to near the age of eighty. And yet he is, after all, scarcely remembered, and very inadequately appreciated. We shall perhaps better discover the reason why in the course of our biographical study of his life and works, with the assistance of the editors of these volumes, whose memoir and notes contain almost a summary of all knowledge connected with the subject, and introduce us with singular completeness to the intimacy of circles which their uncle frequented. In the meantime, a few sentences of an American critic, Mr. Charles Norton,\* may serve as a summary of what we have ourselves to offer.

‘It is not wholly to the freak of Fortune, or the malicious blindness of Fame, that the limited reputation of Mr. Frere is to be charged.

He cared nothing for vulgar applause. He was too indolent to push his way in the long procession of aspirants to the Temple of Fame, and far too fastidious to like the company he would have been forced to meet at the door. His literary temper was aristocratic, and he preferred the quiet appreciation of a few clever and congenial men of culture to the troublesome admiration of the great public. . . . He was one of those men, of whom there are always too few, with ample and self-sufficing power, who can do so easily what others find it hard to accomplish, that they are deprived of the sting of ambition, and are content to enjoy while others are compelled to labour. His temperament, his taste, his culture, his position united to make him the type of the man of literary genius, as distinguished from the professional author. His fulness of accomplishment saved him from dissatisfaction with what he did, and if he wrote but little it was not that

“Toujours mécontent de ce qu'il vient de faire,  
Il plaît à tout le monde, et ne saurait se plaire;”

but he had a just confidence that he could do what would suit himself, and that no one else could do it better.\*

One only of his characteristic qualities is omitted, as we think, in this elegant appreciation of the man and his works; and it is this; that he was singularly inventive in the sense of forming new conceptions. He lacked, indeed, energy or industry himself to work into shape, but he inspired men of a very high class to imitate him. He led a party of admiring friends, not once but repeatedly, over a short track of new and charming road, only to desist capriciously from the quest, and leave them to follow out the indications which he had furnished as best they might. It is this eccentric specialty of his genius, for genius high judges have termed it,\* which we shall endeavour to illustrate here, and thereby to add one feature to a portrait which has been often, but incompletely, drawn.

His favourite pursuit in early life was certainly of a kind

\* ‘I should be most happy (writes Coleridge in 1817) to make Tieck (who was then in England) and that admirable man Mr. Frere acquainted; their pursuits have been so similar; and to convince Mr. Tieck that he is *the* man among us in whom taste at its maximum has vitalised itself into productive power—genius.’

† It was he who suggested to Lord Holland the exquisite inscription for a snuff-box sent his lordship by Napoleon from Saint Helena, erroneously attributed by Lord Brougham to Lord Holland himself:—

Ὁ γάρ πω τέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ διος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
ἀλλ' ἐτι πον ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρεί πόντῳ,  
νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρυσῇ χυλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσι.

According to a story in Raikes's Journals, he once engaged in a contest of capping Virgil and Horace with Louis XVIII., himself no mean proficient in the same line, until the monarch was forced to give in.



calculated to promote fastidiousness. He was a thorough classical student. As he grew up, his love for this branch of study increased instead of diminishing. He belonged to a class of men of peculiar type, and thoroughly British—that of gentlemen-scholars; not learned after the fashion of High Dutch commentators, nor of schoolmasters, nor of fantastic poets who ape the antique, nor perhaps learned in any serious sense at all; but thoroughly imbued with the very heart and spirit of ancient letters. These were men whose appreciation of beauty in poetry, eloquence, art, was all fundamentally derived from classical sources;—men on whose ear and mind a false appreciation of the meaning of one of those captivating idols whose works they had by heart jarred as painfully as a false quantity; but who, at the same time, were not secluded students, but men of the world, using their classical lore to correct what was false in taste, and establish what was true, in the general world of criticism. There happened to be a remarkable constellation of proficient of this order, distinguished in the higher English circles, half a century ago; some of them of first-rate abilities, some very second-rate, but all united by this common freemasonry: Lord Byron, the brothers Matthews, Forsyth, Eustace, Sir William Gell, Lord Dudley,† Bobus Smith, Savage Landor, all came within this category, and most of them belonged to the same social set; Canning, Beckford, Anastasius Hope, to a certain extent touched it: but the first was too imperfect in his classical acquirements to be fairly ranked in it; the other two somewhat too oriental and barbaric for it in point of taste. Scholarship, in the wide sense, has never been scarce in modern England; but the particular school of which we are speaking has scarcely left successors in our generation. Gladstone among statesmen, Tennyson among poets, exhibit a very refined classical sense; but with them it is only subsidiary to other more striking qualities, not engrossing and pervading. Cornwall Lewis alone might be named as one who, with deeper learning, was thoroughly a scholar after the fashion of the class to which Frere belonged by community of refined taste and ingrained classicality.

At Eton, in 1786, Frere formed his intimacy with Canning, 'for whom he cherished a love and admiration which absence never diminished, and which neither age nor death itself could dull.' So say his biographers. In plainer prose, the intimacy and companionship subsisted unabated until Frere left England for good in 1820. Canning himself died in 1827. The first literary offspring of their connexion was a periodical, 'the *Microcosm*,' a well-known repertory for precocious Eton wit

in its day, but hardly worth reprinting for the benefit of the present generation. It had not by any means the spirit or the execution of Winthrop Praed's 'Etonian,' which succeeded it twenty years later in the same capacity. The next joint achievement of the two friends, after they had been reunited, the one returning from Oxford, the other from Cambridge, was the famous 'Anti-Jacobin.' Of this production (1797-1798), it is quite unnecessary to say anything, because certain select passages of it are absolutely embodied in English recollection. The 'Knifegrinder,' the 'Rovers or the Double Arrangement,' the 'Elegy on Jean Bon St. André,' and passages from the 'Progress of Man' and the 'Loves of the Triangles,' are known by heart to almost every miscellaneous reader, are laughed over in private, after half a century of repetition, by every lover of literary fun, have long become part as it were of the national repertory of jokes. As for criticising them, it would be as promising a proceeding to criticise the comic scenes of Shakspeare or those of Dickens. Nevertheless, sober judgment will perhaps confess that though portions of the 'Anti-Jacobin' are imperishable, much is of very inferior workmanship. It does not equal in sustained tone of humour the rival achievements of the Whigs, the 'Rolliad,' which preceded it, the unrivalled political squibs of Tom Moore which followed it.

The history of this celebrated periodical remains after all a little perplexing. In 1852

'Mr. Edmonds,' say our editors, 'published an edition of the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, giving the "contents with the names of the authors," as furnished by

'Canning's own copy of the poetry ;

'Lord Burghersh's copy ;

'Wright the publisher's copy ;

and information derived from the amanuensis Upcott.'

This publication was reviewed in our Journal for 1858 by a writer who brought to the subject considerable knowledge of his own:—

'The editor,' says the reviewer, 'has taken extraordinary pains to ascertain the authorship, whether joint or several, of the contributions ; yet he has evidently not been able to satisfy himself, and he certainly has not satisfied us on this most important and interesting point. The chief difficulty arises from the discrepancy between the oral and traditional, the internal and the written, evidence.'

Our reviewer's hesitation is certainly justified by the wide difference which the reader will find between the classification of Mr. Edmonds and that of the editors of this Memoir, whose

prefatory remarks we subjoin, without, we confess, for our own part, fully understanding them:—

‘Lord Burghersh,’ they say, ‘attributes several pieces to Frere which he never claimed. In the following those only have been ascribed to him which, in *memoranda given by him of the authors*, he said were his own; either wholly or in part; and wherever it was possible, as in some places in the “Loves of the Triangles,” the “Rovers,” and “New Morality,” the particular lines contributed by each author, according to Mr. Frere’s memoranda, have been marked.’

‘Tantamne rem tam negligenter’ is the question which must arise, with much of regret, in the mouth of every bibliographical student. Where, and what, are these ‘memoranda’ of Mr. Frere’s? Why did not the editors give them to the public, instead of contenting themselves with communicating a very bald and scanty summary? The result, however, contrary to many almost established conjectures, would seem to be this: ‘Mrs. Brownrigg’ (only seventeen lines) is christened ‘Canning and Frere’; so are the ‘Knifegrinder’ and the ‘Soldier’s Friend,’ the well-known caricatures of Southey’s democratic effusions; the first and second part of the ‘Progress of Man’ are Canning’s, in the third Frere has a share; the ‘Loves of the Triangles,’ begun by Frere, continued with the help of Ellis and Canning; of the ‘Rovers,’ portions are severally ascribed to Canning and to Frere; the famous song of Rogers to Canning and Ellis, without a word to confirm the common tradition that Pitt interpolated a stanza. But the prose ‘Report of the Meeting of the Friends of Freedom’—one of the best things in the collection, concerning which our colleague, the reviewer, declared that, independently of direct evidence, the humour of ‘Canning’ was transparently evident—is ascribed *in toto* to Frere. We remain unsatisfied, although we are not likely ever to get more complete satisfaction. To decide on internal evidence is simply impossible. One of the most remarkable qualities possessed by Frere, as we have seen and shall see, was his extraordinary power of close imitation, and scarcely less so that of assuming a style which others were led by a kind of inevitable assimilation to imitate. We should defy the most accomplished of literary ‘tasters’ to distinguish between the flavour of Canning and that of Frere in those specimens which are ascribed in this volume to their joint authorship. We can only say, with the Duke in the ‘Comedy of Errors’—

‘One of these men is genius to the other;  
 . . . which is the natural man  
 And which the spirit? who deciphers them?’

Another feat accomplished by Frere's singular talent for adaptation may be mentioned here in order of time. He early acquired a mastery of the old English language and style. His uncle by marriage, as the Memoir points out, was Sir George Fenn, the editor of the celebrated Paston Letters, of which he himself, in later life, procured the publication of the last or additional volume. Educated in such a school, he was not likely to be misled, like so many of his contemporaries, either by the forgeries of 'Rowley' or the amateur productions of Percy. Soon after he left Cambridge, he produced a metrical version of a so-called 'Ode on 'Athelstan's Victory,' originally printed in 1801 in Ellis's 'Specimens of Ancient English Poetry,' and reproduced at vol. i. p. 38 of the present work. To some extent, Frere deserved the compliments paid him on the score of this piece of imitative work; but they were greatly exaggerated:—

'I have only met, in my researches into these matters,' said Scott in 1830, 'with one poem which, if it had been produced as ancient, could not have been detected on internal evidence. It is the war-song upon the victory at Brunanburh, translated from the Anglo-Saxon into the Anglo-Norman, by the Right Hon. Hookham Frere.'

It must be confessed that Scott's enthusiasm in behalf of writers who belonged to his own particular set was apt to be either very blind or very reckless. It is difficult to conceive how an antiquary such as he could have fancied that such lines as—

'Grislich on the grund they goned,  
Aboven all the hills resounded,'—

had anything whatever of the fourteenth century about them, except some bad spelling. But even Scott himself was no real adept in this very difficult kind of manipulation. His 'conclusion' to Sir Tristram, which Frere himself, in retaliatory compliment, pronounced 'the very best imitation of old English at present existing,' is doubtless an elaborate piece of archaism; but of Scott's many wonderful imitative ballads we know but one in which every line *might* have been genuine, and that is only a fragment—Elspeth's chaunt of the Battle of Harlaw in the 'Antiquary.'

But it was not Frere's destiny—unfortunately for him—to be left to pursue in quiet that pleasant career of an affluent and accomplished English gentleman, addicted to the Muses, for which he was so obviously intended by nature. The intimate associate of Canning, the pupil of Pitt, brought up on the knees of Hammond (the Hammond of that generation), he

took to the Foreign Office, as it were, instinctively. Everything presaged his success in that career; but Fortune, in one of her malicious freaks of irony, disappointed the augury. We do not intend to embark our readers in the bygone controversies of an inauspicious period in our diplomatic history; but the man cannot be thoroughly understood unless this portion of his life is touched upon. In 1799, he became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in succession to his friend Canning. He attended Canning's marriage, in the following year, as best man.

'Pitt, Canning, and Mr. Leigh' (he says, describing the event, i. xlix.), 'who was to read the service, dined with me before the marriage, which was to take place in Brooke Street. We had a coach to drive there, and as we went through that narrow part near what was then Swallow Street, a fellow drew up against the wall to avoid being run over, and, peering into the coach, recognised Pitt, and saw Mr. Leigh, who was in full canonicals, sitting opposite to him. The fellow exclaimed, "What! Billy Pitt, and with a parson too!" I said, "He thinks you are going to Tyburn to be hanged privately," which was rather impudent of me; but Pitt was too much absorbed, I believe, in thinking of the marriage, to be angry.'

In October 1800, he was appointed 'Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Portugal.' In September 1802, he was transferred to Spain, where he remained as Minister for nearly two years. In what way he became dissatisfied with his post, or gave dissatisfaction to others, is not clear from these volumes, nor is the question of much interest now; but it is clear that he carried away disagreeable recollections.

'For myself,' he says, writing after his return, 'I have, after due reflection on the folly and meanness of people (not three of whom would understand my retirement as anything but an unavoidable retreat from disgrace), and, moreover, being mollified by the King; and, thirdly and more especially, to distinguish myself from —; and, fourthly and lastly, for fear that fellow — should be a Privy Councillor before me; I have, I say, determined to become a member of that learned body if it is offered me, which I can have no doubt that it will. . . . Mulgrave was, as I conjectured, the author of all this "brouilliamini."'

The only thing which appears clear in it is that Frere could not get on with the scandalous Prince of the Peace, Godoy—no great disparagement to an English gentleman.

But he brought back with him from this first visit to the Peninsula what was incomparably more valuable to himself—more valuable indirectly, as we shall see, to English literature—than any decent diplomatic success could have been to his country. He became passionately attached to the language

and literature of Spain. He and Southey, who visited it nearly at the same time—the first as an envoy, the second as a wandering student—were the earliest adepts in that Peninsular school which afterwards throve and multiplied until the public taste grew satiated with its productions; the enthusiasts, or *aficionados*, as Spaniards themselves would express it, for that peculiar local flavour of romance, antique simplicity, eccentricity, and chivalry mingled together, with which many a follower of theirs has since rendered us so familiar. He liked the wildness of the land, and did not greatly dislike the people, though he never seems, probably owing to his fastidious temperament, to have made much practical acquaintance with them. ‘I love a country,’ was his phrase, ‘in which God keeps ‘so large a part in hand.’ It was after his return from this first visit to it that he produced those fragments, carelessly attempted and as carelessly executed, but with marvellous force and spirit, called in these volumes ‘Translations from the ‘Poems of the Cid.’ ‘The first, fifth, and sixth of these ‘translations were printed,’ say the editors, ‘as an Appendix ‘to “The Chronicle of the Cid,” from the Spanish, by Robert ‘Southey: London, 1808. The second, third, and fourth are ‘now printed for the first time.’ Anyone who takes up these rude and fiery performances will detect in them at once the original notes of that special Spanish ballad ‘ring’ which has since found so many echoes. Not that Frere was here absolutely the first discoverer. Southey had published, before 1808, some characteristic translations from the Cancioneros of Spain; and these doubtless took hold of Frere’s imagination on his return from his first visit to the Peninsula. But Southey, curiously enough, did not appreciate the value of the vein of new ore which he had himself detected. He vilipended the Spanish chivalric ballads as a class, and thought that nothing marketable was to be made of them.

‘It is not much more difficult to compose poetry than to translate it; and, in my opinion, I can make as good as I can find. Very, very few of the Spanish ballads are good; they are made in general upon one receipt, and that a most inartificial one; they begin by describing the situation of somebody who makes a speech which is the end. Nothing like the wildness or the character of our ballads is to be found among them. It is curious, and at present inexplicable to me, how their prose should be so exquisitely poetical as it is in the “Cid,” and their poetry so completely prosaic as it is in their “narrative poems.”’ \*

The consequence was that Southey, in dealing with this

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\* Southey, ‘Life and Correspondence,’ vol. v. p. 178.

class of materials, intermixed with it so much of modernism, playful, or grotesque, or semi-satirical, as to represent but indifferently the genuine qualities of his original. Frere took up those materials in a spirit more adapted for treating them. He fairly transfigured himself, for the nonce, into a mail-clad comrade of the legendary champion of Spain. He sympathised more cordially with the thoroughly archaic character of these compositions; and, moreover, he tried his hand in order to please himself, and not the public. We have said that the lamp which he thus lighted was soon caught up by others; and anyone who studies these wild fragments will trace in them the origin of a whole subdivision of recent literature, good, bad, and indifferent, which has had its vogue among us. He will find there the peculiar Spanish *gusto* which pervades the translations of Lockhart and the eloquent prose of Richard Ford. And he will equally find there the original of the popular 'Lays' of Macaulay, and of Macaulay's imitators. All have the same metallic rattle, the same peculiar swing of the metre, the same vigorous, incisive touch. The following extract from the 'Cid' was recited with high admiration by Walter Scott; it has been quoted, we observe, by former critics of the volumes before us; but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing it in illustration of our remarks.

The Cid and his six hundred are charging the Moors before the Castle of Alcocer:—

'Bermuez cried, I cannot hold, so eager was his will,  
He spurr'd his horse, and drove him on amid the Moorish rout;  
They strove to win the banner, and compass'd him about.  
Had not his armour been so true he had lost or life or limb;  
The Cid called out again, For Heaven's sake, succour him!  
Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go,  
Their lances in the rest levelled fair and low;  
Their banners and their crests waving in a row,  
Their heads all stooping down towards the saddle-bow.  
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,  
"I am Ruy Diaz, the champion of Bivar:  
Strike among them, gentlemen, for sweet mercy's sake;"  
There where Bermuez fought, amidst the foe they brake,  
Three hundred bannered knights, it was a gallant show;  
Three hundred Moors they killed, a man with every blow;  
When they wheeled and turned, as many more were slain;  
You might see them raise their lances and level them again;  
There might you see the breastplates, how they were cleft in twain,  
And many a Moorish shield lie shattered on the plain,  
The pennons that were white marked with a crimson stain,  
And the horses running wild whose riders had been slain.

The Christians call upon Saint James, the Moors upon Mahound. There were thirteen hundred of them slain on a little spot of ground.'

And now, having created among us a new taste by the production of half a dozen careless ballad fragments, Mr. Frere abandoned, at once and for ever, the special style which he had made so popular. He would not take the trouble even to stitch the fragments together, and annex a beginning or an end:—

'Nec revocare loco, nec jungere carmina curat.'

And we fear we must add, speaking of the public of that time,—

'Inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odere Sibyllæ.'

He excited little interest in the mass of readers, because he seemed merely to play with them; and only the advanced few detected, under his light efforts, the great reserve of indolent strength. Like the *Noir Fainçant* of the tournament in 'Ivanhoe,' having achieved a feat for which he was the more 'applauded that it was totally unexpected from him, the knight seemed to resume the sluggishness of his character.'

In 1808, at the outset of a more stirring period, Mr. Frere was sent out again to Spain, 'accredited as British Envoy to the 'Central Junta for Spain.' He went in company of his old friend, as well as political associate, the Marquis Romana,\* whose escape from Denmark with the 'Spanish soldiers who

\* An odd instance of the combination of literature with diplomacy is mentioned in Southey's History. Romana and Frere were one day reading the 'Cid' together in Spain during Frere's first visit there, and Frere suggested and Romana approved a critical emendation in one verse. Years afterwards, Frere had occasion to send a confidential envoy to Romana in Denmark; his difficulty was to find a secret sign of intelligence, which should be discernible by Romana and no one else; he furnished the envoy with the emended word from the 'Cid,' which was recognised directly.

Crabb Robinson was at Corunna, as 'Times' correspondent from the seat of war, when the pair arrived there. 'On beholding the hero' (he says) 'my enthusiasm subsided. Romana looked, in my eyes, like 'a Spanish barber. I was therefore less surprised and vexed than 'others were when, in the course of events, he showed himself to be 'an ordinary character. . . . On the other hand, I received a favourable impression from the person and address of Mr. Frere. And 'when, in a few months, the public voice in England was raised 'against him as the injudicious counsellor who imperilled the English 'army by advising their advance on Madrid, my own feeling was that 'he was unjustly treated.'



were detained there by Napoleon was assisted by Frere himself, and forms one of the most romantic episodes of the Peninsular War. His achievements in that unlucky mission are recorded in the histories of the period, and would but slightly interest readers now. His misadventures, and failure, if such it must be deemed, were owing far less to any demerit of his own than to that curse of English politics then, since, and now—the predominance of mere party considerations over sentiments both of patriotism and of ordinary justice. The name of Sir John Moore can hardly be mentioned, even at this day, without stirring the ashes of the blood-feud of half a century ago between the Whigs and Tories of that period. Moore was a brave and honourable officer, possessed of high military abilities; but it can scarcely be said that he exhibited—perhaps for want of opportunity—strategic qualities of the higher order; and he was, moreover, a very uncomfortable chief, as regarded his political superiors, from the despondent view which he was apt to take of his situation, and his constant predictions of evil. But the Whigs had sent him out during a short ‘innings’ between two periods of Tory power. This was cause enough to induce Whigs to preconise him as a neglected and thwarted hero, Tories to vilipend him as wanting in dash and daring. The Whigs had at least the advantage of possessing the abler historian; and Moore lives in the portraiture of Napier—and so, unfortunately, does Frere; while the inferior artists of the opposite faction have left but inefficient daubs. Whether Frere was right in advising a dash from Portugal into the interior of Spain, or Moore in assuming his northern line of defensive campaign, is one of those questions of the contingent past which may continue to be idly debated until the history of those times is forgotten. The editors, naturally and not ungracefully, take the side of their kinsman.

If he did err, it was at all events on John Bull’s favourite side, that of boldness; and when Lord Byron (in the omitted MS. portions of the first canto of ‘Childe Harold’) ranks ‘vaunting Wellesley’ with ‘blundering Frere,’ there is certainly nothing in the juxtaposition which need pain the collateral descendants of the Envoy. But we must own that one thing is clear to us: Frere, a Tory to the backbone, the very double of Canning and the worshipper of Pitt, not only judged Moore from the party point of view, but thought it fit to treat him accordingly, in a manner which Moore was justified in not enduring. It was in this spirit that the Envoy directed the General on one occasion to summon a council of

war; and sent, on another, a French *émigré* of somewhat doubtful antecedents as a messenger to put him in possession of his (Mr. Frere's) notions about the farther conduct of hostilities. Conceive Frere—or anyone else—dealing thus with Sir Arthur Wellesley; and yet Wellesley was at that time a far less tried soldier than Moore. The truth seems to be that Frere, though by no means an overbearing man by nature, gave way on this occasion to that spirit of *outré* conduct, which was the great defect of his friend Canning, and prevented the latter from reaching the height of power until too late to enjoy it. When Mr. Frere's own political chiefs at home were forced to recall him with some expressions of mild disapproval, it may be pretty well inferred that the Opposition took on the whole the somewhat correcter measure of his judgment.

A second recall was no doubt a serious event for the fortunes of a diplomat, however powerful the patronage which supported him. Frere, however, continued (after the usual fashion in such cases) to look upon himself as an injured man, and has persuaded his friends, contemporary and posthumous, to echo his complaint. He found, also, his political connexion a good deal broken up: Canning and Castlereagh had quarrelled, and the Portland Ministry was out. On his return to England, consequently, Mr. Frere's public life came to an end. In after days his Tory allies tried to make him amends: they offered him the embassy to St. Petersburg, and also a peerage. He declined both, still assuming, as it would appear, the dignity of injured virtue. We may be allowed to suspect that dignity had very little to do with the matter. It served as a kind of excuse to his own conscience for indulging in an indolence which amounted almost to the heroic. No power was probably in his eyes worth an expenditure of trouble, and mere rank—childless as he was—worth nothing at all.

His father had died during his foreign absence, in 1807, leaving him owner of the family estates at Roydon, in Norfolk, and elsewhere in the eastern counties. His country life seems to have been a happy one, but it furnishes few materials for the biographer. The singular fastidiousness of his taste, accompanied with a refined sense of the picturesque, exhibit themselves in a slight poetical effusion entitled 'Modern Improvements.' 'He could well appreciate,' say the editors, 'the characteristic features of such East Anglian scenery as Crabbe and Bloomfield have described, and Crome and Constable have painted.' His lines, which Byron admired as a fragment of real English landscape-painting, were inspired by some rough unimproved fields near the Hall at Roydon: a

spot, it must be added, not very suggestive, in the eyes of anyone but a native East Anglian, of cheerful rustic associations of thought. But perhaps there is something in those sandy heaths and gorse commons of Norfolk, swept by the keen breezes of the Northern Sea, which tends to develope force and originality of character. No part of England produces men of a racier or hardier mind, and in William Taylor and George Barrow there are indications of the same rare gifts in language which distinguished the squire of Roydon Hall. Amidst the orange-trees of Malta, Mr. Frere never lost his interest in his native turnip-fields, and his life was marked by acts of kindness to the simple peasantry of his paternal estates, of whom he speaks in these lines :—

‘The lonely pastures wild and drear,  
 The lonely dwellings far apart. . . .  
 No forms of grandeur or of grace  
 In the rude landscape you behold,  
 But their rough lineaments retrace  
 The features of the days of old :  
 They speak of customs long retained  
 Of simple, plain, primeval life,  
 They mark the little we have gained  
 With all our study, toil, and strife ;  
 Such England was to Shakspeare’s eyes,  
 So Chaucer viewed her when he roved,  
 In russet weeds of rustic guise,  
 In homelier beauty more beloved.’

‘But,’ it appears, ‘while not insensible to the charms of the country, his favourite pursuits and early friendships all conspired to draw him to the capital. In London society his polished wit and playful fancy, his varied learning and great powers of conversation, joined to the easy courtesy of a travelled English gentleman of the old school, made him everywhere a welcome guest. He had many qualifications for the highest success in almost any branch of literature, but he wanted the stimulus of ambition or of necessity to write, whilst his extreme fastidiousness disinclined him to regard anything he composed as finished, and his wonderfully accurate and extensive memory tempted him to avoid the mechanical labour of noting down either his thoughts or the results of his reading.’

A curious instance of the aptness of these observations is furnished by an event which occurred at this period of his life. The ‘Quarterly Review’ was started, by Ellis, Scott, and other clever Tories, under the auspices of Canning, in October 1808, just about the period of Frere’s return to England. Their purpose was to support and instruct the party, and establish a rival to the too influential Northern contemporary. Frere was

the very man to join in such an undertaking; 'bound by 'honour, love, and faith' to the cause; personally attached to the chief contributors; with wrongs of his own to revenge, and special knowledge to furnish; himself admirably adapted to the reviewer's trade, by learning, familiarity with the world, and easy power of the pen. And abundant solicitation was, of course, not wanting. He contributed just one article; that on Mitchell's 'Aristophanes,' 1820. And it is one of the very ablest which ever appeared in any English periodical. Sutton Sharpe thought it 'altogether perfect.' It is reprinted in the present Memoir.

We find among much miscellaneous matter in these pages a casual piece of criticism, which in our judgment displays originality and substantial truth also: where Mr. Frere seems to us to express at once and to vindicate, after a fashion, his own tendency to the incomplete and fragmentary. We fancy we understand his doctrine, though not quite following the particular application. He is speaking of the common tendency in works of imagination to decline, both in point of interest and of execution, between the commencement and termination.

'Hamlet falls off at the end. Macbeth, and *two* others are the only plays [of Shakspeare] where the end is equal to the beginning [which two does he mean? "Othello?" "Lear?" "Romeo and Juliet?"] It is the same with Aristophanes. The "Frogs," "Birds," and "Knights," are the only perfect plays of his: this is not to be wondered at, considering in what haste they must have been written. I daresay Shakspeare often wrote with the prompter's boy sitting on the stairs waiting for copy. Lope de Vega wrote plays as fast as he could put pen to paper, and you will always find the first two or three hundred lines are good.'

Let us, at the risk of being blamed for digression, follow this line of thought a little farther. If anyone takes the trouble to transfer Frere's canon of criticism from the works of dramatists to those of the higher class of novelists, he will see perhaps even more reason to regard it as well founded. To keep up the pace to the end seems to be among the most difficult of achievements to imaginative, but desultory, authors. They prefer to frame an ill-compacted story, in which the writer has indulged himself to his heart's content in the pleasure of delineating singular characters and striking scenes, and has not been able, or has not taken the trouble, to polish them by the *callida junctura* into one harmonious whole, so that the latter part falls short of the outset; 'Waverley,' 'Pickwick,' or 'Vanity Fair,'

is perhaps the most permanent favourite with cultivated, fastidious skimmers of books, and that to which they turn and return with the most lasting pleasure. But the elaborate work of art—that in which every portion tends to the perfection of the whole, and the interest rises as the story proceeds—must rank highest after all with the critic, and takes at the same time the strongest hold on the robust multitude who read in earnest: such as the ‘Bride of Lammermoor,’ ‘Ivanhoe,’ ‘Oliver Twist.’ Such is the variety characteristic of our national literature, and doubtless of our national genius. That of France is more consistent, severe, classical. ‘Gil Blas’ is indeed an instance to the contrary, as unity is scarcely preserved, and both execution and interest undoubtedly fall off in the course of the work; but then the groundwork of ‘Gil Blas’ is Spanish. But a well-constructed French story or play is always perfect in itself, and proceeds regularly to climax and dénouement; nor would French taste tolerate a desultory divergence from the fixed principles which render this indispensable. Take a story of Balzac, or a play of Scribe, and contrast their close-fitting workmanship with the loose *déroulé* style in which English literary constructiveness so commonly disports itself.

As a ‘man about town’ of high conversational powers, Frere was eminently successful; though in this pursuit, as in literature, he seems to have been much more of a mere amateur than a professional talker. Byron, Scott, Moore, and other leading contemporaries, bear witness to his agreeableness; but the anecdotes preserved of it have more the flavour of amusing oddity than either of wit or humour properly so called. Most of his surviving jokes have been reproduced so freely in the press since these volumes appeared, that we will spare our readers the repetition of them. He was great at Holland House, great in the circle of Stewart Rose and Ellis, greatest of all perhaps in that *adytum* of the Muses, John Murray’s back parlour in Albemarle Street. Nevertheless, some of his peculiarities made him at times an exceedingly disappointing dinner-out, and tried severely the amiability of his fair entertainers. Moore informs us how he once spoke to Lydia White of Frere, whom, he told her, he was going to meet that day. She said ‘we should find him very sleepy. It does very well,’ added the poor Lady of Lions, ‘to say Mr. Frere dined with me yesterday; but that is all one has for it.’\*

It was during this interval of London life that Mr. Frere gave to the world that fragmentary piece of poetry by which,

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\* Journals and Correspondence, vol. v. p. 102.

perhaps, he is best known to it, after the 'Needy Knife-grinder' and the 'Rovers.'

'The first part of the "Monks and Giants" was published,' say the editors, 'by Mr. John Murray in 1817, as the "prospectus and specimen" of an intended national work, by William and Robert Whistlecraft, of "Stowmarket, in Suffolk, harness and collar makers, intended to comprise "the most interesting particulars relating to King Arthur and his Round "Table." A second part was subsequently sent to Mr. Murray, who published both together, with the title of the "Monks and Giants."'

Southey, writing to Landor, who was abroad in February 1820, said:—

'A fashion of poetry has been imported which has had a great run, and is in a fair way of being worn out. It is of Italian growth, an adaptation of the manner of Pulci, Berni, and Ariosto in his sporting mood. Frere began it. What he proposed was too good, and too in-offensive in itself, to become popular; for it attacked nothing and nobody, and it had the fault of his Italian models, that the transition from what is serious to what is burlesque was capricious. Lord Byron immediately followed with his "Beppo," which implied the profligacy of the writer; and lastly, with his "Don Juan," which is a foul blot on the literature of his country, an act of high treason to English poetry. The manner has had a host of imitators.' (Vol. i. p. clviii.)

We have only to observe that this *dictum* of criticism by so eminent a member of our reviewing craft as Southey seems to us singularly inappropriate. Conceive a serio-comic poem like Pulci's or Frere's, not to mention Lord Byron's, in which the transition from grave to burlesque should be *not* abrupt, but long-drawn and artificial. And, in the next place, Southey is here passing judgment on himself. By far the most spirited of his ballad scraps are those in which the transition in question is markedly and intentionally sudden.

'There are passages,' continue our editors, 'in the "Monks and "Giants" of great poetical beauty, and it is full of the humour which twenty years before had been so effective in the "Anti-Jacobin." But it did not achieve the popularity which might have been expected from these circumstances, joined to the complete mastery over a novel metre, and delicate sense of rhythm which the versification exhibited.'

The metre, we cannot but observe, was anything but novel: it was common enough in Elizabethan times. It had been used by Harrington in translating Ariosto, and, in many passages, in the same easy semi-burlesque tone with 'Whistlecraft;' more gravely by Fairfax in translating Tasso, by Drayton in his historical poems, by Lord Stirling, and others.

'This was due not only to the reasons mentioned by Southey, but because people generally looked for a political satire, and were dis-

appointed when they failed to discover the meaning which they fancied must be hid under every name and allusion. Among men of literary taste, the reception of the poem was sufficiently flattering to render it a matter of surprise to his hearers that he never completed the continuation promised in the parts published, and of which he was known to have composed a great number of stanzas. These he would willingly recite to any appreciative listener, though he never wrote them down. Many years after, in 1844, in reply to a question as to the reason why he never completed the work, he said, "You cannot go on joking with people who won't be joked with. Most people who read it at the time it was published would not take the work in any humorous sense; they would imagine it was some political satire, and went on hunting for a political meaning; so I thought it was no use offering my jokes to people who would not understand them. Even Mackintosh once said to me, 'Mr. Frere, I have had the pleasure of reading your "Monks and Giants" twice over,' and then he paused; I saw what was in his mind, and could not help replying with a very mysterious look, 'And you could not discover its political meaning?' Mackintosh said, 'Well, indeed, I could not make out the allegory'; to which I answered, still looking very mysterious, 'Well, I thought you could not.'"

Frere's own friends, however, no less than the public, were determined to make out an allegory where he himself, either in truth or policy, disavowed any. One of the warmest of them, Stewart Rose, in his *'Thoughts and Recollections of the last Century'* (quoted by Moore in his edition of Byron) says:—

"*"Beppe,"* which had a story, and which pointed but one way, met with signal and universal success; while the *"Monks and the Giants"* have been little appreciated by the majority of readers. Yet those who will only laugh upon a sufficient warrant may, upon analysing this bravura-poem, find legitimate matter for their mirth. The want of meaning cannot be objected to with reason, for it contains a deep substratum of sense. . . . I remember at the time this poem was published, which was when the French monarchy seemed endangered by the vacillating conduct of Louis XVIII., who, under the guidance of successive ministers, was trimming between the loyalists and the liberals, apparently thinking that civility and condescension was a remedy for all evils, a person dared me to prove my assertion; and, by way of a text, referred me to the conduct of the crippled abbot, under whose direction

"The convent was all going to the devil,

While he, poor creature, thought himself beloved,  
For saying handsome things, and being civil,  
Wheeling about as he was pulled or shoved."

'The obvious application of this was made by me to Louis XVIII.; and if it was not the intention of the author to designate him in particular, the applicability of the passage to the then state of France and her ruler, shows at least the intrinsic truth of the description. Take,

in the same way, the character of Sir Tristram (and Sir Gawain). . . . Who can read this description without recognising in it the portraits, flattering portraits perhaps, of two military characters well known to society ?'

As Mr. Rose speaks of the society of fifty years ago, we may be excused for not being able to follow his interpretation of the myth. But there is at least one passage in the character of Sir Gawain which seems prophetic of the conspicuous failure of some military celebrities to maintain themselves in the late French and Austrian military reverses:—

'Loved by his friends, and trusted by his lord.

A generous courtier, secret and sincere,  
Adviser-general to the whole community,  
He served his friends, but watched his opportunity.

'One riddle I can never understand,

But his success in war was strangely various ;

In executing schemes that others planned,

He seemed a very Cæsar or a Marius ;

Take his own plans, and leave him in command,

Your prospect of success became precarious.

His plans were good, but Lancelot succeeded

And realised them better far than he did.

'It is mere humbug,' writes another dashing critic, quoted by Moore in his aforesaid edition of Lord Byron, 'to accuse your lordship of having plagiarised it ["Don Juan"] from Mr. Frere's pretty and graceful little *Whistlecrafts*. The measure, to be sure, is the same; but then the measure is as old as the hills. But the spirit of the two poems is as different as can be. Mr. Frere writes elegantly, playfully, very like a gentleman and a scholar, and a respectable man; and his poems never sold, nor ever will sell. Your "*Don Juan*" . . . everybody sees in a moment that nobody could have written it but a man of the first order, both in genius and in dissipation; a real master of all his tools—a profligate, pernicious, irresistible, charming devil.'

The allegation of want of sale was libellous; for the moderate edition of his '*Whistlecraft*' was soon out of print; so Moore says, and he was in general well 'posted' in contemporary publishing statistics. That it was never either reprinted or completed was probably owing to the inveterate laziness of the author, rather than to neglect on the part of the public. If, however, the little poem was comparatively a failure, this in our opinion was not so much from want of devilry or 'spice,' to which the author and his friends seem to have attributed it, as to utter and almost grotesque want of purpose. It has no beginning, no end, no story, nor any definite meaning. Pleasant as it is, it reads to us like some fanciful incoherent tale of giants and monsters intermixed with sly hits and sarcasms,



narrated by a clever man of the world, half to amuse himself and a few congenial hearers, and half to please a party of listening children. It must in sober truth be added that its digressions are somewhat trying even to the most benevolent reader; and that there probably never was a poem, of two hundred stanzas only, containing such an amount of rambling prolixity. Probably not one reader in a hundred fully appreciates the humour of it; but that one, being 'in a concatenation accordingly,' nearly knows it by heart.

Whatever its special faults or merits in other respects, the history of the poem evinces strongly two remarkable qualities of Mr. Frere's fancy, to which we have already directed attention: its originality and its suggestiveness. 'Whistlecraft' may be forgotten, but the imitators and followers of 'Whistlecraft' have made their mark most abundantly in English literature. He was the first in modern times to turn to account our old Arthurian legends, clothing them in popular garb. Scott, in the 'Bridal of Triermain,' only followed suit. Tennyson, in the 'Idylls of the King,' has taken a much wider and loftier flight, but there is something even in his far superior strains to recall to us the modest original. Both the later bards have used the fable after their own fashion, reminding us of old Ascham's contemptuous averment that 'the whole pleasure' of those romances 'standeth on two points, open manslaughter,' and another which he proceeds to characterise in very broad English. Scott treated his materials chiefly with reference to the sixth commandment, Tennyson by way of lecture on the seventh, Frere simply with an eye to the picturesque. It may be owing to lack of imagination on our part, but we can scarcely help fancying that we should recognise the legendary champions, could they become realities instead of myths and revisit the earth, rather in the playful garb of his description than in the more artificial investiture woven by his successors:

'They looked a manly, generous generation,  
Beards, shoulders, eyebrows, broad and square and thick,  
Their accents firm and loud in conversation,  
Their eyes and gestures, eager, sharp, and quick,  
Showed them prepared, on proper provocation,  
To give the lie, pull noses, stab, and kick;  
And for that very reason, it is said,  
They were so very courteous and well bred.

'The ladies looked of an heroic race;  
At first a general likeness struck your eye;  
Tall figures, open features, oval face,  
Large eyes, with ample eyebrows arch'd and high;

Their manners had an odd, peculiar grace,  
 Neither repulsive, affable, nor shy,  
 Majestical, reserved, and somewhat sullen ;  
 Their dresses partly silk, and partly woollen.'

But, as we have already said, the most remarkable result of the publication was its effect in stimulating other poets. Lord Byron, we all know, acknowledged frankly that his own 'Beppo' was suggested by 'Whistlecraft,'—was written, in his own words, 'in imitation of Frere.' But no one who has not made the comparison is aware how closely the imitation is followed out, not only in the general tone of the versification but down to particular turns and artifices of expression. And 'Don Juan' only followed on a greater scale the vein opened in 'Beppo.' To turn from Byron to Scott: whatever may be the case as to Stewart Rose's supposed political allusion, it will easily be seen that the chapter in Scott's 'Monastery' describing the abdication of Abbot Boniface, at Melrose, and the election of his energetic successor Eustace, was inspired by the recollection of the passage already mentioned in 'Whistlecraft: ' another proof how singularly 'catching' was the quality of Frere's talent. We cannot leave the subject without adding another coincidence, curious enough to wanderers in the by-ways of half-forgotten literary history. Everyone, we presume, remembers Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan'—composed as he avers in a dream—the 'romantic chasm,'

'Where Alph, the sacred river, ran  
 Through caverns measureless to man  
 Unto a sunless sea:  
*Five miles* meandering with a mazy motion,  
 Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,  
 Then reached the caverns measureless to man,  
 And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean.

Compare 'Whistlecraft':—

'He found a valley closed on every side,  
*Six miles in length* and half as many wide.  
 Huge mountains of immeasurable height  
 Encompassed all the level valley round,  
 With mighty slabs of rock, that sloped upright,  
 An insurmountable, enormous bound ;  
 The very river vanished out of sight,  
 Absorbed in secret channels underground,  
 That vale was so sequestered and secluded,  
 All search for ages past it has eluded.

Now Coleridge (see the note in his 'Sibylline Leaves') gives 1816 as the *publication* date of his verses, although the wonder-

ful dream is said to have taken place in 1797. ‘Whistlecraft’ appeared in 1817. But Frere, according to his habit, had made it known among his friends earlier. One of the current stories of his habitual absence of mind was to the effect that John Murray, ‘having relaxed his usual rule never to ask an author to read or recite in the sanctum in Albemarle Street, got so interested in some verses which Mr. Frere was repeating, and commenting on, that his hour of dinner was at hand. He asked Mr. Frere to dine with him and continue the discussion; but the latter, startled to find it was so late, excused himself on the plea that he had been married that morning!’ Now Mr. Frere was married in 1816; and if—as is further reported—the verses in question were part of ‘Whistlecraft,’ we have its composition established for the very same year in which ‘Kubla Khan’ made his appearance. Some may hold the coincidence casual; and the protoplasm of both, doubtless, is to be found in the Happy Valley of ‘Rasselas;’ but we confess, for our own parts, that we could almost as easily believe in the fortuitous concourse of atoms.

It was a curious freak of destiny which made it the duty of Frere, the poetical parent of ‘Don Juan,’ to report to John Murray, in the back parlour aforesaid, his verdict on the question whether ‘Don Juan’ should or should not be published. He was associated by his lordship himself in this office with Stewart Rose and Moore; but according to the latter (Diary, April 23), ‘Frere, as the only one of the three in town, had read it, and pronounced decidedly against its publication.’ Hobhouse and Moore afterwards joined in the verdict; but ‘the remonstrances of this “cursed puritanical committee,” as Lord Byron “somewhat ungratefully” called them, were in vain;’ and the denounced poem appeared, and achieved its questionable immortality.

We have seen that in 1816 Mr. Frere married the Countess Dowager of Errol, an Irish lady of distinguished beauty as well as fashion in her day, but who by the time of this marriage had attained an age very suitable for the company of a discreet bachelor of eight-and-forty. It was a very happy union in all respects save one: the precarious health of the lady rendered it necessary for her husband to leave England and resort to a southern climate. They removed to Malta in 1820. The various fanciful sanatoria patronised by modern physicians in the south of Italy and Spain were as yet almost inaccessible for persons addicted to English comforts. They had nevertheless entertained thoughts of settling at Palermo; but (say the editors) ‘one reason for finally preferring Malta was.

' the very characteristic one, that as he drew his pension from England, he felt bound, if possible, to live where it would be spent among British subjects.' As long as Lady Errol lived, her state of health bound him to his post; but after her death in 1831, he continued to live on in Malta from habit or predilection. With the exception of one visit to England and others to the neighbouring parts of the Mediterranean, he inhabited that island from 1820 to the end of his life in 1846; in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, serious and playful; of the latter of which Stewart Rose's satirical epistle from Brighton to Malta may be taken as a specimen:—

' Where neither lake nor river glad the eye,  
Scared with the glare of hot and copper sky;  
Where dwindled tree o'ershadows copper sward,  
Where green blade grows not, where the ground is charred;  
Where, if from withered turf and dwindled tree  
You turn to look upon a summer sea  
And Speronaro's soil of snowy hue,  
Whitening and brightening on that field of blue;  
Or eye the palace, rich in tapestried hall,  
The Moorish window, and the massive wall;  
Or mark the many loitering in its shade  
In many coloured garb and guise arrayed;  
Or sainted John's contiguous pile explore,  
Gemmed altar, gilded beam, and gorgeous floor.

Short time to mark those many sights which I  
Have sung. That time to dream of days gone by,  
Forced alms must purchase from a greedy crowd  
Of lazy beggars, filthy, fierce, and loud.

Where on the sultry wind for ever swells  
The thunder of ten thousand tuneless bells,  
Where merry England's merriest month looks sorry,  
And your waste island seems but one wide quarry,  
I muse—and think you might prefer my town,  
Its pensile pier, dry beach, and breezy down.'

That many a British sojourner in Malta may dream, in time of sirocco especially, of the summer freshness of green old England, we can readily believe, but doubt much whether his fancy would select Brighton as a specimen of contrast. People satiated with the charms of that fashionable resort might perhaps insinuate that it displays all the disagreeable features which are here attributed to Malta without the fine side of the Maltese climate, and without the 'picturesque' and the antiquities: the Maltese 'lazy beggars' being in our time, at

least, amply matched by Brighton boatmen, car-drivers, and itinerant musicians.

It must in fairness be added that though the 'little military hothouse' of Malta possesses but a dreary kind of reputation among the multitude of visitors who take the island only as a stage in their transit eastward or westward, it has attractions of its own for those who sojourn there awhile, and who can be content to allow the wonderful charms of its colouring of sky and sea, and the luxury of its climate where shelter can be obtained from the scorching glare, to obtain their gradual influence over the spirit. And though Calypso's isle has lost for uncounted ages the mantle of primeval forest with which nature or Homer's imagination clothed it in the old Phœnician day, yet there remains in favoured corners enough of evergreen foliage and brilliant flower to repose the eye at intervals.

'As to trees and shrubs,' says a visitor to Mr. Frere, describing his villa on the Quarantine harbour, 'all kinds, from the cedar to the hyssop, are there. The fig, palm, banana, orange, lemon, tamarind, vine, pomegranate, and olive; magnificent geraniums as big as that at Warwick, legions of foses, and carnations that would do credit to Chiswick. The customs of the house are luxurious. . . . At breakfast he never appeared, and I rarely saw him much before dinner. At that meal and at tea he was accustomed to meet the few people whom he knew intimately; but he did not visit, and did not usually care for new faces. Though he talked well, and was both a full and a ready man, he was never overbearing, and always willing to hear others. . . . Of early English literature he talked, as was to be expected, and of the "Anti-Jacobin" and its poetry; but he said little of his own share in it, or of his own writings generally; nor did I think it polite to lead the conversation to them. He had the good breeding of a past school, with little or nothing of its stiffness or formality. In his comments upon public events and business, there was a very remarkable highminded and very upright way of forming an opinion, and a marked contempt for anything mean or tortuous. In this, as in the kindness of his disposition, he appeared to me much to resemble his brother, Mr. Bartle Frere, also a diplomatist of the old school.'

'In November (1831) he had the melancholy pleasure of welcoming Sir Walter Scott to Malta. They had been friends since their first meeting in 1806. . . . Many anecdotes of their last meeting are to be found in Lockhart's "Life of Scott," and in the quotations from Mrs. Day's journals which relate to Sir Walter's stay at Malta. After describing her first visit to Sir Walter in quarantine, Mrs. Day says, "our visit was short, and we left Mr. Frere with him on our departure. He came daily to see his friend, and passed more of his quarantine time with him than anyone else. We were told that between Mr. Frere's habitual absence of mind and Sir Walter's natural Scotch desire to shake hands with him at every meeting, it required all the

“vigilance of the attendant genii of the place to prevent Mr. Frere from being put in quarantine along with him.”

In the local Maltese politics Mr. Frere altogether abstained from meddling. His dislike to ‘modern improvements’ in agriculture extended in double force to innovations in politics; and his lazy dreams of stationary happiness for the old-fashioned population of his island were rudely disturbed when the late Mr. John Austin and Cornwall Lewis came out there from England in 1836, armed with powers to inquire into and report on its condition with a view to representative institutions, freedom of the press, and other nostrums of modern political wisdom! It is, however, rather singular that, with all his prejudices against ‘moving quiet things,’ he was in one respect a great innovator where men of his disposition are generally apt to assume an obstructive attitude. He was an earnest encourager of emigration: he had been so in England, where he spent much time and labour over schemes for carrying a large section of the rural population of his East Anglian district over to Canada; and he applied his mind to the same subject with more effect in Malta. If it be true as our editors assert, that before his arrival the Maltese were distinguished for their stay-at-home propensities, he must have wrought wonders among them by advice and assistance. For the little island has now been for many years a prolific nursery of emigrants to the Levant, to Algiers, to Tripoli, and other portions of the Mediterranean coasts.

Although widely separated by political predilections, and altogether men of a different age and stamp, Mr. Frere and Lewis had their common ground in scholarship; and the former, and the world also, owed the latter gratitude in a matter more interesting to the general public than Maltese affairs; for it was only through the persuasions—almost the teasing—of Lewis that Frere was induced to take the step, so repugnant to his lazy nature, of working into shape and printing at the Maltese Government press his translations from Aristophanes.

These translations had been a favourite exercise of Mr. Frere from an early part of his life. No man could estimate the wild fun, or the metrical variety and richness, or the sarcastic Toryism, of the old comedian better than the author of the ‘*Anti-Jacobin*.’ When reproducing the venerable witticisms which galled Cleon and Nicias, Lamachus the bragging warrior, and Euripides the sentimental poet, he was really going once more over the work of his youth in ridiculing Fox and Erskine, Godwin, and Southey, and Kotzebue. And, besides his sympathy with the philosophy and humour of his original, Frere

possessed a special gift of versification, enabling him to catch and mimic in the most extraordinary manner the metrical dexterity of the Athenian; dexterity which it is difficult to make even comprehensible to those not versed in the Greek language. 'In the "Faust" of Goethe,' says Mr. Mitchell, the translator, 'and in that work only of all modern productions, some idea may be formed of the rich, harmonious, and splendid versification of Aristophanes. The power which the German language has of approximating to the more simple of the Greek metres, and of adding the fullest richness of modern rhyme, makes it doubtful to the ear which of the two writers ought to be preferred. Were the Athenian read with his proper accentuation, there would perhaps be no doubt on the subject.' 'The verse of Aristophanes,' says Savage Landor, 'is a kind of Bacchanal: one cannot read it with composure.'

Mr. Frere's proceedings, in reference to this projected translation, evinced assuredly a great deal of the shyness or fastidiousness, and a great deal of the indolence, which formed such leading features in his character. From certain passages in the biography, it would seem that Frere had begun to translate the comic dramatist in earnest as early as 1820. And in his Quarterly article already quoted, which bears date the same year, he inserts a whole scene of his own, and a very good one, from the 'Acharnians,' with the curious introduction, 'as this scene has been omitted by Mr. Mitchell, we shall insert an attempt which has been made to translate it.' In 1830 we find him still fidgeting over a proposed edition (ccxi). At last, as we have seen, Cornewall Lewis half-urged and half-flattered him into a kind of semi-publication of four plays, by having them printed, in 1839, at the Maltese Government press; but they remained, as our biographers remark, practically 'inaccessible to the public.' In 1847, Lewis followed up this achievement by writing in the 'Classical Museum' a capital article in which both the special difficulties of the task, and the excellence of the version, are pointed out with very discerning criticism.\* Any how, thirty years seems an unconscionably long period of gestation, particularly when we find that the net result (as now published, complete, for the first time) consists only of four plays ('Acharnians,' 'Knights,'

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\* The bibliography of Frere's Aristophanic labours is somewhat puzzling, and we cannot say that the Memoir before us throws much light on it. A small quarto, containing the three plays, 'Acharnians,' 'Knights,' and 'Birds,' was printed at Malta (as we have seen) in 1839. But the same print found its way to England in 1840, where it appeared with an English title-page of Pickering.

'Birds,' 'Frogs'), and those imperfect; some difficult passages being omitted simply because they *were* difficult (this is honestly confessed in the last play, as to the scene between Bacchus and the two tragic poets), and a scene or two of the 'Peace.' Mr. Frere's only explanation or excuse for this '*sicis pedibus*' proceeding is to be found in a kind of memorandum which he seems to have intended for an introduction, but laid aside:—

'The appearance of a publication so little suited to the period of age at which the writer has arrived seems to require explanation on his part. The fact is, a strong persuasion had, from a very early time, been impressed upon his mind, that the English language was possessed of capabilities for such a purpose which had never hitherto been systematically studied, or sufficiently developed. To attempt such a task was beyond his powers; indeed, without a knowledge of music (which he never possessed, and for which he felt no talent nor inclination) it would have been impossible; but the persuasion above mentioned gave rise to a habit of endeavouring to express in English any passage which struck him as remarkable in any foreign or ancient language. It happened, owing to circumstances in which the public can have no interest, that some passages longer than usual were translated from Aristophanes; but the possibility of producing an adequate translation of an entire play never would have entered into his mind but from the examples of his friend Mr. W. Hamilton, who had himself completed a translation of almost the whole of Aristophanes.' (P. cclxiv.)

The critical spirit in which he took up his task cannot be better illustrated than by reference to his own admirable piece of criticism in his review of Mitchell, describing the difference between the Faithful, the Spirited, and the True translator:—

'The Faithful translator renders into English all the conversational phrases according to their grammatical and logical form, without any reference to the current usage which had affixed to them an arbitrary sense, and appropriated them to a particular and definite purpose. He retains scrupulously all the local and personal peculiarities, and in the most rapid and transient allusions thinks it his duty to arrest the attention of the reader with a tedious explanatory note. The Spirited translator, on the contrary, employs the corresponding modern phrases; but he is apt to imagine that a peculiar liveliness and vivacity may be imparted to his performance by the employment of such phrases as are particularly connected with modern manners; and if at any time he feels more than usually anxious to avoid the appearance of pedantry, he thinks he cannot in any way escape from it more effectually than by adopting the slang and jargon of the day. The peculiarities of ancient times he endeavours to represent by substituting in their place the peculiarities of his own time and nation.

'Bacchus, he says, by way of illustration, tells the contending bards in the "Frogs" that (literally) it ill beseems

"Illustrious bards to scold like bakers' wives."



‘And so, accordingly,’ he proceeds, ‘the Faithful translator will render it, with the addition of a note, in which he makes it clear, by the testimony of various learned authorities, that the bakers’ wives in Athens were addicted to scolding above their fellows. Not so the Spirited translator : he looks for a modern peculiarity to countervail the ancient, and puts boldly “to scold like oyster wenches.”

‘But he, the faithful and the True translator, such as we conceive him, proceeding upon the philosophic principles above mentioned, and revolving in his mind those characteristics which (from the necessary order of sublunary things) must inseparably adhere to the practice of inferior traffic in a place of open competition. . . . will infer *à priori* . . . that the race of market scolds is a permanent and imperishable species. Emboldened by this discovery, he proceeds to resolve the variety into the species ; he ventures to translate “hucksters,” or “market women,” according as may suit the verse.’ (Vol. i. p. 177.)

Undoubtedly Aristophanes has been fortunate in his English translators, to whichever of these three varieties they may belong. There is something in his tone of ‘rollicking’ humour which seems especially to suit our popular taste. Cumberland’s version of the dialogue portion of the ‘Clouds’ is to our mind a masterpiece ; but he did not venture on the Chorus. Mitchell supplied this want in those four plays which he attempted. But he did not attempt more than a fragmentary translation. His variety of versification, and his sense of the comic and burlesque, were almost equal to those possessed by Mr. Frere himself, whom he evidently inspired to follow him. Nay, we will venture on the heresy of suggesting that portions of Mitchell are better than portions of his successor, and that in the very qualities in which the latter shone. Take the two following specimens : the reader shall judge for himself ; but, for our own part, we timidly pronounce for Mitchell :—

‘From the “Acharnenses.”

‘O for a muse of fire,  
Of true Acharnian breed !  
A muse that might some strain inspire,  
Brightness, tone, and voice supplying,  
Like sparks which, when our fish are frying,  
The windy breaths of bellows raise  
From forth the sturdy holmoak’s blaze,  
What time, our cravings to supply,  
Some sift the meal, and some the Thasian mixture try.’  
*Mitchell.*

‘Muse of old,  
Manly times,  
Strike the bold  
Hecarty rhymes,

New revived,  
 Firm, energetic  
 Music of Acharnia :  
 Choleric, fiery, quick  
 As the sparkle  
 From the charcoal  
 Of the native evergreen  
 Knotted oak  
 In the smoke  
 Shows his active fiery spleen,  
 Whilst beside  
 Stands the dish  
 Full of fish  
 Ready to be fried.'—*Frere.*

*'From the "Knights."*

'Where's the officer at audit but has felt your cursed gripe,  
 Squeez'd and tried with nice discernment, whether yet the wretch be  
 ripe,

Like the men our figs who gather, you are skilful to discern  
 Which is green and which is ripe, and which is just upon the turn.  
 Is there one well pursed among us, lamblike in his heart and life,  
 Link'd and wedded to retirement, hating business, hating strife?  
 Soon your greedy eye's upon him, when his mind is least at home,  
 Room and place, from furthest Thrace, at your bidding he must come.  
 Foot and hand are straight upon him, neck and shoulder in your grip,  
 To the ground anon he's thrown, and you smite him on the hip.'

*Mitchell.*

'You that ere the figs are gathered, pilfer with a privy twitch  
 Fat delinquents and defaulters, pulpy, luscious, plump, and rich,  
 Pinching, fingering, and pulling, tampering, selecting, culling,  
 With a wise survey discerning, which are green and which are turning,  
 Which are ripe for accusation, forfeiture, and confiscation.  
 Him besides, the wealthy man, retired upon an easy rent,  
 Hating and avoiding party, noble-minded, indolent,  
 Fearful of official snares, intrigues, and intricate affairs,  
 Him you mark; you fix and hook him, while he's gaping unawares,  
 At a fling, at once you bring him lither from the Chersonese,  
 Down you cast him, roast and baste him, and devour him at your ease.'

*Frere.*

These, however, are selected specimens. Take the whole work together, and the superiority of Frere is manifest enough. The rendering of the very spirit of the Greek rant, satire, buffoonery, picturesqueness, into a language so different as our own and yet with powers so extremely analogous, is a *tour de force* unsurpassed perhaps in literature.

But in this, as in most of his other performances, it was Mr. Frere's destiny to find 'fit audience but few;' to please the scholarlike, but not to attain that popularity of which he was

perhaps desirous under his assumed indifference, but which he never would take the trouble to win. After all—be it said with reverence—Aristophanes, except to boy-students, is somewhat tiresome. The satire is admirable, and much of it applies to all times; but much of it has also ceased to interest. And what is not satire is for the most part burlesque of the broadest character; capital in passages, wearisome in long five-act plays.

‘It has been discovered elsewhere (says Frere himself, quaintly but truly) of the Aristophanic or ancient comedy, that it is essentially a grave, humorous, impossible, great lie, related with an accurate mimicry of the language and manners of the persons introduced.’ Fourteen or fifteen hundred verses devoted to the elaboration of a ‘great lie,’ are too much for a patience calculated for modern—at least for English wear. It would be difficult to understand how an audience could have sat contentedly, for many nights, on seats carved in Pentelican limestone, through the endless and monotonous wrangling of Cleon and the Sausage-seller, or the equally prolix tit-for-tat of the contending dramatists in the ‘Frogs,’ were it not that we have in our own day an example of the like kind in the wonderful longsuffering with which the French will endure, and seem to admire, a five-act comedy *de mœurs*. And his stock-characters, where apparently drawn on purpose to attract the sympathies of an Athenian populace, are, to our notions, repulsive. The English John Bull of our caricatures is not a very pleasing representative of our nation. The Athenian John Bull, or rather the John Bull of the Tory persuasion among Athenians, was something more degraded. By whatever name called—Dicæopolis in the ‘Acharnians,’ Demus in the ‘Knights,’ Strepsiades in the ‘Clouds,’ Trygæus in the ‘Frogs’—he is always the same individual: elderly, coarse, sensual—his soul devoted to tunnies and eels, cheesecakes and jars of wine, and half-drunken attentions to his neighbours’ pretty female slaves. Such a character may be amusing enough in a sketch, but one may perhaps think—only, as King George III. said, when suggesting that there was nonsense in Shakspeare, one does not dare to say so—that the uniformity of this model personage betrays some poverty of invention. But it is a supposition which other characteristics of the old comedy seem to confirm, that poet and audience were really a kind of joint-stock company; that, as in the analogous instance of the Italian *Commedia dell’Arte*, certain well-known and popular personifications were brought forward as central figures round which the machinery of the drama was to revolve, and that the author dared not, under pain of cri-

tical condemnation from the benches, depart from the established conventional type.

Of Mr. Frere's other fragments of translation contained in these volumes, many possess merit; but that of 'Theognis,' his only complete work of this kind, is chiefly remarkable for the curious pains which he bestowed in clothing dry bones with imaginary flesh and blood; in compiling, not only a critical essay, but a romantic biography, out of the surviving fragments of a respectable but prosy poet of remote antiquity, the Martin Tupper of the sixth century B.C.

'He was nearly the last of his class in time, and far from being the first in point of poetical merit. . . . The style is, in fact, what, according to modern notions of poetic language, would be characterised as prosaic, consisting, as it does, of the expressions and phrases of ordinary speech; never in any respect vulgar, but wholly without ornament, or the affectation of ornament: it has no pretension to beauty, nor attempts at the sublime; and its title to the name of poetry must perhaps be rested on the correctness of its metre.'

It is evidently one of the tokens of Mr. Frere's characteristic oddity that, with his metrical instincts and powers of language, and his vast stores of both ancient and foreign literature to draw upon, he should have devoted thus much of time and labour to a task which would seem so unattractive, and was certainly so obscure.

We have shown perhaps cause enough, and more than enough, why Mr. Frere should never have been a favourite author with the multitude, nor is ever likely to become so. But we shall have failed entirely in our object, if we have not also given reason for the opinion that he just failed of being much more than a popular writer—an eminent one; that he was singularly original in conception, singularly elegant and refined in execution, but exercised these qualities—so fate or his perversity willed it—on small subjects and in an ineffective manner. Had he, like his contemporaries Southey, Coleridge, and Gifford, been thrown on the London literary labour-market early in life, with a few pounds in his pocket, he would have been a great man. As it was, he fulfilled the career of a thorough English gentleman of the literary type, joining a semi-satirical playfulness of manner to warm sympathies with the good and right, a high sense of honour, and utter indifference to vulgar objects of appetite. It is pleasant to have such men as he was recalled to public attention by the publication of their remains, although their number is small, and that of those who appreciate them relatively smaller still.

ART. VIII.—*The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham.*

Written by Himself. 3 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: 1871.

IT was Lord Brougham's expressed desire in his ninetieth year that, with the exception of correcting 'mistakes in dates or in proper names,' the narrative of his 'Life and Times' should be printed as he had written it; and this injunction has been so strictly obeyed that gross and palpable errors have been left uncorrected. The looseness and inaccuracy of many important passages can only be ascribed to failure of memory at the advanced age when Lord Brougham began to write the history of his distinguished life. The memoir begins with a brief sketch of his childhood, written by his mother in the year 1826; and he mentions among the earliest of his own recollections that he heard his grandmother, then about ninety years of age, relate *all the circumstances* of the execution of Charles the First as they had been told her by an eyewitness who stood opposite to Whitehall and saw the King come out upon the scaffold. The circumstances referred to are not detailed; nor can we regret the omission, since it is probable that every particle of truth would have evaporated in the process of transmission through three persons in extreme old age.

Henry Brougham was the heir of a good Border family, which had been settled at Brougham in Westmoreland since the Conquest. His father, of whom he makes only a passing mention, was probably therefore not distinguished from his many ancestors, none of whom, he says, 'were remarkable for anything.' Mr. Brougham had been engaged to his cousin Mary Whelpdale, who died on the day before that fixed for the marriage; and he subsequently married Eleanor Syme, a niece of Dr. Robertson the historian, of which union Henry Brougham was born in Edinburgh on the 19th of September, 1778. On this event he speculates, oddly enough, that if he had been the son of the Saxon girl, Mary Whelpdale, he should have remained in the respectable mediocrity of his forefathers, and that his distinction was owing in a great degree to the Celtic blood which his mother brought from the clans of Struan and Kinloch Moidart. To his mother's family, indeed, he is unbounded in acknowledgment. To his maternal grandmother, he says,

'I owe all my success in life. . . . She instilled into me from my cradle the strongest desire for information, and the first principles of

that persevering energy in the pursuit of every kind of knowledge which, more than any natural talents I may possess, has enabled me to stick to and accomplish, how far successfully it is not for me to say, every task I ever undertook.' (Vol. i. p. 11.)

Farther on, he records with more precision the benefits which he derived from the instruction of Dr. Robertson:—

'It was an inestimable advantage to my studies at all times that they were directed by my great kinsman the Principal, after the first impulses they had received from my grandmother. . . . He always recommended translation, as tending to form the style by giving an accurate knowledge of the force of expression, and obliging us to mark and estimate the shades of difference between words in phrases in the two languages, and to find, by selecting the terms, or turning the idiom, the expression required for a given meaning; whereas when composing originally, the idea may be varied, in order to suit the diction that most easily presents itself, of which the influence by rhymes, and moulding the sense, as well as suggesting it, is a familiar example.' (Vol. i. p. 16.)

The practice of translation thus wisely recommended seems to have been diligently followed by the young student, insomuch that he gives as a specimen of his attainments at the age of thirteen a tale entitled '*Memnon, or Human Wisdom*,' which is, in fact, a spirited translation of a well-known *conte* of Voltaire's. It is of course no reflection on the good faith of the venerable autobiographer that at the distance of three quarters of a century he should have quoted the paper as an original composition, but the fact might have been noticed by the editor of these papers.

The best part of his education being thus happily superintended, the boy's ordinary studies were not neglected. At seven years of age, he was sent to the High School of Edinburgh, at that time in the highest repute, as we have shown in a preceding page of this Number. There he remained six years, going out as dux or head of the class and school, although he had been absent nearly a year from illness. After leaving the High School, he remained fourteen months at home with a private tutor. On his return to Edinburgh, he entered the College, where he began a course of mathematics under Professor Playfair, and one of natural philosophy under Dr. Black. These great masters of science soon perceived the extraordinary capacity of their pupil, and under their tuition he attained such proficiency that several of his papers were thought worthy of insertion in the '*Philosophical Transactions*.' In one paper, written in 1795, he had inserted a note containing a discovery of the principle of photography;

but the secretary of the Royal Society, considering that the subject referred more to art than to science, unfortunately omitted the passage. So early as 1792, when he was only fourteen years of age, young Brougham founded a debating club called the Juvenile Literary Society. Horner, Henry Mackenzie (afterwards Lord Mackenzie), Forbes (afterwards Lord Medwyn), and other youths distinguished in after life were among the members. Thence he became, in 1797, a member of the more celebrated Speculative Society, which comprised Murray, Moncreiff, Miller, Loch, Adam, Cockburn, Jardine, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Webb Seymour, and the two Grants (Lord Glenelg and Sir Robert) among his contemporaries. In 1799 he made a tour of the Western Islands, and in Denmark and Scandinavia. These travels are related at somewhat disproportionate length in his Memoir.

In 1800, Brougham was admitted to the Scotch bar; and from this event may be dated the commencement of his long and brilliant career. He adopted the profession of the law with great reluctance, and seems to have bestowed less time on his legal studies than on any other of the numerous branches of learning which he affected. Literary and scientific pursuits occupied the greater part of his time. He was employed during the greater part of 1801 and 1802 in preparing his work on 'Colonial Policy,' in attending the debates of the Speculative Society, and in arranging with Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Horner, and others, the establishment of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Smith's account of this event is well known; and, though Brougham asserts that 'nothing can be more 'imaginary than nearly the whole' of it, he himself subsequently confirms its accuracy in every important particular. The idea originated with Smith; the plan was laid in Jeffrey's lodging up three pair of stairs; and the first number, which appeared in October 1802, was edited by Smith. Had it not been for Smith's energy and perseverance, the enterprise would have fallen through. Jeffrey was full of doubts and difficulties, and would have cancelled the agreement with Constable the bookseller. Brougham himself, before the first publication, refused to have anything more to do with it, and was with difficulty brought back. Early in 1803, Sydney Smith went to England, and the management of the new journal, the success of which seemed to be already assured, was undertaken by Jeffrey:—

'The tone it took from the first,' says Lord Brougham, with perfect truth, 'was manly and independent. When it became as much political as literary, its attitude was upright and fearless; not a single

contributor ever hesitated between the outspoken expression of his opinions and the consequences they might entail on his success in life, whether at the bar, the pulpit, or the senate.

'The great importance of the Review can only be judged of by recollecting the state of things at the time Smith's bold and sagacious idea was started. Protection reigned triumphant; Parliamentary representation in Scotland had scarcely an existence; the Catholics were unemancipated; the Test Acts unrepealed; men were hung for stealing a few shillings in a dwelling-house; no counsel allowed to a prisoner accused of a capital offence; the horrors of the slave trade tolerated; the prevailing tendencies of the age, jobbery and corruption.' (Vol. i. p. 253.)

Under circumstances such as are thus noted, three or four young men, who had their fortunes to make, deliberately chose the path which then, and for many long years afterwards, led in an opposite direction to wealth and honours; and they chose it, not in London, where they might have hoped to attract the sympathy and support of the Liberal party, but in this city, which was then, it must be confessed, the stronghold of political prejudice and Tory influence. Not content with waging a political warfare which, in the prevailing state of public opinion, was apparently hopeless, and, so far as concerned their personal interests, ruinous, they also attacked with no less vehemence, and with more immediate success, the doctrinal and literary heresies of the age. The first twenty numbers of the Review were written chiefly by Brougham, Jeffrey, Horner, and Smith; a list of upwards of sixty out of the hundred and one articles composing the first four numbers is drawn out by Lord Brougham as the contributions of himself and the triumvirate associated with him. Three editions of the early numbers of the Review were rapidly sold, and a large permanent circulation was established.

'The first effect of our Review,' said Lord Brougham, 'absolutely independent of the trade, and of any party in the country, local or general, was to raise the character and to increase the influence of periodical criticism. The purpose to which this influence was devoted was the promotion of sound and liberal opinions upon all questions in Church and State, leaving the doctrines of religion untouched, and assuming the duty of submission to the Constitution as fixed and permanent, the frame of our Government only being subject to decorous and temperate comment or discussion. The severity of the criticism on books and their authors was much, and often justly, complained of; but no one could accuse it of personal malice, or any sinister motives.' (Vol. i. p. 259.)

The death of Mr. Pitt, in 1806, and the partial admission of the Whigs to power, after an absolute exclusion for twenty-



two years, opened to Brougham, then in his twenty-eighth year, an introduction to public life. The new Government, following the policy of their predecessors, determined to send an expedition to Portugal to prevent the occupation of the Peninsula by Bonaparte. A special mission, consisting of Lord Rosslyn, Lord St. Vincent, and General Simcoe, the naval and military commanders of the expedition, proceeded to the Court of Lisbon. Of this Commission Brougham was appointed Secretary; but in reality, he says, he performed the functions of a fourth Commissioner. The opportunity which the young aspirant thus enjoyed of familiar intercourse with the great seaman and sagacious statesman whose name stood second in the Commission, was eagerly improved. He relates many instances of the clear judgment and prompt decision which distinguished Lord St. Vincent from ordinary commanders. One of the least known of these anecdotes refers to the battle of St. Vincent:—

‘Intelligence was brought overland to Lisbon, where he lay with his fleet, that from clear indications the Spanish fleet was immediately to sail. He ordered his fleet to be instantly got ready; and when his captains, who were assembled, said that under five or six days this could not be done, he said it must be done in six *hours*, and he would not hear of a moment longer. They were in great consternation, but they knew their man, and that the fleet must be put to sea in the time specified. *It did so*; and the victory was gained with less than half the enemy’s force. A day or two later and the Spanish fleet would have escaped them, raised the blockade of Brest, swept the Channel, and led to the invasion of Ireland.’ (Vol. i. p. 343.)

On his return from the Lisbon Mission at the end of 1806, Brougham entered earnestly into politics. He was already considered one of the most rising young men of the time. His work on Colonial Policy, and his share in this Journal, had founded his reputation. He took a prominent part in the measure for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and kept up a regular correspondence with Lord Grey and other leading members of the Whig party on public affairs. Early in 1807, the Coalition Ministry came to a violent end. They were dismissed in consequence of a measure proposed to George III. for the abolition of the test which excluded Catholics from the army and navy. It is hardly credible that at a time when the nation was engaged in a struggle in which its very existence was at stake, and when every expedient for filling the ranks had been resorted to, until even felons had been pressed into the service, men who were willing and able to fight for their common country should have been disqualified by their belief

in the doctrine of the Real Presence. But such was the fact, and on an appeal to the constituencies the policy of the Court was affirmed by a vote more decisive than any which condemned the worst abuse of power, or supported the principle of a free constitution. The majority obtained by Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Eldon was larger than that which displaced the Coalition of 1784; larger than that which carried the Reform of 1831. The Whigs were again banished from power for a farther period of twenty years; but their short tenure of office had not discredited them. They had carried, in the face of many difficulties, some wise and useful measures. They had completed the abolition of the Slave Trade, which Mr. Pitt had so long paltered with; and, though their war policy had not been more successful than that of their great predecessor, they had provided for future operations by a sound system of finance, and by a plan of limited enlistment which at once recruited the army, and maintained its efficiency during the long protracted war.

In the year 1808, a marked tribute was paid to the rising eminence of Brougham, by the Tory rulers, after their fashion, in opposing his call to the English bar. He had applied for a special call in July in order to enable him to join the ensuing circuit. The Benchers were willing to accede to his application, but the Attorney and Solicitor-General came down and succeeded in defeating him by a single vote. The Tory Ministry of those days never neglected any opportunity of inflicting injury and annoyance, however small, upon a political opponent; and the law-officers of the Crown thought it worth while to go out of their way to deprive Brougham of the emoluments of a single circuit. He was called in the ordinary course in Michaelmas Term, and soon obtained a fair share of business. He continued to express, however, the greatest repugnance to the profession; and, according to his own account, his acquired qualifications were very slender; he had never seen a trial at Nisi Prius until he joined the circuit, and his legal studies do not seem as yet to have advanced much beyond the point necessary to qualify him for admission to the Scotch bar eight years previously. But such was his confidence in his talents and address that he had not the least misgiving as to success. He fully appreciated the difficulty of reconciling political or literary pursuits with progress at the English bar; and he was not prepared to renounce either politics or literature. Yet with these occupations, and without legal acquirements, he plunged into the profession with the hope of

addressing the first English jury that he saw.\* This audacious hope seems to have been substantially fulfilled, for, in his first term, we find him referring to an important point which he had to argue at the Cockpit; and, a few days later, he writes to Lord Grey in 'a moment of respite from John 'Doe and Richard Roe.' Certainly no man ever started for the high office of Lord Chancellor of England with a more scanty fund of legal knowledge. All he ever knew of law was literally picked up on the road.

We pass to that critical period in the life of a public man—his entrance into Parliament. Towards the end of 1809, Brougham received an intimation that the Duke of Bedford offered him a seat in the House of Commons. With this offer in prospect, he took counsel with his friend Lord Rosslyn, who wrote a long and very sensible letter on the subject, advising him to take the course which he had no doubt long since determined upon, namely, to avail himself of the first opportunity of entering Parliament. Accordingly in the first week of the session of 1810, Brougham was returned for Camelford, one of those convenient inlets through which a man of education and ability, who had not the advantage of being a provincial capitalist, could then obtain an introduction to public life without passing under the yoke of teetotallers, nonconformists, partisans of contagious diseases, and the like.

Brougham's first speech in the House of Commons was in support of Mr. Whitbread's motion of censure on Lord Chatham, the commander-in-chief of the Expedition to the Scheldt, for having made a private report of that expedition to the King. He quotes a letter from Horner to Mrs. Brougham, announcing the success of the first essay, upon which it is the common belief that the fate of the parliamentary orator depends.

But the truth is that first speeches, though by the comity of Parliament they are usually well received, seldom afford any criterion from which the future position of the orator can be predicted. The instances are rare in which a man, who has made a good first speech has maintained his ground; it has far more frequently happened that the greatest Parliamentary reputations have proceeded from small and unpromising beginnings. Hardly a session passes without witnessing the failure of men of varied ability and acquirement; and it is an exceptional case when a gentleman famed for eloquence at the bar or on the platform makes good his claim before the infallible judgment of the House of Commons. If there is a secret in parliamentary

success, it has not yet been discovered, though many solutions of the mystery have been proposed. It is difficult, indeed, to lay down any rule which shall be of universal application. If you counsel the young aspirant to speak seldom, and only on those questions he understands, you are reminded of Mr. Fox, who made himself the first debater Parliament has ever known, by speaking every night upon every subject. If you warn him against flights of oratory, you are told of Chatham, of Burke, of Grattan, and Sheil. The truth is, that the tact and instinct of the speaker are of far more value than any receipt for parliamentary success which can be prescribed.

It is curious to find Brougham, of all men, condemning 'the great evils attending our political system, at least in its administration—the conferring all the important offices in the State on persons who possess the debating power.' Considering that the country is governed through the House of Commons, it follows that the principal direction of affairs should fall into the hands of men who can influence that assembly by their eloquence. Before the Reform Act, when the House was comparatively a close corporation, this necessity was fully recognised; but since the representation has been placed on a popular basis, it is impossible to maintain any man in high office who is destitute of the power of expounding and defending the policy of the Government. Public speaking may not be a very high form of intellectual development, but it commands the highest value in a free Government like ours. It is not, indeed, essential that an English statesman of the first order should be a great orator. Few statesmen have at different periods possessed such weight in Parliament as Lord Castlereagh, Lord Althorp, and Sir George Lewis; none of these eminent persons made any pretension to oratory, but each wielded a power in the House and in the country which consummate orators like Brougham have never attained. High character, singleness of purpose, equanimity, and knowledge of affairs are the qualities which have always exercised the greatest authority both in Parliament and in the nation; and when these qualities have been associated, as in Mr. Pitt, with lofty eloquence, they are supreme.

Brougham spoke frequently during his first session, and found that his parliamentary avocations did not interfere with his progress at the bar. On the contrary, the line which he took in Parliament assisted him in that branch of professional practice for which he was peculiarly fitted. He became extensively employed in popular causes, and a speech which he delivered in the House of Commons against flogging in the

army, probably led to his being retained as counsel for the Hunts in a criminal information for a libellous article in the 'Examiner,' copied from the 'Stamford News,' on military punishments. The defendants were acquitted, notwithstanding the efforts made by Lord Ellenborough to procure a conviction; while the publisher of the original article in the provincial newspaper was found guilty, although Brougham went down on a special retainer for the defence. The success of the prosecution at Lincoln is attributed by the reporter in the 'Annual Register,' and no doubt correctly, to the difference between a Westminster and a Lincoln jury. The provincial juries were generally content to be the subservient tools of the Government in their efforts to stifle the press; but since the failure of the famous prosecutions in 1794, London juries could never be depended upon to aid in suppressing that freedom of discussion, which court lawyers and prerogative judges were wont to denounce as seditious libel.

In 1810-11, the final recurrence of the mental derangement with which the King had been so frequently afflicted, and the immediate prospect of a regency or a new reign, revived the hopes of the Whig party; and we find Lord Grey, in anticipation of one or the other of these events, offering, and Brougham accepting, an office in the Administration of which he expected to be the head. They little thought that twenty years were still to elapse before that event should take place. The Whigs had reason to expect, both on public and private grounds, that on the accession of the Prince of Wales, either as regent or as king, a change in the counsels of the country would take place. The Coalition Ministry, after a brief term of office during which they had given ample earnest of a great career, had been recently dismissed upon a pretext which it was shameful for any rational man to support. They had been succeeded by a Ministry from which the ablest members had already withdrawn, leaving only a residuum which represented the lowest form of bigotry and ignorance. The war policy of the Percevals and Eldons was represented by the Walcheren expedition, by the abortive campaign in Spain and Portugal under Sir John Moore, and by the adoption in an exaggerated form of the worst blunder which the Whigs had made—the Orders in Council. Of their domestic policy no intelligible trace can be discovered, except that which was handed down to them from their Tory predecessors, of repressing public opinion. It seemed hardly too much to expect that a prince whose youth and early manhood had been passed in the liberal school of politics, would have severed himself from such counsellors. Some,

indeed, were so sanguine as to believe that the fidelity with which the Whigs had supported the Prince through good and evil fortune would meet its reward. Such men as these—and Lord Grey was naturally among their number—were slow to be convinced, notwithstanding a long and intimate knowledge of his Royal Highness, that they had to deal with a man who was equally incapable of remembering a benefit, and of forgetting an injury; who was false, selfish, pusillanimous, and tyrannical. Thus it was that the Percevals, the Eldons, and the Hawkesburys—ministers after the heart of George III.—retained the confidence of a successor who could not plead the bigotry and narrowness of soul which determined the choice of his father.

Nothing daunted by the disappointment and indefinite postponement of his just hope of taking a prominent part in the administration of affairs, Brougham addressed himself with additional energy to his political and professional pursuits. Two years before, he had acquired distinction by arguing as counsel at the bar of both Houses on behalf of the traders and manufacturers of London, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, against the Orders in Council. It is difficult at this distance of time, when the policy of the country is in a great measure shaped by free commercial principles, to understand its submission for a moment to the policy of these Orders. They originated in the decree of the Emperor Napoleon fulminated at Berlin in 1806 declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, all British subjects, wherever found, prisoners of war, and all British goods, wherever taken, lawful prize. The Berlin decree, so far as it prohibited trade with England, was a perfectly legitimate war-measure, if it could have been enforced. But no Neutral is bound to respect a paper blockade, and as England was in possession of the sea, the French edict was a mere *brutum fulmen* beyond the frontiers of the French Empire. The King's Government, however, instead of relying with silent dignity on a position which enabled them to condemn the insolence of Bonaparte, descended to answer bravado by bravado, and courted a full share of the just resentment which the Berlin decree had provoked from all the Neutral Powers by retaliating the policy of the French ruler. One of the last acts of the Coalition Government was the issue of the Orders in Council in reply to the Berlin decree—a measure dictated more by passion than by policy, and the execution of which could have no other result than the infliction of a serious injury on British trade as well as on that of every commercial country which it affected. It was the only blot—a serious one we

admit—on an administration of able and enlightened men ; and it was the one measure which excited the envy and emulation of their successors.

The Berlin decree, answered by the Orders in Council and replied to by the Milan decree, well nigh crippled the commerce of this country, and led to a war with the United States of America. The Government, however, persisted in their policy, and the agitation of the trading classes against the Orders continued without effect until 1812, when Brougham, being then in Parliament, succeeded in referring the question to a Select Committee. The inquiry was pressed forward with such energy and determination that Brougham would not allow it to be adjourned for more than a single day even by the assassination of Mr. Perceval, who had taken a leading part in the Committee in support of the Orders. After a struggle of some weeks, the Government gave way, and on the 23rd of June the Orders in Council were repealed. At the distance of fifty years Lord Brougham refers to the repeal of the Orders in Council as his greatest achievement. ‘It was,’ he says, ‘second to none of the efforts made by me, and not altogether without success, to ameliorate the condition of my fellow-men. In these I had the sympathy and aid of others ; but in the battle against the Orders in Council I fought alone.’

The sudden death of Perceval seemed once more to leave the way open for the return of the Whigs to power. The Tories themselves despaired.\* But so little foresight is there in public affairs that the event baffled the reasonable calculations of both parties. The Tory Administration had been weakened by the secession of every member of it who had any pretension to stand in the first rank of public life. The Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and Lord Wellesley, had withdrawn ; and when a stroke of fate removed Mr. Perceval, there seemed to be no materials from which a Ministry even after the old pattern could be formed. Lord Wellesley was asked to make the attempt, but, after a decent show of compliance, he declined the task. Lord Moira was then empowered to treat with Lords Grey and Grenville ; but this negotiation also proved abortive. It might have seemed difficult to place a man of less mark and likelihood at the head of the Government than Mr. Perceval, but such a man was found in Lord Hawkesbury, who by the recent death of his father had

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\* ‘Whoever comes in must form so weak a Government that they cannot last a month, for indeed poor Perceval was at the front of the precipice.’ (*Malmesbury Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 278.)

become Earl of Liverpool. Feeble as such a Ministry was, it seemed destined to perish in its birth; yet supported by the splendid military successes of the army in the Peninsula, and by the commanding position England had assumed in the affairs of Europe, it attained the extreme period of ministerial longevity. Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister for fifteen years. The great administration of Mr. Pitt lasted for seventeen years. Sir Robert Walpole was Minister for twenty-one years.

The services which Brougham had rendered to the commercial interests of the country were promptly acknowledged. He received votes of thanks from most of the great manufacturing towns. Five hundred pounds were subscribed at Glasgow for a testimonial to him. He was invited to stand for Liverpool at the approaching general election; and as he was about to lose his seat for Camelford in consequence of the Duke of Bedford having sold his property in the borough, the Liverpool offer was entertained and ultimately accepted. A strong desire was expressed by many of the leading merchants that he should be accredited to the Government of the United States on a conciliatory mission. He even went so far as to tender his services to the Government in that capacity, but his offer was politely evaded.

Brougham was ill-advised in standing for Liverpool, which has always been consistent in its attachment to Toryism, and where the part he had taken in the abolition of the Slave Trade made a considerable set-off against his recent services to commerce. He lost the election, and the effect of this failure was to keep him out of Parliament for three years. In the autumn of 1812 Brougham again appeared for the brothers Hunt of the 'Examiner,' who were prosecuted in an *ex-officio* information for a libel on the Prince Regent. The 'Examiner' was in those dark days one of the very few journals which ventured to question the infallibility of Eldon, or the claim of the Prince of Wales to be considered the finest gentleman in Europe. The 'Examiner' was therefore closely watched by the Attorney-General's detectives. It was not considered quite safe to file an *ex-officio* information for a seditious libel against a newspaper which argued moderately in favour of Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform; but it was at his peril that any writer in the public press overstepped the boundaries of temperate comment upon these and cognate subjects. The 'Examiner' had more than once insinuated that the heir-apparent, though waxing old and fat, had not departed from the irregularities of his youth, and it was deter-



mined at the first opportunity that a signal example should be made of the licentious print which not only advocated Reform, but even sought to bring the Regent into ridicule and contempt. In the early part of this year the desired opportunity had occurred. The conductors of the 'Examiner,' provoked by a nauseous eulogy on the Regent in the 'Morning Post,' describing him as the Glory of the People, the Protector of the Arts, the Mæcenas of the Age, the Conqueror of Hearts, the Exciter of Desire, and so forth, had launched into an invective against this transcendent personage, which placed them outside the pale of the law. They said that the Prince 'was a violator of his word, a libertine over head and ears in debt and disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, a man who has just closed half a century without one single claim to the gratitude of his country, or the respect of posterity.' Now it might be difficult to determine whether the plain speaking of the 'Examiner,' every word of which was true, or the sycophantic extravagancies of the 'Post,' which were wholly fictitious, was more calculated to bring the august subject of such comments into ridicule and contempt. But the law-officers of the Crown and their superiors had no doubt: the thirst for vengeance against the Press overcame every consideration of prudence; and a prosecution was instituted against the popular journal which enabled its advocate 'to fire for two hours very close and hard into the Prince—on all points, public and private—and in such a way that they could not interrupt' him. The most offensive part of the whole exhibition was the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, the Chief Justice, who in every political prosecution exhibited a partiality to the Crown, hardly exceeded by the most shameless prerogative judges of the worst times. In his charge to the jury in this case, the judge, not content with inveighing against the counsel for the defendants, proceeded to excuse the royal plaintiff, whom even he dared not defend:—

'There were,' he said, 'venial circumstances connected with that offence [adultery]: and was his Royal Highness the only person who had done the like? Let us look back upon his Majesty's reign, distinguished as it had been for his private morality, and see if no person was ever entrusted by him who had incurred a similar misfortune. He chose to call it by that name; for there were circumstances which rendered the crime of adultery either enormous or venial.'

He then went on to drive his charge home:—

'If,' he added, 'there was one man of the twelve who, pledging only the veracity of a gentleman, could say this was not a libel, he must remind that man of the more sacred sanction of an oath, which bound

him to administer justice according to that law by which he pronounced this a foul, atrocious, and malignant libel.'

It turned out that there *was* one man on the special jury whose feelings of 'veracity as a gentleman' could not immediately reconcile the conflict between law and truth; but after a short retirement, he yielded to his less scrupulous colleagues, and concurred in a verdict of guilty.

Notwithstanding the reputation which he had acquired in popular causes, Brougham was never much employed in the more solid and important branches of practice; and we find him in this year writing to Lord Grey as if he had it in contemplation to retire both from the profession and public life. He complains of the little progress he had made in the profession for the last two years, and he takes the 'most gloomy view' possible of public affairs:—

'I presume,' he says, 'that the Crown never was so entirely freed from an Opposition since the Revolution; and with all the honesty which is to be found scattered up and down among our friends, there is one thing which they seem unanimous in refusing, and that is to hold together in a compact mass against the Government.'

Brougham's mischance at Liverpool could have been promptly repaired in those days of nomination-seats, had the party shared Lord Grey's opinion that his exclusion from Parliament was 'an irreparable loss both to his friends and to the public.' Romilly and Tierney, who had been thrown out at the general election, were soon replaced in Parliament; but the great Whigs were not ill-pleased that a check should be administered to the young Northern adventurer who made himself so conspicuous, who meddled with everything, and was not at all deterred by diffidence from pushing his way to the front. Brougham himself was not ignorant of the feeling which he had provoked, for in one of his letters to Lord Grey a year after the general election, he speaks of 'the pleasure of a great many of the party to consider or affect to consider me "flung overboard to lighten the ship."' The existence of this feeling, however, did not in the least abate his self-confidence, for in the same letter from which we have quoted, he urges the necessity of adopting more active measures in Parliament in a style which might be adopted by the leader of Opposition. The Catholic question, —tithes, impressment, law reform, the poor laws—all these he thinks should be brought forward immediately, and might be carried in a 'session or two.'\* Most of the measures thus indi-

cated were indeed ultimately carried, but after a long series of years, some of them with infinite difficulty, under circumstances of external pressure, and some, on the first spring-tide of Reform. To speak of them as practicable in 1813, in a close Parliament guided by Castlereagh and Eldon, was simply childish. Yet Brougham refers to them as mere 'ordinary measures which will come in addition to the usual measures of opposition.\*' And at the very time when Brougham would have persuaded his chief that abuses, the growth of centuries, could be swept away at the first brush, Sir Samuel Romilly, the wisest and best of the Whigs, could hardly, by all the force of learning and authority, prevail with the Eldons and the Ellenboroughs to admit of the smallest relaxation of a penal code which was an outrage on humanity and common sense, unsurpassed in barbarous and wanton cruelty.

A great part of the second volume of the *Autobiography* is taken up with an account of the rise and progress of the quarrel between the Prince and Princess of Wales—the interest in which few persons would, at this day, desire to revive. We shall therefore pass over the earlier passages of this miserable history, and shall dwell as briefly as possible on those parts of it in which Brougham was afterwards prominently concerned.

Peace being finally concluded by the overthrow and capture of Napoleon, the grave questions of domestic policy which had been more or less in a state of suspended animation during the war, assumed prominent importance. The social and political state of the country was rapidly deteriorating. While, on the one hand, Tories were steadily setting their faces against any reform of anything, and, on the other, zealots were clamouring for revolution, the sober warnings of reason and moderation were unheeded. Corn-laws were enacted for the purpose of maintaining the profits gained by landowners and farmers through the war; and under the operation of a poor-law, administered with the view of keeping the lower orders in dependence, the mass of the people were drifting into pauperism, and thus property was endangered by the short-sighted means taken for its preservation. While public education was refused, lest it should make the people dangerous, every aggression on property was punished with merciless rigour; any writer who attempted to show that stupid and selfish legislation was responsible for the existence of Luddites, was treated as a seditious libeller, and punished with heavy

fine and imprisonment; and if a dozen persons assembled in a public place to discuss their grievances, it was lawful either to shoot them on the spot, or to punish them as convicts of the vilest class. But we should fill pages were we to enumerate the many outrages on common right and common sense which in those days were extolled by lawgivers and administrators of the law as institutions essential to the well-being of the country.

At this juncture, Brougham regained his seat in the House of Commons by the favour of Lord Darlington, who, at the instance of Lord Grey (but not until after the seat had been refused by another person), returned him for the close borough of Winchelsea. The recent death of Mr. Whitbread, whom Brougham had frequently put forward as a leader of the Opposition in preference to Tierney, left it open to himself to aspire to that post. Indeed, according to his own showing, he assumed the leading part as soon as he re-entered Parliament. He organised a movement for the immediate repeal of the Income Tax; and, in that behalf, renewed the tactics which had been employed against the Orders in Council. The Chancellor of the Exchequer struggled hard to keep five per cent., but Brougham overwhelmed him with petitions, and speeches on every petition. He kept up debates on the subject every day from four o'clock till midnight; and when, after many weeks of such warfare, a whole row of oppositionists rose late at night amidst loud cheers, the Government thought it time to give way. The reformed House of Commons has some experience of the art of *talking-out* a disagreeable question; but we recollect no instance of its having been practised on an organised plan which could be maintained night after night with unabated vigour. On the second reading of the bill, it was thrown out by a majority of thirty-seven—an event which could hardly have happened in an assembly constituted as the House of Commons then was, had not the members been voting on a question in which the majority were personally and immediately interested. Among the few reforms of the practice of the House of Commons which have been adopted of late years, one of the most useful is the rule that no debate shall be raised on the presentation of a petition. The tactics so successfully employed in defeating the Orders in Council and the Income Tax can never be repeated; and Lord Brougham himself admits that the modern practice is on the whole preferable. The defeat of the Income Tax, to which many of the ordinary supporters of the Government contributed, was not followed up by other successes. The Opposition were neither numerous nor united.

The old Whigs were not prepared to accept Brougham as the leader of the party; and Brougham was jealous of the Radical section rising into importance under the guidance of Burdett and Hobhouse. There was, again, an extreme party out of doors, headed by Hunt and Cobbett, who denounced the moderation of Burdett and Hobhouse. The Manchester Massacre, as it was called, of 1819, and the indignation to which it gave rise throughout the country, seems to have frightened the Whigs as well as the Tories. While the latter were urging their followers to rally round the Government, the former were only intent on disavowing the Radicals. Curiously enough, we find in the Malmesbury Correspondence a letter from Lord Palmerston, then Secretary at War, written on the eve of the session, urging Lord Fitzharris to attend on the first day, 'as the Opposition will muster in strength,' and pointing out the necessity for the friends of social order to display 'a zeal and alacrity in some measure corresponding 'with the activity of those who are endeavouring to overthrow 'our institutions.' On the same day Brougham writes to Lord Grey, exulting over the failure of a Radical meeting in Finsbury, and proposing 'a clear, short, and firm declaration 'of the party, separating themselves from the Radicals, and 'avowing their loyalty.' The Opposition had, in fact, greatly lowered their tone since the days of Mr. Fox. There was no fear now that the leader of Opposition would be struck off the list of Privy Councillors, or that a great Whig peer would be dismissed from his lieutenancy for drinking the toast 'Our 'Sovereign, the majesty of the people.' Lord Grey, who had fought side by side with Mr. Fox in many a struggle against power, was now the close ally of Lord Grenville, the author of the 'Treason' and 'Sedition' Bills of 1795, of which Fox had said that 'obedience to such laws was a question, not of duty, 'but of prudence.' Brougham, however, though vehement and impulsive, was seldom or never carried into extremes. He was a Whig, not a Radical. He was eager for reform, but he was averse to organic change. Hence it was that little or no co-operation existed between the Parliamentary Opposition and the popular malcontents; insomuch that we find one of the most observant members of the Government, in the letter above quoted, complaining that 'the great difficulty which the 'Government have had to contend with since the peace, has 'been the apparent coldness of its well-wishers.'

The death of the King in 1819 revived the unhappy scandals which every friend of the monarchy wished to remain at rest. Caroline, now Queen Consort, who had resided in

various parts of the Continent for the preceding five years, signified her intention of returning to this country. As she had quitted England in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Brougham, her ever-faithful, and generally judicious counsellor, so she insisted on returning, contrary to the same advice. If the imprudence of her conduct while she was living in London and the suburbs rendered it difficult to baffle the vigilant malignity of her foes, the reckless levity, to use the mildest term, of her behaviour during the whole of her residence on the Continent, made her defence an all but hopeless task. A Commission had been sent to Milan to collect fresh evidence against her; and the Princess, beset by spies, was so much harassed, that she admitted overtures for some compromise of her rights, by which she might be freed from further annoyance. While this negotiation was in progress, the King died, and Caroline was advised by foolish meddlers that if she came to England and asserted her rights, the people would support her, and she might make her own terms. Brougham, accompanied by Lord Hutchinson, who was authorised to treat on the part of the King and the Government, went to St. Omer to meet her. The offer was 50,000*l.* a year, on condition that she did not assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title belonging to the royal family; and also upon condition of never visiting England. She was informed of the alternative of this offer by the following extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to Lord Hutchinson:— ‘It is material that her Majesty should know confidentially, that if she shall be so ill-advised as to come over to this country, there must then be an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision, I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shores.’ These harsh and humiliating terms were peremptorily rejected, and her Majesty at once set off for Calais. On her arrival in London, the Queen was reduced to the necessity of accepting the hospitality of a City alderman (who, together with the boy Austin, had accompanied her from St. Omer), no person of suitable rank offering to receive her. The alderman, however, represented the populace, who were still faithful to her cause; and Brougham mentions an amusing instance of the mode in which they testified their fidelity. ‘Sometimes,’ he says, ‘the cry was, “Three cheers for Mr. Austin, the Queen’s son”—’ thereby assuming her to have been convicted of the treason of which the inquiry in 1806 had acquitted her.’ The Government were prompt in their proceedings. The day after the Queen’s arrival, Lord Liverpool in the Lords, and Lord

Castlereagh in the Commons, brought down a message from the King, accompanied by a sealed bag, containing the evidence upon which the case against the Queen was supposed to be founded. Farther proceedings were delayed, to afford time for negotiations with a view to bring about an arrangement, which the leading men of both parties were equally anxious to effect. The House of Commons, on the motion of Wilberforce, supported by Brougham and Denman, the accredited advisers of the Queen, voted by a great majority an Address to her Majesty, expressing regret that the endeavours to bring about an amicable adjustment had hitherto failed, and entreating her Majesty to meet the advances which had been made by the Government in a conciliatory spirit. With this request the Queen refused to comply, on the ground that the proposals made by the Government were incompatible with her dignity and honour. A previous attempt to come to terms by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh on the part of the King, and by Brougham and Denman on the part of the Queen, having failed for want of powers, no further effort at accommodation was made; and the Parliamentary prosecution, to which the Government were committed in the event of no arrangement being made, was accordingly resumed.

The proceedings originated in the House of Lords. On the Report of a Secret Committee, a Bill of Pains and Penalties to deprive the Queen of her right and title, and to dissolve her marriage on the ground of adultery, was read a first time. We shall not dwell upon the several stages of this painful and odious trial, the progress and particulars of which are within the memory of many now living. It is sufficient to say that the charges against the Queen were supported by the vilest of man and womankind. The iniquity of these wretches was exposed with great ability by the cross-examination of the Queen's counsel, and by none more than that of her Attorney-General Brougham. It soon became evident that the prosecution must fail; but though it was impossible to obtain a conviction upon the testimony of such people as Majocchi and Demont, the disclosures were amply sufficient to justify the advice which the best friends of the Queen had given her, not to challenge inquiry into her conduct. The trial lasted from the 17th of August until the 2nd of November, and on the 10th the bill was read the second time by a majority of twenty-eight. But on the third reading, four days afterwards, the majority had dwindled to nine. Upon this result, Lord Liverpool immediately abandoned the measure. Lord Brougham asserts 'that greatly as the bill had lost its virtue in the King's eyes since

'the divorce clause was struck out, he continued very anxious 'for its passing,' &c.; but the divorce clause, instead of being struck out, was carried by a majority of more than two to one. The fact was, that some of the bishops and several of the lay lords, including most of the Ministers, had voted for the second reading of the bill for the purpose of affirming that the charge of adultery was proved; but in committee they voted against the divorce clause on the ground that the marriage tie ought not to be dissolved by an anomalous proceeding at variance with the ordinary process in cases of divorce. The opponents of the bill took advantage of this scruple to vote for the clause with the view of diminishing the majority on the third reading. This policy was successful, and though the King might have been disappointed, there is no doubt that his Ministers were well pleased to escape from a position full of difficulties and dangers.

This great cause was ably conducted by the advocates on both sides. The Attorney-General Gifford opened the case in support of the bill with moderation and candour; the Solicitor-General Copley summed up the evidence, which had come out of the fire of cross-examination damaged and defaced, with the skill of a consummate advocate and rhetorician. Nearly a month elapsed before the Queen's Attorney-General Brougham was heard in her defence. His speech was on the whole loose and declamatory, calculated more to make an impression on the people out of doors than on the fastidious judges to whom it was addressed. The peroration, which he prepared with great pains, has always appeared to us to be inflated and exaggerated to the verge of absurdity. Compared with either of the speeches of Erskine in the state trials, the speech for the Queen was an inferior performance. The peroration in defence of Hardy was the climax of an argument flowing on in an unbroken volume of eloquence; the peroration for the Queen was a tawdry ornament stuck on at the end of a declamation with which it had no natural connexion. Besides the celebrated peroration, Lord Brougham quotes another well-known passage of his speech in which he defines the duty of an advocate. It is in reference to the recriminatory case against the King, of which he said he was in possession, but which he did not think it necessary to open:—

'An advocate, by the sacred duty which he owes his client, knows in the discharge of that office but one person in the world—THAT CLIENT AND NONE OTHER. To save that client by all expedient means—to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and, among others, to himself—is the highest and most unquestioned of his duties; and he



must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction which he may bring upon any other. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, and casting them, if need be, to the wind, he must go on reckless of the consequences, if his fate it should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client's protection.'

We should not have thought it necessary to notice this fantastic flight of oratory if Lord Brougham had not reproduced it at the end of forty years. There have been advocates capable of inflicting pain and insult on other people for the sake, or at the instigation, of their unworthy clients; but we venture to say that such men, so far from being held up as examples for imitation, should be stigmatised as bringing a liberal and honourable profession into shame and contempt. An advocate is bound to put his client's case in the most favourable light, to press every point of evidence in his behalf, and to subject every proof and statement offered on the other side to the most searching examination, but he has no right to go beyond these limits. An advocate such as Lord Brougham describes would be a public nuisance; nor would it be possible for a *gentleman* to enter upon the profession of the law, if he was to obey such rules as are here laid down. In his own practice, we may observe, Brougham was far from fulfilling his idea of a perfect advocate. So far as we know, he never transgressed the rules which are prescribed to a man of honour and education in whatever calling or occupation he may be engaged. The speech of Denman, the Queen's Solicitor-General, was not less effective than Brougham's, and was free from the faults of taste which disfigured the oration of his chief. One of Denman's passages was peculiarly happy. It was well known that Leach, a lawyer pushing for promotion, had taken an active part against the Queen, and to him Denman alluded in the words of Emilia, indignant at the charge against Desdemona:—

'I will be hang'd, if some eternal villain,  
Some busy and insinuating rogue,  
Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office  
Has not devis'd this slander.'

'Othello' happening to be acted the next night at Drury Lane, this passage was taken up by the audience and loudly applauded.

The Queen did not long survive her questionable acquittal. Her death was hastened, if not caused, by her rash persistence, contrary to the advice of Brougham and her best friends, in courting an insult which she might have avoided without dishonour. The coronation was to take place in the summer, and the Queen, although she had already determined on finally

leaving the country, delayed her departure until after the ceremony, in which she asserted her right to take part. Her claim was rejected by the Privy Council on the ground that as she was living apart from the King, she had no right to be crowned without His Majesty's consent. Nevertheless the Queen determined to demand admittance to the Abbey on the day appointed for the ceremony,—a proceeding which could not but lead to discomfiture and mortification, if not to still more disastrous consequences. When her carriage was turned back her heart failed, and without making any further attempt, she returned to her house, from which, in a few days, she was carried to the grave.

From the beginning to the end of these deplorable events, the principals were chiefly in fault. The responsible advisers of the King on the one side, and of the Queen on the other, were entirely agreed in recommending that compromise which prudence dictated as the proper course to take under all the circumstances. Had George IV. listened to the advice of Lord Liverpool, Lord Eldon, and the Duke of Wellington, he would have made such reasonable concessions to his consort as would have prevented her return to England. But when her name was struck out of the Liturgy, and instructions were given to the embassies that she was not to be recognised at foreign courts, it was impossible for her to submit to such humiliation without tacitly admitting her guilt. But the King's hatred for the woman he had wronged was flattered by meaner advisers to whom he lent a more favourable ear; and, reckless of consequences, he resolved to gratify his malice. His Ministers, indeed, deserve severe censure for consenting at last, however reluctantly, to be the instruments of his will. Had they been firm, the King must have given way. His temper was yielding, his courage was not high; but had he possessed the stubborn will and dauntless spirit of his father, he could not have prevailed against the determined resistance of his Cabinet. He could not have dismissed them because no successors could have been found to undertake the Government on condition of prosecuting an unfortunate woman whose errors were regarded with more compassion than resentment by humane and reasonable people. It was quite unnecessary for Brougham to pledge the Opposition, as he says he did, 'to refuse taking the Government on their predecessors being dismissed for giving up the bill.' The probable, if not the only possible, successor to Lord Liverpool would have been Lord Grey; and it was needless to guarantee that Lord Grey would not become a tool of George IV. We cannot but think therefore

that the Ministers, whom we readily acquit of all base complicity in the objects of their royal master, and who must have been fully sensible of the political dangers to which these objects tended, deserted their duty when they complied with the King's wishes. On the other hand, the conduct of Caroline from the first day she landed in England was an unbroken series of indiscretions; the failure of the Delicate Investigation, and the exposure of the Douglas conspiracy against her fame, afforded her an opportunity of retrieving her position; and had she stayed in the country, she might, in the absence of any flagrant scandal, have successfully vindicated her rights. But the moment she left England her best friends foresaw that the coarseness of her character and the inveterate levity of her habits would involve her in difficulties fatal to her dignity. She was wrong in going away; she was wrong in coming back; and both these capital errors were committed against the earnest remonstrances of her chief advisers. It may be said that Brougham and Whitbread might have coerced her by threatening to give up her cause; but had they done so, it is too probable that she would at once have abandoned herself altogether to the counsels of the ignorant and vulgar parasites who eventually brought her to ruin. There were many men of character and authority who supported the cause of the Queen as the cause of a wronged and persecuted woman; there were many who took the part of the King against his consort; but there was probably no man of any standing or reputation, who desired to have the quarrel between the royal pair brought to a public issue. Mr. Canning in writing to Mr. Huskisson on the subject describes the result of the course which the Ministers had taken as 'a government brought into contempt and detestation; a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion as no other kingdom or government ever recovered from without a revolution.\*' Many men feared a civil war as a result of this commotion; and every friend of the monarchy felt that whatever might be the issue of the quarrel, it could hardly fail to shake the throne. But the practical and unimaginative character of the English people, though sometimes highly excited, is not often inflamed to a dangerous degree. They felt that the cause of Queen Caroline was hardly worth a revolution, and the monarchy from the time of Charles II. to that of George IV. had passed through many scandals without permanent injury. Soon after her

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\* Stapleton's 'Life of Canning,' p. 299.

death, the Queen was forgotten, and the King, notwithstanding Lord Brougham's assertion to the contrary, was not unpopular.

In 1822 Lord Londonderry died by his own hand. Like Romilly and Whitbread, his brain had given way under the pressure of toil and public care. He was the last of the high prerogative Ministers, who maintained the authority of the Crown against popular aggression. His courage and high bearing enabled him to sustain a load of obloquy, and to lead the House of Commons with success, although singularly deficient in some of the qualities which are considered requisite for the guidance and control of a popular assembly. His confused speech and disjointed phrases caused endless merriment to the wits and orators of the House; but Castlereagh was one of those men to whom ridicule cannot attach. His reputation for political ability had been established at an early age by his negotiation of the legislative Union between England and Ireland, and was confirmed by his diplomacy at the great Congress of Vienna. The death of Lord Londonderry led to important changes in administration. Canning, baffled in contesting, and unable to brook the ascendancy of his rival, had accepted the government of India, and was on the point of embarking, when the King was thus suddenly deprived of his leading and favourite Minister. With the exception, perhaps, of Lord Grey, there was no statesman whom the King so thoroughly detested as Canning. One of the most honourable passages in a public life not altogether immaculate, was the constancy with which Canning refused to be instrumental to the gratification of the King's rancour against his wife; and this was an offence for which no amount of public service could atone. But the choice was now submitted to his Majesty whether he would retain Canning with an advanced position in his counsels, or whether he would risk the breaking up of the Government, and the consequent necessity of taking Lord Grey for his Minister. The Whigs had already shaped their policy, and parcelled out the offices in the new Administration, when the King returned from Ireland, and it was announced that Mr. Canning was to be Lord Londonderry's successor as Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons.

The promotion of Canning to what, under our parliamentary system, is virtually the first place in the Administration, was not more acceptable to the old Church and State Tories represented by the head of the Government, and more particularly by the Chancellor, than to the King himself; it was only preferable to going out of office, and capitulating to

the Opposition. It soon became evident after Lord Londonderry's death, that Canning did not mean to go to India, and the Ministry had no choice between an open breach with their dangerous colleague, and yielding him the first place. The leading Whigs were not much disappointed at the postponement of their accession to office; for they could not fail to see that with Canning responsible for the principal measures of administration, a more liberal policy would prepare the way for their return to power. It was not to be believed that the most brilliant and aspiring of statesmen, the pupil and friend of Pitt, who had openly derided the pretensions of the Addingtons and Percevals, would now, in the maturity of his powers, consent to be the tool of Liverpool and Eldon. He was pledged beyond redemption on the great question of Catholic Emancipation. He had shown a manifest leaning, if he was not committed, to the new school of commercial policy, of which his friend and colleague, Huskisson, was the chief official exponent. His views on foreign policy were not only opposed to the Holy Alliance, but strongly pronounced in favour of the liberties of Europe. The only capital question, indeed, which separated him from the Whigs was the question of Parliamentary Reform, upon which he professed to be immovable. Having departed so far, however, from Tory principles, his prejudices in favour of the existing system of representation would hardly have presented an insuperable obstacle to his acting with the Opposition either in or out of power. The views of the Whigs on Parliamentary Reform, half a century ago, were not extreme. They were far behind the propositions of the Duke of Richmond in 1780, now taken up by the Radical section of which Sir Francis Burdett was the leader—nor were they much, if at all, in advance of Mr. Pitt's original scheme. One of two results, therefore, seemed inevitable from Mr. Canning's advancement to the front of the Administration. Either he would bring the policy of the Government up to the Whig standard, or his ejection from office would throw him into the arms of the Opposition. Brougham, differing from Lord Grey, was of opinion that Canning would soon fall a victim to the 'subtleties and wiles of the Chancellor' and his party, and that he would fail as a leader of the House of Commons. The King, no doubt, hated his inevitable Minister; but the day was gone by when the Minister depended for his tenure of office on the support of the Sovereign. The 'King's friends,' as the secret agents of George III. were called, no longer existed. The principal Ministers also hated their brilliant colleague; but they feared him also, and their love for

office was greater than their hatred or fear of any man. Above all, the House of Commons was no longer the pliant tool of prerogative, which it had proved under the strong will and personal superintendence of George III. Though still unreformed, public opinion had penetrated its recesses, and the most purblind Tory could hardly shut his eyes upon the dawning light of a new generation. Canning, therefore, continued to guide the policy of the State, until the death of Lord Liverpool, five years afterwards, placed him at the head of affairs, with the consent and support of the Liberal party. His administration was indeed prematurely cut short by death; but after a short interval, it led to the result which had been foreseen—the triumphant return of the Whigs to power. Meanwhile, the Government, unable to stop the onward progress of events, did what they could to thwart the leaders of the movement. The Chancellor Eldon was prominent in this petty warfare. Brougham himself, since he had lost the rank of Attorney-General to the Queen, which entitled him to pre-audience after the law-officers of the Crown, had been forced to resume the stuff gown of an outer barrister. Although he had been only twelve years at the bar, his practice had long been considerable, and he was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Northern Circuit. His professional income had reached 7,000*l.* a-year. When a comparatively young man is selected by his clients for the principal conduct of their case, every man of longer standing is disqualified by the etiquette of the profession from holding the second brief. The only mode of remedying this inconvenience is by conferring a silk gown, a patent of precedency, or a sergent's coif, on the counsel who is employed in leading business. The latter can generally be obtained by payment of a large fine; but the two first-named honours are in the gift of the Chancellor alone. It was not in those days usual to lavish silk gowns with the indiscriminate profusion of modern times. Brougham had on a former occasion made application for a silk gown in the usual manner, and had been refused; and on the immediate prospect of the Northern Circuit being left with only one King's Counsel, he renewed his application. To this letter, which gave sufficient reasons for the claim, and was respectfully worded, no reply was vouchsafed. The blow intended for Brougham glanced off upon his unoffending brethren, probably sound Tories (for the great profession has ever had a Conservative leaning), who were incapacitated from holding briefs with him by the misfortune of being his seniors. When it was found that Brougham could not be forced out of the lead by

refusing him precedence, a clumsy attempt was made to repair the error by offering silk gowns to about eighteen barristers who were of longer standing than Brougham. As few of these gentlemen ever held a brief, the honour was declined by all but two; and with these Brougham also declined to be associated.

With the exception of a passing conflict, Brougham and Canning were on good terms since the latter became leader of the House of Commons. They were often agreed upon measures, though Brougham had attacked his foreign policy in 1823 with great acerbity; but at bottom there was no love lost between them. Lord Brougham used always in after life to speak of Canning with unusual severity. When Canning became Prime Minister, on the death of Lord Liverpool in 1827, Brougham proposed that a Coalition Ministry should be formed, and after some negotiations, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Mr. Tierney, and some other members of the Whig party, took office. Brougham himself took his seat at the corner of the third bench on the Ministerial side, the seat which was occupied by Pitt during the Addington Administration, and which has been sometimes since filled by an unattached protector of the Ministry. The main body of the Whigs crossed the floor of the House; and even Burdett, as Cobbett bitterly remarked, 'stuck his knees into Canning's back.' Two great Whig lords, however, refused to acknowledge the new chief. The Duke of Bedford went so far as to give his proxy to the Duke of Wellington. Lord Tavistock and Lord Althorp held aloof; but the most important defection from this movement was that of Lord Grey himself. According to Brougham, the great Whig chief was at first disposed to approve of the Coalition; but the course which he took immediately after the formation of the new Government bore no mark of doubt, or hesitation. The truth, which has recently come out, is that he was excluded from the combination by an express stipulation of the King. In his place in the House of Lords he stood up and reviewed the new Minister's character and career with an unrelenting severity, and a lofty scorn which showed a deeply meditated hostility. The speech was a performance of the highest finish, and so exasperated Canning that he had serious thoughts of taking a peerage for the purpose of answering it. But though dissuaded from a step so rash, Canning was struck to the heart by this attack, and tormented by the incessant irritation of minor assailants, his health rapidly failed, and he died within six months after he had attained the highest object of his ambition. The wretched attempt of Lord Goderich to

hold together the heterogeneous elements which were for a moment kept in harmony by the genius and fame of Canning, deserves only a passing notice. The patchwork fell to pieces from its own weakness and incoherence before the meeting of Parliament; and the attempt upon that occasion to rally the Tory party under the Duke of Wellington, who had declared a few months before that 'he should have been worse than mad if he had thought of such a thing,' might have been a courageous, but was now a hopeless enterprise. Nevertheless, the Duke's Administration, which was founded on the model of Perceval's, twenty years before, namely, to resist Liberal principles, and notably the Catholic claims, remained long enough in office to carry a complete measure of Catholic Emancipation, and might have lingered a few years longer on a policy of concession, had not the French Revolution in 1830 precipitated the crisis to which public affairs were rapidly approaching.

George IV. died a few weeks before the birth of the new era; and the general election took place amidst the excitement caused by the sudden and signal downfall of the elder Bourbons in France. Brougham was invited to stand for Yorkshire, the largest, and by far the most important constituency in the United Kingdom. The county was not at that time divided into several electoral districts, but was one great constituency comprising an unequalled amount of wealth, industry, and public spirit. So far back as 1779, the gentry, freeholders, and manufacturers of Yorkshire, at a meeting which was described as the most numerous and respectable ever assembled, gave the lead to the whole country in declaring for economical and Parliamentary Reform. For the last fifty years, the electors of the great county had, for the most part, maintained Liberal principles; and it is hardly too much to say that the abolition of the Slave Trade was mainly effected by the support which Wilberforce received from his constituents. Yorkshire was so full of wealthy landholders and capitalists, that a stranger seldom found an opening even in her minor constituencies; none but the representatives of the most ancient and wealthy families ventured to contest the county. It was impossible, therefore, that a higher compliment could be made to a public man, or that a more emphatic expression of public opinion could be uttered, than were conveyed in the proposal that Brougham should be elected free of expense by the first constituency in the kingdom. The few murmurs of local opposition were overborne by the general acclamation, and after a colourable contest which was only



created by the intrusion of a candidate of no weight, Brougham was returned with Lord Morpeth, Mr. Duncombe, and Mr. Bethell, the former members. Brougham himself has recorded his feelings on this memorable occasion :—

‘I have said before that the Repeal of the Orders in Council was my greatest achievement. I say now that my return for the county of York was my greatest victory, my most unsullied success. I may say, without hyperbole, that when as knight of the shire I was begirt with the sword, it was the proudest moment of my life. My return to Parliament by the greatest and most wealthy constituency in England was the highest compliment ever paid to a public man.’ (Vol. iii. p. 42.)

The example of Yorkshire was generally followed throughout the country; and it soon became apparent that a majority of the new House of Commons were pledged to the reform of Parliament and every department in the State.

Immediately after the election, Brougham announced himself as the leader of the Liberal party, for his declared intention of bringing forward the question of Parliamentary Reform was tantamount to assuming that position. Lord Althorp was in fact the chosen leader of the party, having been elected to the post the year previous. Before the meeting of Parliament, Brougham had invited the principal members of the party to meet him at Lord Althorp’s chambers in the Albany for the purpose of considering the plan for the reform of the representation which he proposed to introduce. It was much more moderate, with one exception, than the bill afterwards introduced by Lord John Russell as the organ of the Government. Brougham’s plan involved the entire disfranchisement of only five or six close boroughs; the rest were only to be deprived of one member. The large towns were to return representatives. The county franchise was to be extended to copyholders and leaseholders; out-voters were to be excluded. The borough franchise was to be household suffrage; and it was on this point chiefly that the plan was in advance of the bill. The polling was to last only one day, and the duration of Parliaments was limited to three years.

On the first day of the session, Brougham gave notice of his motion on Parliamentary Reform; and the Duke of Wellington in the Upper House, speaking on the Address, declared with an elaboration foreign to his usual blunt, military style, his entire satisfaction with the existing system of the representation, and his conviction that it possessed the full and entire confidence of the country. The Duke concluded with these words: ‘I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature (reform), but I will at once de-

‘clare that as far as I am concerned, so long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.’ Within a fortnight after this speech, the Ministry were out of office, and there had arisen throughout the country a peremptory demand for Reform such as the Whigs themselves neither expected nor desired. Brougham’s motion had been fixed for the 16th of November, but the Government, willing to avoid it, took advantage of a defeat they had sustained the day previously on a question of minor importance to resign. Brougham accordingly postponed his motion for two days. Meanwhile Lord Grey had received the King’s commands to form a Government; but on the 18th, Brougham, to the surprise of all men, declared ‘that as he had no concern whatever in the political arrangements which were supposed to be going on, and intended to have no concern with them, he should not delay his motion beyond a few days, but bring it forward, of whatever materials the Ministry might be composed.’ It was plain from this language that a serious difficulty had occurred in the formation of the new arrangements. Forty-eight hours had elapsed since Lord Grey had been sent for, and yet Brougham had received no communication. The Attorney-Generalship had been named, but this was at once scouted. Brougham’s position was in fact one not easily adjusted. He did not wish to leave the House of Commons, nor to take office out of his profession. He asked to be appointed Master of the Rolls, which would have enabled him to retain his seat in the House of Commons; but this was an office unconnected with administration; and he was told that such an arrangement was impossible. Lord Althorp declared that to assume the leadership of the House of Commons, with Brougham in it and independent of office, would be to him an impossible task. He was then offered the Great Seal, with the assurance that without his consent Lord Grey could not form an Administration. To this argument he yielded, but we think there can be little doubt that he left the House of Commons with reluctance. ‘I gave up,’ he says, ‘the finest position in the world for an ambitious man like me—a man who loved real power, cared little for any labour however hard, and less for any rank however high.’ Lord Brougham quotes a letter which he wrote to the Duke of Bedford nearly thirty years afterwards, in which he refers to the sacrifices he made in accepting the Great Seal. It is difficult, however, to appreciate the sacrifice upon which he so frequently insists. He would not accept political or pro-

fessional office connected with the Ministry in the House of Commons; yet he wished to remain a party leader unattached, with his party in power. Such a position was never held by any man, and is wholly incompatible with Parliamentary Government. Neither can we well understand the pecuniary sacrifice upon which Lord Brougham lays equal stress. Without a family to provide for, he exchanged a professional income of some 7,000*l.* a year for an official salary double that amount and a retiring pension of 4,000*l.*, afterwards raised to 5,000*l.* Some of his predecessors and successors have readily accepted the Great Seal, or a Chief Justiceship in the prime of life, abandoning a practice which yielded twice or even thrice the amount of Brougham's professional gains.

Brougham's removal from the House of Commons at this particular juncture, whatever it might have been to himself, was not an irreparable loss to the party. The undisputed lead thus remained with Lord Althorp, who possessed in an eminent degree judgment, tact, and temper, qualifications of far higher value than eloquence in steering the great measure of Reform through the storm and passion which it encountered. The introduction of the bill was, however, entrusted to Lord John Russell, who, though not a member of the Cabinet, was from his rising talents, historic name, and prominent connexion with the recent history of Reform, thought worthy of expounding the new Parliamentary Constitution. The preparation of the bill had been referred to a Committee of the Government, consisting of Lord Durham, Lord Duncannon, Sir James Graham, and Lord John Russell. It differed materially from the draft which Brougham had submitted to a cold and doubting audience at the Albany. A 10*l.* occupation franchise was substituted for household suffrage; but an important addition was made to the urban element by erecting into parliamentary boroughs the principal metropolitan parishes. The main feature of the bill, however, was the utter extinction of nomination boroughs. The practical convenience of an access to the House of Commons free from the tumult and uncertainty of the poll was so well established, that few men of experience in public life desired to see this safeguard against popular caprice altogether removed. Almost every statesman of repute had obtained his introduction to Parliament through this channel. Fox, when kept out of Westminster, had fallen back upon Kirkwall. Burke, driven from Bristol, would have been lost to Parliament but for a nomination seat. Not to multiply instances, Peel, only the year before, would have been incapacitated from carrying the

Emancipation Bill, had there not been a Westbury to receive him when he was ejected by the University. Brougham himself, defeated at Bristol and Westmoreland, had sat for close boroughs all his parliamentary life, and had secured his seat for Knaresborough, before he hazarded the poll in Yorkshire. But such considerations as these could have no place in a comprehensive and consistent plan for the representation of the people. There could be no exception to the principle of free election. And if exceptions could be admitted, how were the exceptions to be adjusted? Close boroughs were a valuable property, saleable in the market like houses and lands. On the eve of the Reform Bill, one of these boroughs which had no other value than the elective franchise, was sold for 80,000*l*. Was one man's property to be confiscated, and another's preserved? Unless Mr. Pitt's original proposal of compensation was resorted to, there was no possibility of dealing with the close boroughs except as contraband.

It is not often that a popular measure proposed by the Government exceeds the expectations, and fulfils the demands of its most eager partisans. Yet such was the case with the Reform Bill. Setting aside the old formula of 'universal suffrage, vote by ballot and annual parliaments,' which never had any reality, the bill contained every provision which (at that time, at least) was considered necessary to secure full, fair, and free representation; and certainly no ministerial measure had ever received such a general and hearty welcome. In the House of Commons the feeling was very different. The Tories met the bill as a death-blow aimed at them; and those who looked beyond mere party and official views, regarded it as an alarming stride towards democracy. Not a few of the Whig landowners were inclined to the same opinion; and the borough proprietors, with their numerous connexions, were, for the most part, averse to a measure which at once deprived them of property and power. The second reading was carried by a bare majority; and it became evident that the bill could not pass through committee. A few days brought the question to a crisis. On the question that the Speaker leave the chair, General Gascoigne raised a motion against the diminution of the numbers of the House which formed part of the bill. This was carried by a majority of eight; and two nights after the Government were defeated by a majority of twenty-two. It remained only that they should resign, or appeal to the country. The King, though willing to give the Reform Bill fair play, was not prepared to dissolve Parliament a few months after a general election. For some days the

fate of Reform hung in the balance. An Address to the Crown from both Houses against dissolution would have been carried, had not the energy and promptitude of the Government defeated the intention. Notice of the Address had been given in the Lords, and on the night before, the Opposition in the House of Commons, for the purpose of delaying the intended dissolution, carried the adjournment against the motion of the Government for reporting the Ordnance Estimates. For the purpose of obtaining the King's consent to an immediate dissolution, the proceedings in the Commons was represented to him as a refusal of the supplies; and the intended Address of the Lords as an interference with his prerogative. It was of the utmost importance to prevent the Lords from voting an Address; and therefore the King must hurry down in person to dissolve Parliament. A Cabinet was held at half-past eleven, and an hour before the House of Lords was to meet, the Ministers went to the King, and the Chancellor urged upon him that the Lords wanted to interfere with his prerogative. The King objected that nothing was ready. Who was to carry the sword of state and the cap of maintenance? He was answered that the Prime Minister would carry the one, and somebody else the other. But the troops had not been ordered. The Lord Chancellor 'hoped his Majesty would excuse the great liberty he had taken, but 'being quite certain that his Majesty would graciously accede 'to their request, he had sent to the Horse Guards for an 'escort to be ready at half-past one.' After this, the King was not surprised to hear that the Lord Steward and the Master of the Horse had been summoned; and possessed with the idea that the House was on the point of preventing the exercise of his prerogative, his Majesty was as eager to go down to Westminster as his Chancellor was to hurry him thither. It was said at the time, that when the Master of the Horse objected that the state carriages could not be got ready in time, the King said he would go in a hackney coach. The scene ended by the Chancellor submitting the draft of the Speech for his Majesty's approval. The Lords having by this time been informed of what was going to happen, endeavoured to get the Address voted before the King could arrive. Lord Wharncliffe, the mover, was actually reading the words of the motion, when Brougham, who had gone out to receive the King, being told what was going on, rushed back to the House, and began to speak against time. He went on amidst the rage and impatience of the House, until the guns announced his Majesty's approach. The closing scene is thus described by Lord Brougham:—

‘Then came great interruption and cries of order, which continued until a messenger summoned me, when I said I had the King’s commands to attend him in the Painted Chamber. Shaftesbury again took the woolsack, and they continued debating until the procession entered. When the door was thrown open, the King asked me, “What noise that was?” and I answered, “If it please your Majesty, it is the Lords debating.” He asked if we should stop, but was told that all would be silent the moment he entered. The Commons were summoned in the usual way; and having received the Speech, he read it with a clear and firm voice. I doubt if any part of it was listened to beyond the first sentence, prefixed to the draft, and which I alone had any hand in writing; “I am come to meet you for the purpose of pro-roguing this Parliament, with a view to its *immediate* dissolution.” He dwelt upon immediate. While we were waiting for the rest of the Commons, beside the Speaker and the few who accompanied him, the King asked me many questions, as to who such and such peers were, and what were the names of the Commoners who stood behind the bar. I remember Cobbett was one, whom he had never seen before.’

The result of the general election amply justified the boldness and decision of the Government. Never had an Opposition been so completely routed since the days of the Coalition. Reformers were at the head of the poll in almost every large constituency, and Parliament was assembled at the earliest possible period after the return of the writs. The Reform Bill was immediately introduced, and on the 4th of July it was read a second time in the Commons by a majority of 136. Nevertheless it was fiercely contested in committee, and was not carried up to the Lords until the 22nd of September. The peers had not yet learned the duty which they have long since wisely recognised, of yielding to the sense of the nation on any capital measure of policy. It was impossible that public opinion could be more unequivocally expressed than it was on this occasion. The country was not only for Reform; it was for ‘the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill;’ nor was there the slightest pretence for suggesting that the excitement would subside, and that the people would quietly submit to their decision being overruled by the Hereditary Chamber. Nevertheless the Lords suffered themselves to be deluded with the belief or hope of a reaction. It was known that the King wavered, and had in vain urged his Ministers to modify the measure, while the attempts of the press and public meetings to coerce the Lords were calculated rather to anger than intimidate a high-spirited assembly. The bill was accordingly thrown out on the second reading by a majority of forty-one. It was now the second week of October, and

at the Cabinet Council which followed the rejection of the bill, the Chancellor insisted, in opposition to Lord Grey, that Parliament should re-assemble before Christmas, for the purpose of expediting the passage of Parliamentary Reform, and putting an end to the commotion which agitated the country. Lord Althorp supported this view, which was confirmed by a majority of the Cabinet. There can be little doubt that prompt action was the wisest policy under the circumstances. Delay, far from abating the public excitement, would have inflamed it; and any appearance of wavering or lukewarmness on the part of the Government would have been attended with positive danger. After a short prorogation, the session opened on the 6th of December; and the Reform Bill, not materially altered, was brought forward for the third time within ten months. It passed the Commons on the 23rd of March, 1832, by a majority of 116. While the bill was in the Commons, the expediency of securing the vote of the House of Lords by the creation of new peers was warmly discussed by Ministers. The Chancellor, with his usual energy, urged the immediate addition of twelve or fifteen peers by new creations, and calling up elder sons, with the view to obviate the necessity of such an extensive exercise of the prerogative as would destroy the independence of the Upper House. Lord Grey listened to these counsels with great reluctance. Though a warm advocate of the rights of the people, he was still firmly attached to his Order, and he was averse to any measure which might disturb the balance of the Constitution. Lord Lansdowne, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Melbourne were also strongly opposed to the creation of peers. The King was also against it. The Prime Minister, though prepared to adopt this extreme measure rather than give up the bill, was decided not to resort to it until its necessity was demonstrated. He was justified by the change which had taken place in the Lords. They showed a disposition to give way. The second reading of the bill, instead of being negatived as on the former occasion by a majority of forty-one, was carried by a majority of nine. Many, however, of the Opposition declared that they assented to the second reading with the intention of altering the bill in committee; and they did not leave the Government and the country long in doubt as to the policy they meant to pursue. The first and second clauses of the bill contained its main principle—the extinction of the rotten boroughs. But instead of proceeding with the bill in this order, Lord Lyndhurst on behalf

of the Opposition proposed that the enfranchising clauses should be first considered; and this motion was carried by a majority of thirty-five, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor that the motion was fatal to the bill. The next day the two Ministers waited on the King. It was arranged that Brougham should be spokesman:—

‘As soon as Grey had stated that we came humbly to advise his Majesty that he should accede to our prayer of having the means of carrying the bill, the King said, “What means?” I said, “Sir, the “only means, an addition to the House of Lords.” He said, “That is “a very serious matter;” and we both admitted that it was, and that unless quite convinced of the necessity, we never should think of recommending it. He then asked, “What number would be required?” and I said, “Sixty, or perhaps even eighty, for it must be done effectually, if at all.” He said, “That was a very large number indeed; “was ever such a thing done before?” I said, “Never to that extent, “or near it; Pitt had at different times made creations and promotion “of much above one hundred, and Lord Oxford in Queen Anne’s “time had created twelve in order to pass one bill.” But I admitted these cases did not afford a precedent which went so far as this proposed creation. He said, “Certainly, nothing like it.” We continued to dwell on the necessity of the case, and our great reluctance to make such a request, and tender such advice to his Majesty. He said he must take time to consider well what we had laid before him; and when we saw Sir Herbert Taylor in the anteroom, while waiting for the carriage, and had some conversation with him, he said we were sure to have the King’s answer to-morrow. Grey and I then set out, and on our way home had a wretched dinner at Hounslow, where he ate mutton chops, and I insisted upon a broiled kidney being added to the poor repast. He laughed at me for being so easy and indifferent, and said, “he cared not for kidneys.” Nevertheless, he ate them when they came. And we were all in the print shops in a few days.’ (*Autobiography*, vol. iii. p. 192.)

Next day the King sent an answer refusing to consent to a large addition to the peerage and accepting the resignation of Ministers. The Commons immediately voted an Address praying the King to appoint no Ministers hostile to Reform; and the Opposition, who had been so resolute in taking a course which they knew must end in this way, were not prepared, as they ought to have been, in such a critical state of affairs, with either a policy or a Government. Lord Ellenborough, indeed, had announced the modifications of the bill to which he and his friends would agree; but the Duke of Wellington was sent for, and not Lord Ellenborough; and the Duke, after consulting the leaders of his party, found himself unable to form an Administration. Lord Grey, there-



upon, resumed office, having previously obtained his Majesty's reluctant consent to create a certain number of peers, if such a measure should prove indispensable. The Chancellor required that this consent should be put in *writing*; and the King having agreed to this also, it was forthwith intimated to the Opposition lords, through Sir Herbert Taylor, that the Government were at length armed with ample powers to carry the bill. The result was, to the relief of all parties except the extreme democratic party outside, that the necessity for swamping the House of Lords was removed by the secession of a sufficient number of peers to leave a majority for the Government. Much complaint was made of the unconstitutional proceeding by which the Peers were induced or coerced to desert their duty. It is positively asserted by Lord Brougham that though he and Lord Grey adopted the responsibility of Sir H. Taylor's communication, they had not authorised and were not privy to it. But in truth there was no constitutional question involved in the proceeding. George III. overstepped the limits of a constitutional sovereign when he authorised Lord Temple to say that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend but would be considered by him as an enemy. If he disapproved of the measures recommended to Parliament by his Ministers, he might have dismissed them, and appealed to the country; but he had no right to cabal against them, and to use his influence for the defeat of their policy while he retained them in his service. William IV. did none of these things. Assuming that he caused it to be made known to the Opposition that he was prepared to exercise his prerogative for the purpose of bringing the two Houses of Parliament into harmony, his object in doing so was to avoid the necessity of resorting to a measure which he personally disliked, but to which he had assented on the advice of his responsible Ministers. The wholesale creation of faggot peers would have been a measure only less calamitous than the loss or mutilation of the Reform Bill. It would have destroyed the integrity and independence of one branch of the Legislature. The King was, therefore, well advised in using his influence to avert such a dire necessity; and the Lords were well advised in yielding a position which they could not maintain without shaking the State to its foundations. None were more rejoiced than the constitutional reformers themselves that a way had been found for escape from a grave dilemma; and that the reform of the House of Commons could be effected without involving danger or destruction to the House of Lords. The Duke of Well-

ton never rendered a greater service to his country than he did on this occasion. Two years before he had saved Ireland from a civil war; and his authority was again interposed to avert impending revolution.

Reviewing in after years this momentous transaction in which he bore so prominent a part, Lord Brougham is doubtful whether, if it had come to the point, he should have adopted the perilous measure which his energy had extorted from the King; and he adds that Lord Grey distinctly stated he never could have consented to take the step. If it is indeed true that the Reform leaders would have faltered at the last moment, then the Duke of Wellington saved the country from a greater peril even than we had believed. So long as the Opposition were firm, the Government had no other means of forcing the bill through Parliament than by straining the prerogative; if they had hesitated to do so when the time came, they would have been swept away in a moment; and it would have been well if the worst consequence had been the hasty passing of the bill under ignominious duress. We do not believe, however, that these eminent men were capable of the conduct which they attribute to themselves. Even had they been wanting in civil courage, they dared not trifle in such a manner with the King and country. The malignant research of Swift which collected various examples of mean and contemptible passages in the lives of historical personages found nothing more pitiful than the conduct of Lord Grey and Lord Brougham would have displayed had they shrunk from Reform at the crisis of its fortunes. The view of his own character and that of his high-minded colleague, which Lord Brougham thus presents to us, is one which their worst enemies have never ventured to exhibit, even in caricature, and it is directly opposed to the contemporary evidence contained in the published correspondence of Lord Grey with the King.

After the Reform question had been settled, and just as the writs for the new Parliament were about to issue, the Government was nearly broken up by an Irish difficulty; and this crisis had been hardly got over, when the Ministry came to a rupture on a question of foreign policy. Lord Grey, the Chancellor, and Lord Palmerston were for active intervention in the affairs of Portugal; but being overruled by the majority of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, who had long been anxious to retire, resolved to avail himself of this opportunity, and actually went to Brighton to tender his resignation to the King, when an earnest remonstrance in

writing, signed by all his colleagues, induced, or rather compelled him to relent. But the reconciliation was only temporary. Other causes of dissension arose, and within three months four members of the Cabinet actually resigned. These were the Duke of Richmond, Lord Ripon, Mr. Stanley, and Sir James Graham. Early in the session of 1834, Mr. Ward, a member of the Liberal party, moved a resolution, that the surplus revenues of the Church of Ireland should be applied to secular purposes. A provision to this effect had formed part of the Irish Church Bill of the last session, but had been struck out for the sake of peace. The principle which it implied being now embodied in a substantive proposition, the Government had to determine how it should be met. Many discussions took place, and it was finally agreed by the majority of the Cabinet that the whole question should be referred to a Commission. To this compromise the minority, who desired to maintain the temporalities of the Church in their integrity, could not agree. The Duke of Richmond was a Tory who had joined the Administration of Lord Grey from disgust at the conduct of the leaders of his party on the Catholic Question; and Lord Ripon had not advanced his reputation by his abortive attempt to supply the place of Canning. A Government must have been weak indeed which could have suffered materially by the loss of these respectable noblemen. But Stanley and Graham were men of a different stamp. They had been earnest and vigorous supporters of the Reform Bill: they were first-rate debaters; and Sir James Graham had been eminently successful in administration. If Mr. Stanley had failed in this respect, the office in which he had been principally employed—that of Irish Secretary—was more political than administrative. Lord Grey, weary of power, and sinking under the weight of years, would have retired with the seceders; but the energy of the Chancellor still kept him to his post, and the vacant offices were filled up. In a few weeks, however, there arose a new and still more formidable difficulty which was more than sufficient to give a final blow to the exhausted Administration.

Our limits forbid us to enter in this place upon a discussion of the account Lord Brougham has given \* of this transaction, which embraced the proposed surrender of certain clauses in the Irish Coercion Act, the difference in the Cabinet on that question, the consequent resignation of Mr. Littleton and Lord Althorp, and finally that of Lord Grey himself, which broke

\* Vol. iii. p. 391.

up the Government. It is the less necessary to pursue this subject here, as we have already placed our readers in possession of the main facts of the case in our answer to a letter of the present Earl Grey, which is printed in vol. cxxxiv. p. 298 of this Journal; and we have reason to know that a full and complete explanation of the whole matter is now on the eve of publication. Lord Hatherton's Memoir, with the whole of the correspondence, is now in the press, and will appear almost as soon as these pages. Suffice it then here to say that Lord Brougham's posthumous account of this occurrence is in almost every detail erroneous. The suggestion for the withdrawal of the meetings clauses from the Coercion Act, which Lord Grey refused to surrender, was made by Lord Brougham *himself*. The insinuation that Mr. Edward Ellice made the proposal, and was supposed to be conspiring against Lord Grey, is a preposterous delusion. And the part really taken by Lord Brougham in the matter, as will be seen from his own letters, was in reality the reverse of that which he assumes in this 'Autobiography.' We refer our readers, who may be interested in this curious incident, to Lord Hatherton's Memoir. The Chancellor retained the Great Seal after Lord Grey's retirement; but on the dismissal of Lord Melbourne's Government in 1834, his short but eventful career of office was brought to a final close. His autobiography ends at the same period, though he survived for five and thirty years.

Although Lord Brougham may have been surpassed by his contemporaries in every department of intellect in which he was distinguished, none of them could compare with him in variety of talent. If he could not write like Macaulay, nor declaim like Canning, nor argue like Romilly, nor forge a chain of reasoning like Sir William Grant, nor persuade juries like Scarlett, his achievements either as an author, an orator, or an advocate were sufficient to establish a high and enduring reputation. In natural and moral philosophy, his research had entitled him to rank high among men of science, if not among original thinkers. For his acquaintance with almost every branch of literature and politics, we may refer to the pages of this Journal for more than forty years. He was, indeed, reputed to have universal knowledge: the truth was, he had an extraordinary, though not an accurate memory. Men of parts do not commonly read more than men of ordinary culture; it is the faculty of memory which makes the difference. But whatever may have been Brougham's claims to distinction in other respects, his superiority as a man of action is incontestable. He brought questions affecting the

welfare of his country and mankind to a practical issue. He dealt the final blow to the Slave Trade. He asserted the rights of commerce by procuring the abolition of the Orders in Council. He wrested the cause of Education from the feeble hands of theorists and sentimentalists, and made it a living principle. He obtained by his prompt decision and irresistible energy a full measure of Parliamentary Reform, when but for him, a less complete measure might have been offered. He attacked with gigantic power the whole fabric of the Law, sweeping away its cumbrous and vexatious forms, simplifying, expediting, and cheapening the administration of justice. Besides these specific services, he was incessantly active, during the best part of his life, both in and out of Parliament, and in various forms and ways, in attacking prejudice and wrong, and in aiding the course of salutary legislation.

Lord Brougham received most of the distinctions which are conferred upon men of the highest eminence. Though he had not been educated at either of the great English Universities, both Oxford and Cambridge gave him honorary degrees a few years before his death. He had previously been elected Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. He was Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1825, and he was President of University College, London, which owed its existence mainly to him. Lastly, and above all, he was thought worthy to be a member of the Institute of France, and his *éloge* has been pronounced by M. Mignet in a composition worthy of the subject and the orator. 'Le plus ancien comme le plus illustre associé étranger de l'Académie,' are the terms in which our great countryman is described by one who has himself long been ranked among the illustrious men of his country and his age.\* M. Mignet's paper is an excellent summary of Lord Brougham's life and principal achievements, and is conceived in a spirit of generous but discriminating appreciation.

If Brougham did not attain excellence in everything he undertook, no man has done so many things so well. It rarely happens that a man reaches at once to eminence at the Bar and in the House of Commons. It is still more rare to be a great writer and a great speaker. Yet Brougham was at the head of his profession at the same time that he was foremost in

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\* Five academics form the Institute of France; that to which Lord Brougham belonged was the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. He was not a corresponding member, but an associate, which is a far higher honour. He attended the sittings of the Academy, and took part in its proceedings whenever he visited Paris.

Parliament. And he could write with almost equal power. His sketches of the literary men and statesmen of an earlier generation have been often quoted as models of skilful delineation; but still happier efforts are the portraits of his eminent contemporaries in the law—Erskine, Ellenborough, Tenterden. We know nothing in modern literature superior to these cabinet pictures. His eloquence, though mostly powerful and impressive, was diffuse, rugged, and exaggerated. He seldom spoke without committing some breach of decorum, or some fault of taste which offended the fastidious part of his audience. Sir Samuel Romilly, the most competent and the most candid of critics, in quoting an instance of Brougham's indiscretion which spoilt a good case, adds these observations:—

‘Brougham is a man of the most splendid talents and the most extensive acquirements, and he has used the ample means which he possesses most usefully for mankind. It would be difficult to overrate the services which he has rendered the cause of slaves in the West Indies, or that of the friends to the extension of knowledge and education among the poor, or to raise too highly his endeavours to serve the oppressed inhabitants of Poland. How much is it to be lamented that his want of judgment and of prudence should prevent his great talents and his good intentions from being so great a blessing to mankind as they ought to be.’ (*Diary*, March 20, 1816, vol. iii. p. 236.)

His most complete effort of oratory was the speech on Law Reform in 1828. It lasted nine hours, and included the whole structure and administration of the law. The subject was not attractive, and there were not a hundred members in the House the whole evening; but never was a speech delivered in Parliament which produced so great an impression on the country, and which led to such important consequences. Studied perorations are seldom successful. The closing sentences of the speech for the Queen, which had been so carefully prepared, were, as we have ventured to say, a failure; but if those studied periods were tawdry and turgid, the peroration of the speech on Law Reform was a model of sonorous and stately composition. It was wholly free from those faults of taste and judgment which so often marred Lord Brougham's greatest efforts. His speech on the Reform Bill, in which he *implored* the Lords to pass the bill, would have ranked among the most eloquent and impressive appeals ever addressed to Parliament, had he not gone on to entreat the House *on his bended knees* to comply. ‘Certainement,’ says M. Mignet, ‘les deux genoux, *sur lesquels il tomba réellement, étaient de trop.*’ Since the day when Burke threw a dagger on the floor of the House of Commons, such a scene had not

been witnessed within the walls of a grave assembly. 'Yet of the speech thus disfigured, Lord Althorp (at that time leader of the House of Commons) in a letter written a few hours after the debate, says, 'All agree that it was the best he ever made. Grey and Holland both say it was superhuman—that it united all the excellences of the ancient with those of modern oratory, and that the action and the delivery were as much applauded as the speech itself. Lord Holland expressed himself quite as warmly to me to the same effect. He observed that he had not heard so fine a speech even from his uncle Charles (Fox); and this was his idea of the perfection of public speaking.\*' At some periods of his life Lord Brougham was undoubtedly regarded, not only here but by foreign nations, as the greatest and most extraordinary man of his age and country. But he lived more for contemporary, than for permanent, fame. He gloried in the triumphs of the hour; but there never lived a man of whom it is more difficult to convey a correct image to posterity. His writings will not do it, for none of them are of the highest mark of excellence and endurance. His speeches will not do it, for speeches are ephemeral. And as for the humours and the genius of the man himself, who shall attempt to record them?

His vehement, impulsive nature frequently carried him beyond the bounds of prudence and common sense. In 1848, when he was seventy years of age, and had virtually retired from public life, he proposed to become a citizen of the French Republic, which had been hastily proclaimed by a provisional government after the flight of Louis Philippe. But even in ordinary affairs, his conduct would often border on the indecent and the ridiculous. His vagaries in the unfortunate autumn of 1834 were a topic of common scandal. His proposal to Lord Lyndhurst, his successor, in the same year to take the vacant office of Chief Baron was precipitate and undignified. His habit of reading and writing letters during the arguments of counsel, while he was sitting alone in the Court of Chancery, was at least offensive, if it did not amount to dereliction of duty. His hurry, his importunity, his meddling, all proceeded from the intellectual restlessness and vanity, which supplied the place of regulated energy and perseverance. These faults would have marred the fortunes of an ordinary man, and brought the public life of Brougham to a premature close. He had hardly passed his prime, and was in the full vigour of his faculties, when he quitted the Great Seal in 1834.

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\* Sir Denis Lemarchant's unpublished Memoir of Earl Spencer.

On Lord Melbourne's return to office in the following year, the Great Seal was put in commission, and ultimately the Master of the Rolls became Lord Chancellor. There was no question of Lord Brougham's resuming his former place, or any other place, in the Administration. Formidable as he might be in Opposition, he was still more dangerous as a Minister; and the leading members of the new Cabinet readily yielded to the King's repugnance to their former colleague. Though the Liberal party continued in power, with short interruptions, for the next twenty years, Lord Brougham was never again offered office, either ministerial or judicial. The history of this country furnishes no other example of a man of transcendent abilities, whose public services were of the most signal character, having by common consent disqualified himself for public employment. We do not except to this general opinion; but whatever may have been Lord Brougham's faults of conduct, his administration of the Great Seal, when examined in detail, will bear comparison with that of any of his predecessors. Making every abatement for faults of taste and discretion, there can be no doubt that his fervid support of the vital measure of Lord Grey's Administration in Parliament, as well as his counsels in the Cabinet, mainly conduced to its final success. The statute book during the four years of his Administration bears signal testimony to his activity and power as a legislator. The forms and practice of Parliament would alone have precluded the possibility of his perfecting his various measures for the reform of the law during his short tenure of office; but the lines which he laid down have been since traced by successors who have taken up the work in the spirit which he inspired. Among the earliest acts of his official life were the amendment of the Law of Bankruptcy, and the reform of the Court of Chancery.\* The abolition of slavery in the West Indies,

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\* Extract from MS. Diary, Feb. 23, 1831.—'The Lord Chancellor brought forward his long-promised motion on the Court of Chancery. Notwithstanding the dryness of the subject and his own imperfect knowledge of it, he contrived to make a most interesting and impressive speech, and to lead all who heard him to believe that the Augean stable, which had baffled the knowledge of Eldon and the abilities of Lyndhurst, was at last to be cleansed, and the public were to be blessed with good law cheaply and expeditiously administered. None of the peers cheered the Chancellor more cordially than the Duke of Wellington, who had come from Deal purposely to hear the speech, and who had told my friend General Alava that he had done all he could to prevail on Lyndhurst to undertake Chancery Reform, but Lyndhurst had not the energy for it. His Grace added, "I think it will be done



accomplished by the Ministry of which he was a leading member, was the complement of the great work with which his public life began. He recommended the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into the operation of the Poor Laws, which led to one of the most important measures of modern times. He took a leading part in the establishment of Local Government by the Municipal Reform Act. Although the original conception belonged to Lord Althorp, he planned the institution of County Courts, which placed cheap and ready justice within the reach of the people, according to the ancient law and usage of the realm. Such services as these will be recorded in history, when extravagances of utterance, and faults of manner are forgotten. Lord Brougham was not a deeply read lawyer, and had no knowledge of cases beyond what he had acquired in practice; but he was sufficiently acquainted with the principles of English law and jurisprudence. Thus, though he was not much employed in heavy causes, nor in answering cases for opinion, yet as a judge, when the facts and the law were laid before him, his powerful and decisive intellect could arrive at a prompt and sound conclusion. On quitting the Great Seal, he pointed with just pride to the fact that he had left no arrears in his court; and in clearing the Cause List, he had been actuated neither by the affectation of despatch, which he had censured in Leach, nor by the morbid scruples which made Eldon inflict so much misery on the suitors. Lord Brougham, though he cannot rank as a judge with Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield, will bear comparison with many of the eminent men who have presided at law or equity. His judgments were

now or never, for what Brougham takes in hand will be carried through." There were no more than eight Opposition peers, and perhaps twice the number of Ministerial present during the debate. The throne and the space behind the bar were crowded, and great admiration was expressed by the audience. I was amused by the remark of a rich county member who said, "This is prodigiously fine indeed. Why, Brougham puts one in mind of Demosthenes, or some of those fellows one reads of at school." The speech was not less successful out of the House. Nothing else was talked of on 'Change the next day. Even amongst the lower classes it spread a wonderful notion of the Chancellor's merit. General L'Estrange, who was at this time returning from the Isle of France, asked his pilot off the Lizard what were the news? "Oh," said the sailor, "Brougham is doing wonders in the Court of Chancery. He has decided more causes in the last three months, than Eldon did in as many years. There never was such a man." (*Sir Denis Le-marchant's unpublished Memoir of Earl Spencer*, p. 234.)

rarely impeached, and we believe, in no instance, reversed, while he has established some precedents of undisputed authority. Nor was he unmindful of the constitutional rights and privileges belonging to his high office. When Lord Grey proposed that the chief seat in the Court of Exchequer should be offered to Lord Lyndhurst, the Chancellor, while acquiescing fully in the propriety of the appointment, did not fail to remind the First Minister that the nomination of the Judges, including the Chief Baron, was in the Great Seal. This is not, as may be supposed, a mere question of patronage, but a high constitutional principle. The most precious security for the maintenance of order which the country possesses is the confidence of the people in the administration of justice; and this confidence would not long exist, if the bench was filled with time-serving lawyers appointed by the Minister of the day, who has not the special qualifications and cannot be charged with the responsibility which attaches to the head of the law. The judicial patronage of the Great Seal was dispensed by Lord Brougham with a due sense of its grave importance. It is true that in accordance with the practice of his predecessors and successors, he promoted generally his political friends; but to this practice, unless, as in the case of Lord Eldon, it is carried to the absolute exclusion of any but partisans, there can be no rational objection. There must always be eligible candidates for judicial office on either side of the question; and it would be absurd to contend that a fit man should be disqualified, because his politics were of the same colour as those of the temporary head of the law. It was at Lord Brougham's instance that Denman, who had been his colleague as law-officer of Queen Caroline, and had performed his duty with signal ability and independence, was named Chief Justice on the death of Lord Tenterden. The appointment, though criticised at the time, was justified by experience. Lord Denman was not a deep lawyer; but there are qualifications even more important than law, which should belong to the Chief Justice of England. The Court of King's Bench has powers and prerogatives, the exercise of which requires courage, prudence, and dignity. These qualities were possessed by Lord Denman in an eminent degree, and combined with a certain nobleness of manner, the spontaneous expression of his character, he had a propriety and purity of diction which gave his judgments a weight beyond their intrinsic value.

Unlike some men who have attained fame and power, Lord Brougham was not unmindful of the friends and associates of his earlier days. Few of those who had any claims to pre-

ferment could complain of being overlooked; indeed, it must be owned that some, whose claims were questionable, partook of his lavish patronage. But though he rewarded services, however humble, he also promoted many in whose advancement he had no personal interest. Lord Brougham was hardly less distinguished for his social qualities than for his abilities in public life.

‘He was capable,’ says one who knew him well, ‘of investing the least attractive subjects with interest. My friend, the late Viscountess Eversley (Mr. Whitbread’s younger daughter) recollected a group of fashionable ladies listening at breakfast one morning at Southhill with breathless attention to his description of the habits of bees, which he made as charming as a fairy tale. He was also a first-rate mimic, so that John Kemble being asked what he thought of him, answered, “If I could get him on the boards for a season, it would make my fortune.” Even Mr. Rogers, though not addicted to praise, observed as Mr. Brougham was stepping into his chaise at the door of Southhill, “There go Demosthenes, Bacon, and George Selwyn all in the same chaise.”’ (*Sir D. Lemarchant’s Memoir of Earl Spencer.*)

We have commented freely on some serious misstatements in these volumes; but before closing them, we must notice some minor inaccuracies. Sir Lancelot Shadwell, the Vice-Chancellor, is mentioned as Master of the Rolls. The date of Lord Russell’s birth is given as 1784 instead of 1794. The whole story of the Marquis Wellesley’s marriage in vol. ii. p. 477 is a pure fabrication. Mr. Peacock, who is mentioned as having assisted in the preparation of the Reform Bill, and as having gone to India *as a judge and died there*, had, as we know from the best authority, nothing to say to the Reform Bill. Mr. Peacock went to India in 1852, not as a judge, but in the far higher position of the Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General, and afterwards became Chief Justice of the High Court. After a long and distinguished judicial career, Sir Barnes Peacock recently returned to England, and is now living here in retirement. Such mistakes would be unpardonable in an ordinary narrative; but their apology is to be found in the simple and touching paragraph which closes the Memoir:—

‘If I have imperfectly performed my work—if I have appeared to dwell too diffusely on some subjects, whilst others of equal importance have been passed over—if many statements have been feebly and some inaccurately rendered,—let it be recollected that I began this attempt after I was eighty-three years of age, with enfeebled intellect, failing memory, and but slight materials by me, to assist it. Above all, that there was not left one single friend or associate of my earlier

days, whose recollections might have aided mine. All were dead. I alone survived of those who had acted in the scenes I have here faintly endeavoured to retrace.' (Vol. iii. p. 443.)

We have not passed over the blemishes in the great and splendid character which we have attempted to review; but if all its faults are to be

'observed,

Set in a note-book, learned and conned by rote,'

it is not in these pages that such an envious record will be found. Lord Brougham's failings were of a kind which provoked irritation and even resentment; they detracted materially from his usefulness at every stage of his public career, and at length incapacitated him for the public service. But his failings have died with him, and have left no stain of baseness or dishonour upon an imperishable fame.

ART. IX.—*Case on behalf of the Government of the United States submitted to the Tribunal of Arbitration to be convened at Geneva under the Treaty of Washington of the 8th of May, 1871.* London: 1872.

WHEN a litigant in a court of justice publishes to the world his pleadings before the judge, he invites the criticism of the public, although his cause may remain undecided. We should have scrupled to break ground on the topics to be submitted to the Arbitrators at Geneva, notwithstanding their international and general importance, had not both the antagonists relieved us of all scruple on that subject. Even as it is, however, we shall not trespass on those matters which form the substantial topics which the Arbitrators must decide; but propose to make the present singular position of the Arbitration itself the subject of some reflections.

Among the thoughts suggested to us by the perusal of the Case for the United States (published by Bentley, and professing to be a facsimile of the official copy), the most prominent was this: that if the conditions under which neutrality is to be maintained or suffered be those expounded in this singular volume, it is not the interest of a nation to observe neutrality. According to what we read in this 'Case,' we had the fate of the American Civil War in our hands; for if a few inconsiderable privateers had power, by their marauding excursions, to protract the war for two years, what might not have been done if we had put forth our maritime strength? Had we even

declined to recognise the very questionable blockade of the Southern ports, the North, by the confession of this pleading, must have been greatly enfeebled; and if we had joined with France, and intervened to terminate the struggle in November, 1862, there would have been an end, at all events, of 'Alabama' Claims. Nor were we without solid interests at stake which urged us in that direction. To say nothing of the internecine and hideous aspect of the war itself, fearful beyond any record of civil slaughter, our great manufacturing staple was withdrawn from us, our manufacturing population were exposed to the cruellest hardships, and our manufacturers to ruin, as the price of our fidelity to our neutral obligations. We were faithful, however, although the American case makes it doubtful if we had any motive or interest to be so. Our operatives bore their privations with a magnanimity without example, we believe, in the history of neutral nations; and we resisted the solicitations of the Emperor of the French to alter our policy, even although it brought daily injury to ourselves. And now that all is done, and the North, not without the aid of German recruits and British munitions of war, has subjugated the South, how are we rewarded? America claims from us the whole expense of the war incurred after the battle of Gettysburg: the whole expense of Grant's last campaign and Lee's masterly defence; of Sherman's march through Georgia; of the weary, almost hopeless, waiting of the Northern armies before Richmond, up to the long-deferred but final surrender. We are to pay for all this. Should we not have been better off as belligerents? for according to these demands, the belligerent is to come off free, and the neutral to pay all.

Nor may we forget what the battle of Gettysburg was. It was the cast of a die by the South for final victory. Up to that time so utterly had the North failed, with all the enormous advantages which their blockade and their command of the sea gave them, to subdue the South, that they had retired, stunned and bewildered, after Stonewall Jackson's last battle; and Lee felt himself strong enough to become the aggressor, and carry the war into the States of the North. He almost succeeded. The battle of Gettysburg hung long in suspense; and had the scale turned the other way, the ultimate event might not, perhaps, have been altered, but would certainly have been much longer deferred. Lee retreated to the territory of the South almost unmolested, presenting to the North the same solid front as that against which three of their armies had before dashed themselves in vain. Yet the truth of history tells us, as we find it written in the American Case, that the war

from this date was only kept alive by the roving freebooters, the 'Alabama,' the 'Florida,' and the 'Shenandoah,' and that if these had been captured or sunk, the South would instantly have collapsed.

Had we become belligerents, it would certainly, at this rate, have been better for our purse. Would it have been worse for the good feeling which ought to prevail between the two countries? Not if we are to believe the American Case. Our neutrality, it seems, has only left behind feelings as bitter, and exasperation as intense, as war itself could have produced. Our very neutrality, we are told, was as hostile and as offensive as war could have been; our sayings and our doings, official and non-official, are now paraded in order to give expression to what, according to the Case, is the deliberate sense of the nation. Even the Washington Treaty has done nothing to moderate the poignancy of American resentment, which is faithfully depicted, as we are asked to believe, in this remarkable State paper.

We may say, once for all, that we regret no part of our past impartiality; but this Case no more represents either the facts of history, or genuine American opinion, than the monstrous heads and distorted limbs we see in a pantomime represent the human figure. The draughtsmen of the Case strive to produce their effects, as the scenic artist does, by grotesque exaggeration; and the result has been, for the present at least, to obstruct if not to destroy a course of amicable and sensible adjustment in which, if some things were surrendered which strict adherence to theory might have maintained, the English nation were ready to recognise, with good humour and friendliness, a mutual desire for a practical closing of accounts. But this demand has gone beyond all limits of patience, and is placed on grounds which leave no room for its exercise.

We very much regret, as we suspect the statesmen of America themselves regret, the levity with which the first and the last pages of the Case were permitted to form any part of so grave and important a proceeding. That any serious expectation was entertained in any quarter that the arbitrators would even listen to such a demand is improbable; and, indeed, the Case itself discloses as much, for no details are suggested on which the arbitrators, however willing, could frame an award. The first chapter, devoted to an exposition of our bad faith and our Southern proclivities, has no bearing whatever on the real matter in dispute; and could only have had the effect of infusing an acrimonious ingredient into an amicable suit. We

think it much the most serious ground of observation which the Case presents; for it is as little founded on principle or on historical truth as the demand for indirect damages; while it appears to be, unlike the other, thoroughly in earnest.

The Americans have made, we think, a great practical blunder in these preliminary criticisms. They entirely misconceive the temper of the people of whom they write. We like and admire our American cousins, although sometimes we laugh at them, and sometimes they laugh at us. We feel a family pride in their freedom, their manliness, and their prosperity; and we can stand, in the way of remark, from them what we might not accept from any other quarter. We make allowances, also, for the pure democracy of their government, and concede a certain privileged character to their proceedings which has, perhaps, been carried to excess. But to imagine that we should consent to do penance because our public men expressed their views on public affairs in their own way, or that our conduct as neutrals was affected by our popular sympathies, indicates on the part of the compilers of the American Case a great deficiency of perception. We are a free people, as their countrymen are; accustomed to say what we think, and not very curious to mark whether our thoughts are pleasant or unpleasant to the rest of the world. We looked on, while their civil war raged, with great interest. The sympathy of some went with the North, that of others with the South. The detestation of slavery animated one side; a certain feeling for the gallantry of the weaker side, and an impression of their constitutional rights, weighed with the other. Advanced Liberals were for the North; advanced Conservatives for the South; and, midway, opinions shifted as the wonderful and romantic tragedy proceeded. The American Case seems to find in all this some element which America is entitled to resent. Resentment on such grounds is out of the question. It can signify nothing whether either party in the struggle agreed with our views or our sympathies. America must know that if it were the price of a good understanding with any Power that we should restrain the expression of our opinions on passing events, it is one we should never think of paying.

Let us refer our critics to an episode, which occurred about a quarter of a century ago, from which they may draw a lesson of good sense taught from a quarter they will probably respect. During the Hungarian struggle in 1848, so much was the sympathy of the United States with those whom they would now call insurgents, that they despatched a special envoy to ascer-

tain whether the Hungarians could maintain their independence. This led to a correspondence with the Austrian Government worthy of attentive study. Hungary was as completely an integral part of the Austrian Empire as the Confederate States ever were of the Union. The Hungarians had gained some battles; but their final success was doubtful even if Russia had not intervened. It never occurred, however, to American statesmen of that day, that to recognise the belligerent *status* of Hungary was an indication of hostile sentiments to Austria. They did not hesitate to express in the strongest terms their sympathies in the struggle. They took measures to welcome Hungary into the family of nations; and when the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires not unnaturally asked for an explanation of these proceedings, he was informed by Mr. Webster that, 'while performing with *strict fidelity all their neutral duties*, 'nothing will deter either the Government or the people of 'the United States from exercising at their own discretion the 'rights belonging to them as an independent nation, and of 'forming and expressing their own opinions, freely and at all 'times, on the great political events which may transpire among 'the civilised nations of the earth.' He also said that if the United States had recognised the independence of Hungary, they would not have violated the laws of nations.\* Remembering their past history, and come themselves of Anglo-Saxon blood, Americans should be the last to suppose that the free expression of the opinion of our people on public affairs, our own or our neighbours', could ever be considered by us as a legitimate topic of offence or of criticism.

The rule which governs the obligations of neutral States towards the respective parties in a civil contest is perfectly clear, and has been laid down with an authority which the Americans can hardly dispute by Mr. Wheaton in the following terms:—†

'Until the revolution is consummated, whilst the civil war involving a contest for the government continues, other States may remain indifferent spectators of the controversy, still continuing to treat the ancient Government as sovereign, and the Government *de facto* as a society entitled to rights of war against its enemy; or may espouse the cause of the party which they believe to have justice on its side. In the first case, the foreign State fulfils all its obligations under the law of nations; and neither party has any right to complain provided it maintains an impartial neutrality. . . . If the foreign State professes neutrality, it is bound to allow impartially to both belligerent parties

\* Webster's Works, vol. vi. pp. 488-506.

† Wheaton's 'Elements of International Law,' 6th edit. p. 32.



the free exercise of those rights which war gives to public enemies against each other; such as the right of blockade, and of capturing contraband and enemy's property.'

That is precisely the rule which the British Government intended to observe, and did observe; throughout the American contest. Its neutrality consisted in even and impartial dealing with both belligerents. But the complaint of the Northern States, since their final victory—a complaint which pervades every page of this Case—is, in truth, that we were too neutral: they cannot pardon us for not having espoused their cause against the South; and they are now attempting, by an unparalleled fiction, to throw upon a neutral and independent State the costs of a struggle against their own insurgent countrymen..

It is not immaterial to observe that throughout this controversy, the acts complained of are the acts of Americans against Americans. It is shown in this Case with great minuteness, and probably with truth, that an entire system of finance, trade in cotton, supply of arms, and purchase of vessels was organised by the agents of the Southern American States in Europe, and especially in this country. These operations were, as far as we know, perfectly consistent with the laws of this country and with the law of nations. The Southern States had just as good a right to raise money and buy unarmed ships here, as the Northern States had to buy cannon or tents or shoes for their troops. But be this as it may, if any offence was committed, it was an offence against this country, by an abuse of her hospitality and freedom for belligerent purposes, not an offence against the other belligerent; and the other belligerent has no *locus standi* whatever to demand redress for any such acts. On the contrary, if the citizens of the South, who were then in a state of rebellion but have since been reduced to obedience, were guilty of any breach of the municipal laws or the law of nations in the Queen's dominions, we might fairly hold the Government of the United States to be responsible for any mischief caused by the revolutionary acts of its own subjects or citizens. The acts complained of are not the acts of British subjects, but of American citizens who conspired in a foreign country to carry on war against their own fellow-countrymen. It would go hard with England if she is to be held responsible in damages for all the plots and conspiracies which have been hatched by foreigners against foreign Governments on her soil. But this is not all. The breach in the American Union having been healed, and its authority restored, the South as well as the North participate in the demand now made on Great Britain for redress; and if

a pecuniary indemnity were paid, the South as well as the North would be benefited by it. So that we are led to this monstrous and extravagant consequence, that the South having conspired and made war against the North, and strained the laws of Great Britain in the prosecution of this war, the South, nevertheless, is now, conjointly with the North, to obtain an indemnity from Great Britain for its own acts, and that the neutral State is to indemnify both the belligerents for injuries mutually inflicted by them on each other. It seems to us impossible to carry further the *reductio ad absurdum* of this Case.

The compilers of the Case seem to have left out of view the real position of the American contest in its bearing on neutral nations, and especially on ourselves. They call the secession of the Confederate States an insurrection. We do not quarrel with the term, which now they are probably entitled to use. But it was not an ordinary insurrection. It was truly a war of the Roses; a second edition of the conflicts of York and Lancaster on a larger and more sanguinary scale. Eleven of the associated communities which compose the Union separated themselves from it, and declared their independence. With the question of their constitutional right to do so we had no concern; but they claimed such a right. They organised a Government, set an army in the field, and very nearly possessed themselves of the fleet; and, if they had succeeded in the last-mentioned attempt, it might strangely have altered the Northern views of neutral shipbuilding. By notifying a blockade the Northern States recognised, and called on other nations to recognise, the belligerent *status* of the South. We had no choice but to make the recognition. The North soon found their task harder than they had anticipated. Ninety days was the time the President allowed for terminating the war. It took four years, instead of three months, to accomplish the task. Of these years, fortune for the two first went against the Northern troops. General after general was defeated and displaced; army after army was shattered and discomfited. In June 1862, after the doubtful battle of Corinth, Mc'Lellan, after six days' hard fighting, was entirely defeated by Lee and Beauregard on the James River. Towards the close of the same year Burnside was utterly routed by the Confederate troops at Fredericksburg. In the spring of 1863, Lee and Stonewall Jackson inflicted the heaviest blow of all on General Hooker at Chancellorsville. In the West, after the first success at Fort Donelson, little had been accomplished by the Federal arms. Vicksburg still held out, and the Fede-

ral leaders were baffled. There is no doubt that towards the close of the second year of the war, a conviction began to prevail that the conquest of the South was impracticable. Overtures were made to us by the French Government to recognise the independence of the Southern States; and these were overtures which it was no breach of national faith or neutral duty to consider deliberately. Wisely, as we thought then, and in spite of this ill-judged paper, as we think still, we decided against recognition or intervention; not that we contemplated the success of the North, but because the South had not demonstrated their ability to maintain their independence. Inch by inch, and week by week, pegging away, as President Lincoln called it; recruiting their ranks as they were periodically thinned, from German levies, and their material of war from British workshops; laying all Europe under contribution to aid them, while the South remained hermetically sealed, they at last accomplished their protracted task by a process of slow and gradual exhaustion; the ultimate result, even to the last year of the war, hanging in doubtful scales.

All this the American Case entirely overlooks. A remark of Lord Palmerston is referred to, as indicating hostility, when he corrected Mr. Bright by reminding him that the war was not an insurrection merely, but war between two recognised belligerents. Lord Palmerston was entirely in the right, and Mr. Bright entirely in the wrong; for the Southern States by that time were quite as much *de facto* belligerents as the people of Hungary were when the United States sent Mr. Mann to ascertain their prospects of independence; and by their own confession, if we had recognised the independence of the South, we should have violated no duty incumbent on our neutral character.

These utterances, therefore, of British public men which are brought together in the Case by a very partial process of selection, not only have no bearing on the real dispute, but had the most legitimate relation to the existing position of public affairs. They indicated no sympathy one way or other, but only views of the line of policy which it was fitting for this country to adopt. But supposing that they had indicated sympathy for the South—what then? We were entitled, as neutrals, to bestow and express our sympathies as we pleased. It is not for America to teach, or from her that we can consent to learn, restraint on such matters. Let her study with the same care—it will not require the same microscopic anxiety—the spoken opinions of her own public men in regard to Ireland, Canada, and Cuba. Let the compilers of the Case consider what kind of defence they could

make to similar claims by us, supported by a similar exhibition of sympathies on their part. These things were not worthy of the place which they hold in this important affair.

In some respects, however, the breathing time which this episode affords us may be of service to some important and weighty considerations which have been brought into prominence, and are strikingly illustrated by this Case. We are quite ready to do justice to the great ability and vigour of that which constitutes the substance of it. The argument on which the responsibility of Great Britain is founded is boldly and powerfully maintained, and its learning and unquestionable skill make it the more to be regretted that it should have been disfigured by these extravagances. Still there is a certain appearance of logical unity in the Case which creates an unpleasant surmise that something may be at fault in premises which lead to conclusions so startling. If the premises are sound, and the conclusion logically deduced, the lot of a neutral for the future is not to be envied. His interest will lie in prompt interference in favour of the weaker belligerent, in order to cripple as far as possible the probable conqueror. This is not a pleasant prospect for a country like ours, strong enough for war, but now very earnestly averse to interference in our neighbours' concerns; but if neutrality inflicts the penalties of war without its chances of success, there seems to be no choice left.

In maintaining the responsibility of the British Government for the depredations of the 'Alabama' and the other vessels which contrived to leave the ports of this country, the American Case takes little aid from the concessions of international duty which are contained in the Treaty of Washington. It assumes these to be sound, but entirely denies that they are *ex post facto* concessions. It asserts that the definition which the treaty contains of the duty of a neutral State was in accordance with the recognised law of nations before the treaty, and indeed before the Foreign Enlistment Acts of either country. It may be as well to inquire what the law is which is thus resolutely maintained; on what ground the argument rests; and whither it inevitably leads.

The reasoning maintained in the Case may be summed up in the following propositions:—

1. Trade between a neutral and a belligerent in ships fitted and intended for war, is not simply trade in contraband of war, but constitutes a use of the neutral territory as a place of departure for a hostile force, and is therefore a breach of neutrality.

2. A neutral Government is bound to prevent the neutral territory from being so used.

3. A neutral Government, if it permit, or fail to prevent, such use of the neutral territory, becomes a direct participator in the belligerent operations.

The first proposition is the main hinge of the argument. The second is a mere corollary, and the third, although going beyond in words what is directly propounded in the Case, is in reality the result at which the reasoning should logically arrive, and that which the portentous demand with which it concludes necessarily implies. In drawing the unrestricted conclusion of our liability for the general expenses of the war, the Case forcibly illustrates the importance of the first proposition on which the argument is built, and exhibits the absolute necessity of fixing the rights of belligerents on a specific and firm basis, if we expect the position of the neutral to be tolerable or practicable for the future. This is the more important, as it will appear in the sequel that the principles on which these propositions depend cannot be confined to vessels intended for warlike purposes, but would, if admitted, extend to all articles which are contraband of war. We propose, therefore, to devote a few pages to elucidate the foundation and the limits of such belligerent rights.

We designedly speak of the rights of belligerents, not of the rights of neutrals. Neutrals acquire no rights by the quarrels of their neighbours. Excepting in so far as they may be limited by the privileges of belligerents, the rights of neutrals are precisely the same, whether other nations are at peace or at war. It is a fallacy, or rather an inaccuracy, very prevalent in such discussions, but one which has led to great confusion, to speak of the immunities of neutrals, as if neutrality conferred privileges. A neutral State is simply one which is not at war with either belligerent, and which is entitled to carry on its usual avocations without being molested by either of the contending Powers, or by anyone else, except in so far as the special privileges accorded to belligerents by the usages of nations may limit its rights, or impose obligations. Save in the exercise of these special privileges, a belligerent is bound to precisely the same duties to all nations as before he quarrelled with his adversary; and if, beyond these limits, he interfere with the property or commerce or subjects of another nation, his responsibility is precisely the same, whether he is at war or at peace with any given State.

Although these propositions are self-evident, they have often been lost sight of from the fact that, until recently, the belli-

gerent was strong, and the non-belligerent weak; and the law has been made by the stronger for the stronger. The very name of 'neutral' is of modern growth. In former days, the giants fought; and States of smaller stature were compelled to submit to what the formidable combatants might dictate. But now that non-intervention is the policy of powerful nations, it is essential that these questions should be put on their true footing, and that communities which take no part in the quarrels of their neighbours should resolutely insist on belligerents keeping strictly within the line of the exceptional privileges which their character of belligerents gives them.

These privileges rest on two distinct principles, which are too often confounded—the first arising out of the exigencies of war, and the second out of breaches of neutrality. Although all international law resolves itself into the will of the stronger, and we cannot reduce rules which rest on comity or goodwill to juridical precision, this distinction will be found clearly developed throughout the received international code. There are certain acts which imply on the part of the professed neutral, favour to one side, and unfriendliness to the other. These the belligerent is entitled to complain of, resent, and resist, as in aid of his enemy, and adverse to himself. But there is another class of acts which, although indicating on the part of the neutral no favour or preference for either side, a belligerent is yet entitled to prevent or interfere with. His right to do so arises, not from any indication of hostility on the part of the neutral, but from the benefit to be attained by his enemy.\* Of these, the right of search is a good example, which entitles a belligerent to stop, invade, and search a vessel belonging to a nation which has no concern with his disputes, and has done nothing, and has no intention of doing anything, to interfere with them. Under the same category is comprehended the class of belligerent rights restrictive of neutral trade. They proceed solely on the principle of the exigencies of the *status* of belligerency, not on that of neutral delinquency. On this ground rest all the rules relating to the thorny subject of contraband of war, by which, to a certain extent, and under certain conditions, a belligerent State may interfere with the commerce of the citizens of a neutral State, without being re-

\* See Grotius, *De jure Belli et Pacis*, vol. iii. pp. 1, 5, in the Utrecht edition, 1703. It seems to be assumed in all these disquisitions that it rested with the belligerent to decide the measure of this principle. The idea of a neutral prescribing limits to a belligerent, and enforcing them, is never present.

sponsible to that State for acts which would otherwise be a just cause of war. Commerce with one of two belligerents on the part of a neutral is no breach of neutrality. But the usages of nations have permitted belligerents to intercept munitions of war destined for their enemy, even if conveyed by a neutral hand. It is a privilege of capture, or stoppage, only. If the neutral vessel which conveys the contraband be not intercepted, no right of any kind arises to the belligerent, either against the trader or the State to which he belongs. If the neutral State withhold its protection from the contraband trader, and permit the foreign Power with impunity to seize the property of its citizens, no more can be required of it. Suppose, for instance, that a maritime State goes to war with one which, like Bohemia, has no seaboard—whatever Shakespeare may say to the contrary. If Holland be the other belligerent, we export to Holland all and sundry munitions of war. Has Bohemia a grievance, according to the law of nations? None whatever. We have shown Holland no favour, but only sold to her in open market what we sell every day to France and to Prussia, and what we are ready to sell to Bohemia too, if she will pay our price. We remain neutral, as we were: only Bohemia, having no navy, cannot use the belligerent privilege.

A stronger right is accorded to belligerents in cases of blockade or siege. A citizen of a neutral State attempting to break the blockade, or to carry provisions to a beleaguered fortress, may have his vessel and property treated as lawful prize, although not carrying contraband of war. But the State of which the neutral trader is a citizen incurs no responsibility to the belligerent, who must enforce his own blockade or siege, and rest content with the exceptional remedy which he thus enjoys in the right to obstruct the commerce of a neutral State. It also follows that a contract between the neutral trader and one of two belligerents to supply contraband of war is entirely lawful; and the neutral State is under no obligation to interfere with its execution. These principles are elementary in the code of international rights and obligations. No nation, apart from special treaty, ever proposed to make another responsible for the acts of private merchantmen in running blockades, or carrying enemies' goods, or dealing in contraband of war. Lord Russell, in writing of the Nassau dispute in 1862, states the doctrine with equal precision and accuracy:—

‘The doctrine of the United States on this subject has always been the same as that of Great Britain—namely, that neutral Governments

are under no obligation to stop a contraband trade between their subjects and a belligerent Power; and that the only penalty of such a trade is the liability of contraband shipments to be captured on the high seas by either belligerent.'

So Mr. Webster, writing of the Mexican and Texas dispute in 1842, says:—

'It is not the practice of nations to undertake to prohibit their own subjects by previous laws from trafficking in contraband of war. Such trade is carried on at the risk of those engaged in it, under the liabilities and penalties prescribed by the law of nations or particular treaties. If it be true, therefore, that citizens of the United States have been engaged in a commerce by which Texas, an enemy of Mexico, has been supplied with arms and munitions of war, the Government of the United States nevertheless was not bound to prevent it, could not have prevented it without a manifest departure from the principles of neutrality, and is in no way answerable for the consequences.'\*

These opinions are entirely in accordance with the rules laid down by Bynkershoek, perhaps the highest authority on such questions. Speaking of the neutral's freedom of trade, and exceptions from it, he says:—

'Quicquid non licet, si amicus (that is the friendly belligerent) deprehendat, optimo jure publicatur: et eo solo absolvitur pœna nutrientis amici.' (*Quest. ed. 1732, p. 76.*)

And again, in a passage relative to foreign enlistment, he draws in the clearest words the consequence to which we have referred, of the entire lawfulness of contracts to furnish contraband:—

'Idque in instrumentis bellicis vulgo servamus: ut enim ea ad utrumque amicum non recte velamus: sine fraude tamen vendimus utrique amico quamvis invicem hosti, et quamvis sciamus alterum contra alterum his in bello esse usurum.' (*Quest. p. 160.*)

This principle of the law of nations received a striking illustration in the discussions relative to the Foreign Enlistment Act in 1819. Mr. Canning in his speech in defence of the measure stated in regard to the impending rupture between France and Spain, that by the treaty with Spain the exportation of arms and munitions of war from Great Britain to the Colonies was prohibited, although to Spain herself the prohibition did not extend. But as this would have operated prejudicially to France, the Government, in maintenance of their neutrality, removed the prohibition as to the Colonies by an Order in Council, and thus left the trade in contraband free as far as the Government were concerned.

\* Mr. Webster to Mr. Thompson, July 8, 1842. Works, vol. vi. p. 452.



It is no doubt true that Hautefeuille, Bluntschli, and other recent writers are desirous of placing the law in this respect on a different footing, although no civilised State has ever sanctioned their views. The object of this school is to establish the responsibility of the neutral State itself for the trade in articles which are contraband of war; so that the neutral Government shall charge itself with the duty of preventing the traffic, and shall be liable to the belligerent if it fail in doing so. It might with equal truth be argued that it is the duty of a State to prevent smuggling by stopping the export of contraband articles. We should undoubtedly in our past wars have found such a doctrine very convenient; and some may think that with our naval supremacy we should turn it to material account. But we ought to ponder well what the doctrine implies, and whither it tends. It is one thing for a State to prescribe laws for its own subjects, with the view of avoiding foreign complications. It is an entirely different thing to undertake obligations of this kind as an international duty; and the American Case very forcibly suggests to what results such an undertaking may logically be pressed.

There are, unquestionably, in international as in social life certain offices of friendship and good-fellowship which no canon of law prescribes, but which it is reasonable to render, and churlish to refuse, if they can be fulfilled without sensible or serious injury. These stand entirely outside the pale of international right, and may be either secured by treaty, in which case they are binding by special contract, or may be the subject of municipal legislation in aid of the goodwill which suggests them. In regard to the building of ships of war we have now adopted both these expedients: the last by the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870, and the first by the Treaty of Washington. But our municipal legislation vested no right in any foreign Power; and our declarations of duty in the treaty extend no farther than they are specifically expressed. The law of nations neither lays a neutral under any obligation to prevent trade in contraband, nor does it impose on him any responsibility in regard to it. Let us consider for a moment what the converse of these propositions implies, and how far it is to be carried.

In the first place, it is desirable to trace such propositions to their elementary principles, and reason these out to their logical conclusions. It is not, we think, sufficiently kept in mind how serious a change is implied in regarding trade in contraband of war, not as giving rise to a belligerent privilege, but as implying the breach of neutral obligation. At present a contract between

a belligerent and a neutral trader for munitions of war is a lawful contract, to which the courts of the neutral country are entitled to give effect. If a Prussian or French citizen in the last war had ordered from a British merchant 10,000 rifles, or ten tons of gunpowder, the latter could not escape from his contract on the ground that the article ordered was contraband of war. If the purchaser undertake the transport of the goods purchased, his enemy may of course capture the goods in transit; but cannot complain of the merchant who sold them, or the State of which he is a citizen. In like manner contracts made in order to run a blockade are legal, although ship and cargo are exposed to capture. But suppose the law of nations in this respect to be altered, and the sale of contraband to be considered as a breach of neutrality which the Government of the neutral State was bound to prevent, and for the results of which it is responsible. Let us see how we should have squared accounts, on this footing, at the conclusion of the American war. The sale of contraband, being a breach of neutrality, would become a belligerent act; for he who ceases to be neutral becomes belligerent, and may be so dealt with. The South bought from us ships: the North bought rifles, and sail-cloth, and other military stores. We were, on this footing, responsible to the North for the consequences of the traffic in ships. We should have been responsible also to the South for the traffic in arms and ammunition. Each State would have accused us of breaches of neutrality which made us participators in the belligerent acts of their enemy; and each would claim against us the direct and indirect injury which the traffic had caused to them. We should thus have become substantially the insurers of both belligerents, and liable, neutral as we really were, to pay both sides, although all the time we had done no more than carry on our ordinary commerce.

There is, however, a reverse to the shield. For if the sale of contraband be a breach of neutrality, the purchase of contraband is a violation of the rights and the territory of the neutral State, and the belligerent who commits it is liable to the neutral State for the consequences of his unlawful act. The South would in this view have been liable to make good to us the demands of the North founded on the traffic in ships, and the North to make good to us the claims of the South founded on the traffic in stores and munitions. Had the Southern States succeeded in vindicating their independence, this result, fanciful as it sounds, would on this view of the law have represented our actual position. As it is, we are entitled to compensation from the South for any claims the North may

have against us in respect of the 'Alabama' and the other vessels in dispute. But the South is now absorbed in the United States. The money we are now asked to pay is to go into Confederate pockets, and to relieve Confederate taxation; and it is to be paid in respect of outrages committed by the Confederates by means of their own disregard of our Imperial rights. There was more than acuteness in Lord Redesdale's question how far the United States were responsible for breaches of the neutrality of this country by American citizens.

This slight sketch may suggest whether a traffic conducted in the course of ordinary commerce, by traders who take orders from all the world, and care nothing for either belligerent, is not probably as neutral in its real character, as our merchants would be if they put up their shutters and ruined their trade. But it also suggests a reflection more important to our present purpose. Those who advocate a more stringent law of contraband do so on the ground of the importance of avoiding foreign complications. Our first essay in this direction has not been fortunate. But there is ground for fearing that the effect would necessarily be the reverse. Such a labyrinth of claims as we have just suggested would involve within its coils inflammable matter enough for a dozen wars. We may well consider whether, were we to undertake the duty proposed, it is not utterly beyond our power and our resources. We cannot prevent the trade in contraband, neither can America, with her vast seaboard and her enterprising and fearless people. We found the enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Act a very difficult task—although a vessel of war can hardly be constructed without some amount of notoriety and time. How should we be placed if we undertook to use 'due diligence' to prevent the sale of arms, or ropes, or sails, or saltpetre to a belligerent? Even the recent provision about furnishing coals will provide fuel for the flames of discord in the very next European war. Our Government and our police will be outwitted and deceived on every side. The provisions of the law will be evaded by every colourable device which ingenuity can suggest; and we shall blunder in the dark into the very complications we were so anxious to avoid.\* At the best, however, this state of the law would impose on neutral States the burden

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\* 'On ne peut exiger de l'état neutre qu'il s'oppose à l'expédition en détail des armes et des munitions de guerre. Ces envois ne sont pas d'importance dans les relations d'état à état; la surveillance serait très-difficile, ou même impossible, et entraînerait une foule de taquineries et de vexations pour les citoyens.' (Bluntschli, *Le Droit international codifié*, § 766, *Lurdy's Translation*.)

of an expensive and troublesome preventive system ; and the question naturally occurs, ' In what interest is it that these new obligations are to be undertaken ? '

If in favour of belligerents, we say at once that belligerent rights are excessive as they stand, and the policy of the civilised world is to prevent their extension. The evils which war inflicts on nations who take no part in it are great enough under a code which has been framed by belligerents for their own ends. It is quite enough that the commerce of the neutral is impeded, and its supplies cut off, and its citizens molested, by quarrels in which it has no part, and by acts which, but for the prevailing code, it might at once resent and put down with a strong hand. But we should entirely protest against the belligerent being made stronger, or the neutral weaker, by a feather's weight.

It may be said that, as we are the chief maritime Power in the world, our interest lies in restricting, as far as may be, the traffic of neutrals in contraband of war, and especially of vessels of war. It is impossible to deny some weight and plausibility to this view, although we are not inclined to accord it the praise of profound wisdom which some critics on both sides of the Atlantic have ascribed to it. It is no doubt true that in framing the existing belligerent code we had a great share. But even Lord Stowell never carried belligerent rights so high ; and the world has changed much both with us and with our neighbours since his time. In the long run, we fear we should suffer by the adoption of these views, even as belligerents. It is no reflection on any of our neighbours to say that we, when we are neutral, are likely to observe the rule quite as religiously, at the least, as they are. In quarrelling with them, when we happen to be belligerents, for not keeping out of our quarrels, we should find more turmoil and vexation than any which arise from the existing system. Even treaties are seldom observed much longer than it is the interest of States to observe them ; and the endeavour, always vain, to compel their observance, frustrates the only object for which they were made. But even were it otherwise, our only true policy lies in peace ; and peace can only be preserved by discouraging belligerency, and encouraging and strengthening neutrals.

On the other view, it is urged, however, that the principle of the system proposed is truly all in favour of the neutral ; and that by a prompt and resolute stoppage of all contraband trade we shall avoid all those heartburnings and jealousies which have so often brought us to the very verge of war. This

is the opinion, unquestionably, of many able and eminent men, and it deserves to be fully and respectfully considered.

In the first place, it is difficult to see how it can possibly be in favour of a neutral State to hold the traffic in contraband to be a breach of neutrality, which the neutral State is bound to prevent. It is always in the power of a neutral State to prohibit the trade in contraband to its own subjects to any extent it thinks fit. It may have difficulties in enforcing its laws on this subject, but these difficulties are in no respect removed or diminished by superadding to the municipal law an international obligation. All the benefit which the neutral State can derive from the prohibition will be obtained by municipal laws, and therefore the international duty must be superadded solely for the benefit of the belligerent.

But, *secondly*, we much fear that this freedom from foreign complication to be thus attained, is only a phantom which flies when we approach. When we have undertaken to be responsible for every privateer which may leave our building yards, and every rifle which has been bought at Birmingham or Sheffield; when we have become a guarantor to both sides for all these results, and saved them the necessity of chasing privateers for themselves; when we have exhausted the resources of our detective staff in a fruitless never-ending still-beginning toil after a trade which constantly eludes us; shall we have gained that security for the sake of which we have agreed thus to disturb our neutrality? On the contrary, for every article in the contraband code, we have added another chance of misunderstanding with our belligerent neighbour. Whatever the American Case may say, if we had passed no Foreign Enlistment Act, we should never have heard of the 'Alabama' Claims.

As might be expected, however, and for very obvious reasons, our Transatlantic brothers do not propose, in this Case, to carry the liabilities and discomforts of neutrals nearly so high. But in order to avoid the necessity of doing so, their argument is entirely directed to prove that ships intended for hostile purposes stand on a footing essentially different from that of articles which are contraband of war; and that to build the hull of a vessel intended for this purpose implies a use of the neutral territory as the point of departure of a hostile armament. It is deduced from this principle, that the Foreign Enlistment Acts of America and Great Britain were in this respect only intended to enforce the existing and recognised law of nations; and that the acts against which they are directed were previously at variance with the obligations of neutrals.

We believe these positions to be entirely untenable, opposed to well-established international principle, and historically altogether erroneous. We must look back a little, behind the American and English Acts, and consider how the law of nations stood on this subject prior to their enactment. The primary test of this matter is a subject to which the American case makes no allusion—namely, the enlistment of soldiers on neutral territory, which was the main subject of the Acts in question, and to which the equipping of vessels of war was only by analogy assimilated. The very title of these celebrated Statutes shows that it was against the *enlistment* of troops that they were originally designed. To perpetuate the title in Acts directed solely against the building of ships of war is a misnomer.

Now the law of nations on this subject is a matter of no question. It is a breach of the sovereignty of a neutral State for any foreign Power to enlist soldiers within the neutral territory; and in accordance with the law of nations the neutral State may prevent and resent such an act. But the neutral State may also permit this to be done; and if it give the same privileges to both belligerents, it is guilty of no breach of neutrality. It is worth while, in elucidating our present inquiry, to pursue this a little further, and to trace to its origin this interposition of the State itself in regard to the matters prohibited by the Foreign Enlistment Act.

The public law of Europe on the subject of enlisting soldiers in a friendly neutral State is thus expressed by Bynkershoek (p. 158), ed. 1752, under the chapter entitled ‘*An liceat militum conducere in amicæ gentis populo?*’ And thus he solves the question:—

‘*Alia et distincta questio est an Princeps amicus in Imperio Populi amici eos, qui milites non sunt, possit conducere, et eorum opera in bello uti adversus hostes suos. Sane si quis Princeps subditis suis interdicit ne civitatem mutant, neve sub aliis Principibus militent, neque alii Principes recte eos subditos in militiam conducunt; sed ubi ea prohibitio non est, ut non est apud plerasque Europæ gentes, subditis licet, ut ipse quidem opinor, civitatem suam relinquere, in aliam migrare, et ibi sub alio Principe militare.*’

Then, after discussing this principle, he says, ‘*Quod juris est in instrumentis bellicis, idem esse puto in militibus apud amicum Populum comparandis, nisi in pace convenerit ne vel uni utrique id facere liceret.*’

Thus Bynkershoek rightly places the enlistment of soldiers under the same category as that of contraband of war. The belligerent may, if he can, intercept and capture them. The

neutral State will not interpose for their protection; but with their enlistment he is not bound to interfere, unless he thinks that necessary for the ends of his own internal government.

That this was and is the common law of Europe, we find, with surprise, is not controverted in the American Case. We say with surprise, because the real proposition which the compilers ought in consistency to have maintained, and one which is essential to their argument, is, that the Foreign Enlistment Act of this country, in prohibiting the enlistment of soldiers in British territory, only gave effect to acknowledged and recognised international principles. They quote detached passages from Mr. Canning's speeches in the debates on the bill, as if they applied mainly to the equipping of vessels of war; but they studiously avoid disclosing that every one of these passages was spoken in regard to the enlistment of soldiers; and, in so far as they can be held to be of international authority, they go to prove a position which is the very last the United States would concede—that for a neutral State to permit a belligerent to enlist soldiers on neutral territory is a breach of neutrality. If they are not good for this conclusion, they do not assist the argument in any way. But when these speeches and the debates on the Foreign Enlistment Act are carefully studied, as at the present time they well deserve to be, it will be found that they give no countenance whatever to the conclusion deduced from them.

The British Foreign Enlistment Act was introduced into Parliament in 1819 for the hardly concealed purpose of assisting Spain in her contest with her revolted colonies, and preventing British subjects from entering the service of the South American insurgents, and fitting out vessels of war to assist them. At that time, much Liberal fervour was excited in favour of the colonies, and much dynastic sympathy in favour of Spain. Two prior statutes stood on the Statute-book, passed amid the excitement produced by Jacobite terrors, by which enlistment in the service of a foreign Government by a British subject was punishable with death. These arbitrary and cruel laws, along with a repugnance to the restraint implied on personal liberty in such prohibitions—*ne patria carcer foret*—led the people and the Whig party in Parliament to dislike any further application of the principle; while the more tenacious English lawyers held by the British maxim, *nemo potest exuere patriam*. But it is a perversion of history to represent this measure as founded on an assumed international obligation. When first introduced, it was justified on two grounds: *first*, that it was in aid of the prerogative, and of the common law;

and, *secondly*, that it was necessary to enable us to fulfil the treaty of 1814 with Spain. Lord Castlereagh was at that time Foreign Minister, and leader of the House of Commons. So far from giving the slightest sanction to the view contended for, Lord Castlereagh on the second reading of the bill stated the international principle on this subject in the very language of the continental authorities we have quoted. He said:---

‘As to the law of nations on the subject, he was ready to acknowledge that when a State was in the habit of allowing its subjects to enter into the service of belligerents as mercenary troops, *if this were done without partiality, no cause of complaint could be given.* But as it had not been the practice of this country to allow its subjects to enter as mercenaries into the service of foreign Powers, so it was manifestly against the law of nations to allow that troops *should be raised by one belligerent party, and not for the other.*’ \*

This declaration from the leader of the House is enough to dissipate the cloud of dust raised in the American Case, and contains a sound and explicit statement of the assumed international principle on which the measure was founded. On the motion, however, for going into Committee on the bill, Sir James Mackintosh made his celebrated speech against it; insisting that it was not in support, but in breach of neutrality, and that its real object was, by legislation in favour of one belligerent, to injure the other. That speech, which, although it would not command the sympathy of the present times in its passionate pleading for the knight-errantry of soldiers of fortune, was yet full of the soundest and most mature views on the international aspect of the measure, produced an immense effect; and in replying to him, Mr. Canning, who was not the responsible Minister, and never a very docile follower, diverged from the cautious limits which had been laid down by Lord Castlereagh, and indulged in some rhetorical passages on the general obligations of neutrality. Even at the most, however, they amounted to no more than a statement of what he wished the law of nations to be. He admitted that the opinion of the old jurists was against him, but maintained that times were changed; and little dreaming what Crimean and American conflicts would bring about, declared that such things would not now be tolerated in Christendom. The debate boasted of many eminent speakers. Sir William Scott and Dr. Phillimore spoke in favour of the bill; but placed their support of it on much safer grounds. The former did not give the weight of his great name to any demur as to the general views of



Bynkershoek; but rather, admitting the authority as well as the practice of former times, rested his opinion on the undoubted right of the sovereign Power to prescribe internal laws for its own subjects, and enforced the municipal importance and expediency of the measure. Dr. Phillimore pointed out that Bynkershoek excepted the case of treaty obligations; and supported the bill on the ground that it was in fulfilment of the treaty of 1814 with Spain. The whole force of the Liberal party opposed the measure. Scarlett and Brougham entirely adopted the views of Sir James Mackintosh; and Lord Holland and Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords made speeches which it were well to consult. The latter quoted the authority of Martens in aid of the general view which Lord Castlereagh had originally expressed; and Lord Holland, in a very able address, described with prophetic clearness the inevitable difficulties we should have to encounter if we were once to admit the right of a foreign Power to interfere with our municipal legislation.

Whatever may be the merits of the measure as part of our internal code of laws, it is important not to forget, on the one hand, the circumstances in which it was passed; and, on the other, the strong and vigorous testimony borne to the general international principle by so many names we are accustomed to honour. It is the more surprising to find this new gloss put on the Foreign Enlistment Act, that its purely municipal character never was questioned until now. No writer, either in Europe or in America, as far as we are aware, ever maintained that these legislative provisions in either country were founded on the principle that the enlistment of soldiers on neutral territory, with the consent of the neutral State, was a breach of neutrality. Wheaton, in his commentary on this statute, does not so much as allude to Canning's figures of rhetoric; and the practice of both Britain and America is entirely at variance with the argument founded on it. An illustration or two will suffice.

In 1855, while the Crimean war was still unconcluded, an Act was passed by the British Parliament, the title of which goes far to show what we supposed to be the law of nations on this matter. It was an Act 'To permit Foreigners to be enlisted and to serve as Officers and Soldiers in Her Majesty's Forces.' As we certainly did not mean to confine our recruiting to belligerent territory, this at least shows that we thought what we proposed to do to be no breach of neutrality, if the neutral Power consented. One of the neutral Powers concerned was the United States; for in carrying out the Act, agents came

into the United States for the purpose of engaging recruits; and we have the advantage, in an opinion given by the Attorney-General of the United States (Mr. Cushing) of a very distinct commentary on the principle and policy of the American Foreign Enlistment Act. He says:—

‘The undertaking of a belligerent to enlist troops of land or sea in a neutral State without the previous consent of the latter is a hostile attack on its national sovereignty. A neutral State may, if it please, *permit or grant to belligerents the liberty to raise troops of land or sea within its territory*; but for a neutral State to allow or concede the liberty to one belligerent and *not to all* would be an act of manifest belligerent partiality, and a palpable breach of neutrality. The United States constantly refuse this liberty to all belligerents alike with impartial justice; and that prohibition is made known to the world by a permanent Act of Congress.’

He adds:—

‘The Act of Congress prohibiting foreign enlistments is a matter of domestic or municipal right as to which foreign Governments have no right to inquire, the international offence being independent of the question of the existence of a prohibitory Act of Congress. All which it concerns it to know is whether we as a Government permit such enlistments. It has no business to inquire whether there be statutes on the subject or not. Least of all has it a right to take notice of such statutes to see how they may be evaded.’ \*

The law is here clearly laid down, in both its branches. A neutral State may permit foreign enlistment, if it permit it to all, and may prohibit it, if it prohibit it to all. The law by which it enforces the prohibition on its own subjects is a matter of municipal regulation, with which foreign nations have no concern, the international offence being partial permission or partial prohibition.

Accordingly, as we have already remarked, during the whole of the American struggle, America carried on a system of cosmopolitan enlistment, on neutral territory, wherever it could find soldiers to enlist. They recruited citizens of the German States by thousands; and, notwithstanding the prohibitions of our Foreign Enlistment Act, they tried to do the same in Ireland. We think we may assume, therefore, that after as well as before the Foreign Enlistment Acts, foreign enlistment, with the consent of the neutral State, was no breach of neutrality.

It would seem then very hopeless to contend that while raising a regiment was lawful, an act to which a neutral

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\* Wheaton, p. 727.

sovereign might consent without any breach of neutrality, equipping a ship of war, which is only by analogy brought under the same category, was a breach of neutrality. The act of equipping the ship and enlisting the soldiers are by these statutes placed in the same category; or rather, the equipping of a war vessel is raised up to the standard of military enlistment, and held, constructively, to be an equal infringement of the sovereign right of the neutral State. It is manifestly impossible to raise it higher.

In our Parliamentary discussions during the American conflict, these principles were to some extent lost sight of. The Opposition argued as if the Act created a new offence—the Government as if it was passed in the interest of belligerents. But neither of these views was complete or accurate. That to which specific penalties and procedure was attached by the Act, was before the Act an evasion of the prerogative. Neither was the Act one which, directly at least, had any reference to neutral obligations. The acts which it prohibited were, on the face of the Statute, acts which a neutral might, without breach of neutrality, lawfully permit: and the prohibitions are confined to the doing of these acts ‘without his Majesty’s licence.’ The prohibition as to enlistment in foreign service is absolute, and in no way confined to the case of a foreign State engaged in actual war. In like manner, the equipping of a vessel, or augmenting of its armament ‘without the leave of his Majesty for that purpose first had and obtained,’ is not, under the 8th section of the statute, necessarily limited to the case of the actual existence of hostilities. What rights the power thus conferred by the Legislature may be held inferentially to have granted to belligerents in the event of war we shall consider immediately; but the Act itself, and the subject-matter of it, were purely municipal, and were only rendered necessary by the fact that both enlistment and equipping of vessels were, with the consent of the Sovereign, if impartially permitted to foreigners, entirely consistent with neutrality.

This being clear, we are now able to deal with and dispose of the notion that the building of a vessel intended for warlike purposes in a neutral port is equivalent to making that port a base for military operation, and a point of departure for a military armament; and, therefore, as the Americans contend, forbidden by the law of nations, although the raising and departure of a thousand soldiers would be a matter of which no belligerent could complain.

As an abstract proposition this ground is manifestly unten-

able. That a neutral Power, in permitting the enlistment of soldiers, or the equipping of vessels within neutral territory, may carry that license beyond the bounds of neutral loyalty, and allow the neutral soil to be made the base of military operations is true; and in that case it is also true that the other belligerent may complain of and resent it. The Northern States, by recruiting in Germany, did not make Germany thereby the point of departure of an armament in any international sense. In like manner if the United States had not passed any Foreign Enlistment Act, and had permitted recruiting in 1855, Russia could not have complained that the soldiers we raised made the United States their point of departure. On the other hand, if with a view to the invasion of Canada or of Ireland the United States not only permitted recruiting of their citizens by Fenian agents, but tacitly permitted drilling, reviewing, encampment, and an ultimate departure in the shape of an organised force, we by no means say that such acts would not indicate such favour to the invaders as would clearly exceed the limits which neutrality imposed. This complaint of the use of the neutral soil for a thing internationally lawful in detail, and only becoming unlawful from its extent and incidents, must be made out not constructively, but as matter of fact. To justify it there must be something more than the hiring of a soldier, or the purchase of a rifle, or the sale of a ship. These are, internationally, all alike contraband of war, and nothing more, although the traffic in some of them is, and in some is not, prohibited to our citizens by municipal law. There must be something of the nature of an armed force collected and departing; something which goes beyond the mere mercantile contract for the furnishing of an article which is contraband of war.

Now it is too plain to need illustration that a contract to build or the building of a vessel which it is intended afterwards to arm elsewhere, are no more equivalent to collecting an armed force within neutral territory, than the hiring of the soldiers or sailors whom the vessel is to carry, or the purchase of the cannon which are to fit her for war. But the hiring of the soldiers or sailors is internationally lawful, the purchase of the cannon is lawful, and the purchase of the floating carriage which is to convey them is lawful also, as far as the obligations of the neutral State are concerned. If the cannon of the 'Alabama' came from Liège, and her crew from Holland, each being taken on board at a Belgian or Dutch port, whence did the armament depart? What the American Case founds itself on is a mere *nisi prius* technicality, which if

logically carried out would apply to their own enlistments, and their own purchases of arms, quite as powerfully as to the 'Alabama' and the 'Florida.' Of course an armed naval force consists of vessel, guns, and men; but if it be no breach of neutral obligation to provide the arms and the men, it is none to provide the carriage which is to transport them.

The authority of Hautefeuille and Bluntschli is strongly insisted on in support of a contrary view. Hautefeuille is quite consistent: for his opinion would make neutral States responsible for the trade in contraband. Bluntschli no doubt gives a dogmatic opinion as to vessels of war; but he writes with too much direct reference to the present dispute to make his authority important in the absence of either principle or reasoning; and he gives none. His *résumé* of the Foreign Enlistment Acts shows not the slightest appreciation of their municipal nature, which Attorney-General Cushing so clearly explained, and which we have already illustrated; and is based on the idea, which the Americans as well as ourselves have always repudiated, that these Acts were equivalent to international treaties. What blinded the Munich Professor's eyesight was the temper in which he wrote. When he speaks of the escape of the 'Alabama' as '*la circonstance la plus éclatante, mais non la seule dans laquelle se révélèrent les dispositions hostiles du gouvernement anglais,*' he affords the key to what follows, and the only one it admits of. The same author, in his 'Code of International Law,' has a passage in which a distinction is attempted in aid of the new school, which very strongly illustrates the dangers of philosophic refinements on a matter so thoroughly practical. At section 766 he gives an opinion, that while a neutral State is not bound to prevent the supply of contraband to a belligerent '*en détail*' it is bound to prevent it '*en gros.*' He gives, however, no definition of the terms, nor any means for drawing so important a line. Where '*détail*' ends, and '*en gros*' commences is a harder question than that which the distinction is intended to solve. What was probably floating in his head was a much more solid distinction; namely, that between commerce in contraband and the preparation of armaments on neutral territory.

But as regards commerce in contraband, including vessels of war, we shall conclude this summary by quoting an authority higher than Bluntschli, and on this question almost paramount.

The compilers of the American Case are haunted throughout by the felt and oppressive presence of the judgment of Mr. Justice Story in the well-known case of the 'Santissima Trinidad,' which arose as follows.

In the war between Spain and her colonies, the latter were recognised as belligerents by the United States. The 'San-tissima Trinidad,' a Spanish vessel, was captured by a vessel called the 'Independencia.' This vessel, originally built as a privateer at Baltimore during the war with Great Britain, had been been in 1816 loaded at Baltimore with munitions of war by American owners, and sent to sea with sealed instructions to the supercargo to sell her to the Buenos Ayres Government, then at war with Spain. She was so sold. The rest of her history is immaterial to our present inquiry. She became a public ship of war, and was ultimately found in that character to have illegally increased her armament in an American port.

On the suit of the Spanish Consul the legality of the capture came for adjudication before the American tribunals. A plea was founded on what took place in 1816, in regard to her sale; on which Mr. Justice Story makes the following remarks in delivering the opinion of the Court:—

'The question as to the illegal armament and outfit of the "Independencia" may be dismissed in a few words. It is apparent that though equipped as a vessel of a war, she was sent to Buenos Ayres on a commercial adventure, contraband indeed, but in no shape violating our laws on our national neutrality. If captured by a Spanish ship of war during the voyage, she would have been justly considered as good prize, and for being engaged in a traffic prohibited by the laws of nations. But there is nothing in our laws, or in the laws of nations, that forbids our citizens from sending armed vessels as well as munitions of war to foreign ports for sale. It is a commercial adventure which no nation is bound to prohibit; and which only exposes the persons engaged in it to the penalty of confiscation.'\*

The compilers of the American Case affect to treat this most authoritative judgment as if it were a solitary aberration from principles universally recognised. It was the deliberate judgment of the Court, and only followed out what we have shown to be law, accepted by common consent, on both sides of the Atlantic.

While, however, we consider the views we have endeavoured to combat as entirely false, theoretically and historically, dangerous and indeed absurd in their logical consequences, and irreconcilable with tranquillity between the best of friends, we by no means say that the Foreign Enlistment Act was barren of international effect. We entirely deny that it either declared or created any belligerent right—but it put a weapon in our hands which we might, in international comity, be reasonably expected to use fairly, as in question of friendly dealing with a

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\* Wheaton's Reports, vol. vii. p. 132.

friendly belligerent. As we have said before, there are between nations relations of good offices and fair dealing which stand outside the international code; and which, though not prescribed by any precise rule, one nation may reasonably expect to be fulfilled, and on the non-fulfilment of which it may reasonably be chagrined. Under this category, we take it, the whole class of contraband truly falls, as far as a neutral Government is concerned. International law imposes on a neutral State no obligation to prevent contraband traffic. But if a nation is so persuaded of the unfairness or evils of a particular class of contraband trade as to take power to prevent it by special penal legislation, the refusal or neglect to use these powers may indicate an amount of unfriendliness bordering on hostility. That will very much depend on the circumstances under which the refusal or neglect takes place. There was no precise rule of international law which compelled the United States in 1793 to refuse leave to the French cruisers to equip in their ports; although one may easily see that liberty to do so might have resulted in the States being made the basis of their military operations against Canada. But the advantage to France and the injury to Great Britain were beyond all reasonable proportions, and Washington was perfectly right when he defended the Foreign Enlistment Act on the ground of international honesty and fair dealing. Washington never meant to apply that view to ships, and not to men. He spoke of the whole policy of the Act—which was one intended to preserve not belligerent rights, but fair and honourable understanding between nations.

While, therefore, we hold that the Northern States had no right whatever vested in them by reason of the Foreign Enlistment Act of this country which they could enforce as matter of precise obligation, it is not to be denied that, placed as the Confederate States were, it would have been on our part an unfriendly act had we suspended in their favour the prohibitions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. It is only in that sense that it can be said that we were bound to the 'due diligence' of the treaty. It was not an obligation of strict law; but it was a clear allowance of a good understanding, that our powers of prevention should be used in good faith. We are far from saying that in all circumstances even that amount of obligation rested on us; but in the circumstances which did occur no one can dispute that the United States had reason in expecting that we should enforce the law; and that which, in questions between nations, one nation may reasonably expect, the other ought to fulfil.

But this duty of fairly fulfilling an office of friendliness within our power is quite a different affair from assuming a specific obligation as the counterpart of a belligerent right; and the results of any alleged or proved failure rest on a foundation very dissimilar to those which would be the unquestionable incidents of a breach of neutrality. What we were really bound to was good faith—and nothing more. If our want of ‘due diligence’ indicated a want of honest intention, we should have little to complain of in any award against us. This is the real question which the Geneva Arbitrators had to decide.

Viewed in this light, the Treaty of Washington presents nothing which appears exceptionable or ambiguous. The admission that we were bound to ‘due diligence’ in enforcing the Foreign Enlistment Act falls far short of accepting international responsibility for its violation. The words might have been more precise as regards the international principle; but the matter submitted to the arbitrators, on any ordinary reading of its terms, seems to us sufficiently plain. If our remissness has led to losses by capture suffered by American citizens, we might, without sacrifice of principle, undertake to reimburse them, whatever might be our rights according to the strict international canon.

In Lord Granville’s Instructions to the High Commissioners of the 9th of February 1871, which have been laid before Parliament, the ‘Alabama’ Claims are described as ‘the claims against Great Britain for damages sustained by the depredations of those vessels,’ &c., without stating *whose* are the claims or by *whom* the damages were sustained. Hence the Americans argue that the claims are the claims of the United States upon this country. But in the 7th section of the same Instructions the British counterclaims are described as ‘the claims of British subjects;’ and the British Government expressed a hope that these claims of British subjects would be simultaneously settled. This difference is of the most momentous consequence, and it is the omission of that word ‘citizens’ or ‘subjects’ which is, in our opinion, the most fatal defect in the Treaty. A State may well agree to indemnify, by arbitration or otherwise, certain private persons, subjects of another State, who have suffered damages or losses by reason of some act which might have been, but was not, prevented; and instances of such indemnities or compensation are not rare. The sum paid is awarded to the injured persons and distributed amongst them. But we know no instance at all, in which one independent State has consented to pay to another



State, an indemnity for any act, not of private wrong, but of public policy: nor certainly is there any case in which a belligerent has exacted from a neutral a contribution of so extraordinary a nature. For this would be a fine or penalty imposed by one nation on another; and the sum paid would go not to indemnify private persons for their losses, but into the public Treasury, as a set-off to the expenses of the war. Had the 'Alabama' Claims been described in the Treaty as the claims of *American citizens*, for losses caused to them by these vessels, all ulterior demands or consequential claims would have been *ipso facto* excluded: but the studious omission of these words in the Protocols and the Treaty converts the claims of American citizens into claims of the United States. We wholly deny that there can be such thing as claims of one nation upon another, except in the sense that a State may support and obtain satisfaction for the just demands of its own subjects. Suppose that the United States had a just cause of war against Great Britain, at the time, in consequence of the escape of the 'Alabama.' It is impossible to put the case higher. They might then have declared war against us. But not having done so, it is an unprecedented course to reserve their grievance, and then to present it in the shape of a bill for unliquidated damages.

Liability to the Government of the United States for results which it were an abuse of terms to characterise even as consequential, and in which the part borne by the escaped vessels must have been infinitesimal, is a very novel demand, and one which, if it was meant to be included, should have been expressed in the clearest words. The plea for it rests on grounds entirely beyond even the wide concessions of the Treaty; and it is in fact a demand that we shall answer as belligerents, and conquered belligerents, for the expenses of the war itself. That is its true meaning; and while we have endeavoured to disperse the fallacies on which it is supported, the nation has, with singular and unbroken unanimity, regarded it as one entirely beyond the region even of discussion. That it was not expected that the arbitrators would give effect to it, does not improve the American position. Under this Treaty it never should have been made; and if it had been openly expressed, we never could have been parties to the arbitration. In the American Case a triumphant reference is made to a declaration of Washington, that if the American Government did not do all in their power to prevent French privateers from leaving their ports, they would make reparation. What Washington contemplated was a compensation to such traders as

might suffer by the depredations of the escaped privateers; but the American Government would have given us a very short and explicit answer if, on the faith of this assurance, we had presented them with a bill of costs containing all our war expenses up to the Peace of Amiens.

Into the question of how far we honestly carried out the provisions of our own municipal law we shall not enter here. That is the question which the Arbitrators at Geneva may have to decide. We were, and are, confident in our good faith, ready to abide by their decision. With all we have said, this country has never been insensible of the bitterness of the trial through which America has passed; and we have shown, by acts which deserve recognition, the truth and fidelity of that feeling. We are ready to make, and have made, every allowance for the intensity of American opinion on this unhappy topic; and should rejoice, even at the sacrifices we have made, to lay our theoretical views on the altar of a good understanding with a nation bound to us, and to civilisation, by so many ties.

It cannot, however, have escaped our readers that as a mere matter of juridical disquisition we think the whole subject of belligerent rights and neutral obligations admits of readjustment. We are by no means convinced that our Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870, which throws on the neutral ship-builder the burden of proving his own innocence of what is in truth no crime, is not a serious mistake; but, at any rate, the provisions of that Act do not extend anything like so far as the 'Rules' incorporated in the Treaty of Washington. There is another side to all these questions from that to which modern jurists have generally leant. We point out, simply as a contribution to problems of great importance and great difficulty, one or two principles which may deserve attention in solving them.

The key to our reflections may be found in this. It seems to be assumed that a merchant who deals in contraband of war commits an act which is a breach of some moral obligation. This is not so. On the contrary, belligerent rights, as regards neutrals, are simply licensed pillage. In *foro poli* no foreign State, by going to war, has a right to disturb the commerce of a merchant who has no concern with his quarrels, and who owes him no allegiance, unless he truly take part in the fray. The real question is, what is neutrality? We agree in Vattel's doctrine that a neutral must give assistance to neither belligerent; but what is meant by assistance? An Andrea Ferrara keeps his shop open to all the world. Is he not the

most neutral of men, who never inquires, and never cares, whether his customers come from Moscow or from Madrid? Must he refuse to sell his wares to a purchaser simply because he needs them? This would be, not the maintenance, but the breach of neutrality; yet this is really the foundation of all these complaints. America complained of our building ships for the South, because the South needed ships and the North did not. Prussia complained that we sold arms to France, because Prussia had arms and France had none. We are not to export coal when coal is wanted, if one customer who is at war particularly wants it. This is not neutrality. Neutrality rests in the object of the giver, not in the necessities of the recipient. A nation which goes on in its ordinary commerce, undisturbed by commotions outside of it, exhibits absolute neutrality, nor would that ever be questioned excepting by those who wish, by stopping neutral commerce, to injure an enemy.

We agree with Sir James Mackintosh in thinking that it only requires common sense to define neutrality; and that the more we reduce such questions to the rules of ordinary life, the more is our conclusion likely to be right.

The real difficulty which the question of neutral trade presents is to distinguish between ordinary commerce and that which is created by the belligerent necessities of foreign customers. M. Laboulaye says very truly in his introduction to M. Bluntschli's work:--

*'On voit par là qu'il peut y avoir collision entre l'intérêt des neutres, qui les pousse à faire des affaires commerciales avec les parties belligérantes, et l'axiome que les neutres doivent s'abstenir de toute participation à la guerre; il y a lutte entre ces deux principes; un équilibre parfait est encore à trouver.'*

So we think. A just balance is still to find; but we are certain it is not to be found among the briars and thickets into which some modern doctrines would lead us.

We do not speculate in any way as to the probable solution of the perplexities in which our well-intended efforts have involved us; but both Great Britain and America have the deepest interest in the general topics we have discussed; and if the suspension of the treaty, whether destined to be temporary or permanent, leads to a more satisfactory international code, it may in the end draw the two nations more closely together. Much, as we have said, may be wisely sacrificed to a good understanding; but the present demand is a warning how dangerous it may be to enlarge the already copious catalogue of belligerent rights; and we trust that an anxiety to terminate

an irritating quarrel will not induce our rulers to lose sight of the general principles on which we have hitherto acted, and on which alone we believe neutrality and a policy of non-intervention can consistently, or indeed safely, rest.

Let us illustrate this by the example of these vessels which have been the subject of so much controversy. If the neutrality of the country was violated by their construction, the man who built them must have ceased to be neutral—that is to say, he must have had some desire or intention that one of the two belligerents should prevail, and done something which he intended to promote that end. But the ship-builder on the Mersey was only carrying on his ordinary trade of ship-building. He received this order much in the way in which he had received many before. A foreign house, which he knew to be good for the money, transmitted it. Whether the principal in the transaction had a war on hand or not, he did not know, and did not care. Mr. Adams' ingenuity might have traced the Confederate hand in the contract, and our Government might have been satisfied on the point; but how should this fact affect in any degree the actual neutrality of the ship-builder, or render him, of set purpose and intention, a party to the strife? Yet this was truly the real position which the builders occupied in these proceedings.

If Russia and Turkey, being at war, both give orders to our ship-builders, whom both had employed during peace, the most perfect neutrality would be to execute their orders, and treat them exactly as we did before the war began. If Russia had ships enough, and Turkey still required some, Russia might do her best to exclude Turkey from the markets of the world. But she could have no right to ask a neutral nation to help her in doing so, or to shut against Turkey the workshops which were open to everyone else. That would be an active intervention in favour of one belligerent and against the other; and, indeed, if the question be resolved into its elements, it will be found that any alteration by a neutral trader of his ordinary course of trade in consequence of foreign belligerency must be a breach of neutrality, unless the wants of each be precisely equal. This would be clear if applied to articles which are not contraband of war. To refuse to sell corn to a belligerent who was much in need of it, merely because of his necessities, would be a flagrant breach of neutrality; nor is it easy to resist the same conclusion where the merchant deals in articles meant not for the preservation, but for the destruction of life. The general rule of a perfect neutrality ought to produce two results: *first*, that the neutral should not alter his

ordinary dealings so as to injure either belligerent; and, *secondly*, that neither belligerent should so conduct his warfare as to injure any neutral. This is the *rationale* of the neutral position. It is not of course international law; for war is abnormal, and the belligerent has framed laws for the neutral as well as for himself.

The authorship of the Treaty of Washington is so mysterious and obscure a subject, that we have felt at liberty to criticise its provisions with freedom, inasmuch as we know not whether it was drawn up by Englishmen or by Americans, by Commissioners or by Ministers, by the Law Officers of the President or by the Law Officers of the Crown. Indeed, we prefer to regard it as an American, not an English, composition. The British High Commissioners appear to feel that in putting their names to such an instrument, they have assumed, and bear, a sufficient amount of responsibility. But be the authors of this document who they may, we are convinced that they misconceived the fundamental principles of law recognised by the jurisprudence both of America and England; and that they would substitute for them rules and obligations which would render the position of neutrals in time of war absolutely intolerable, and would compel them in preference to resort to arms. Indeed, as has been pointed out by M. Laveleye, to a small neutral State such liabilities might be absolutely crushing, and would involve the extinction of its existence. Belgium sold arms and machinery to Russia in 1854. Is Belgium therefore to pay the cost of the prolongation of the Russian war? How are these constructive obligations to be enforced on neutrals, or by neutral Governments; on their own subjects? The Treaty provides (Art. VI.) that the parties to it agree to observe these rules in future as between themselves and to invite other maritime Powers to accede to them. But where is the legislation either in the United States or in Britain to give effect to them? Restrictions of this nature must be embodied in Acts of Congress or Acts of Parliament before they are binding on anyone; and is it possible to conceive a penal statute of which the sanction is to be sought in a treaty with a foreign Power? In 1870 Lord Granville maintained, with great ability and perfect justice, the right of this country to carry on its neutral trade in military supplies and arms with both belligerents, against the remonstrances of the Cabinet of Berlin. But if we adopt the second rule of Article VI. of this Treaty, which provides that neither belligerent is 'to make use of the ports or waters of a neutral for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms,' the whole ground of

Lord Granville's argument is cut from under him. He contended, and we now contend, that neutrality consists not in excluding a belligerent from a renewal of military supplies, but in allowing precisely the same facilities to both belligerents: and that is the only safe course for a neutral to pursue. But these Rules to which the Treaty actually consents to refer the conduct of the British Government at the time when the claims arose, neither were law then, nor are law now, nor can be made law without a subversion of the first principles of international jurisprudence, as we think we have established by precedent and authority in the preceding pages. The language of the Treaty is as obscure and involved as the notions it seems intended to convey. It is alike remote from the language of diplomacy and the language of law; and in some articles the expressions used mean, or may mean, the exact reverse of what they were designed to convey.\*

In taking leave of this painful subject, we cannot but reflect with satisfaction that there is one veteran English statesman whose conduct upon the whole case has been alike consistent with law and reason. Earl Russell was Foreign Minister of this country during the American Civil War; and the more the principles are examined on which he acted at that difficult crisis, the more unassailable do they appear to be. When arbitration was first proposed as a means of escaping from these difficulties, Lord Russell had the courage and fairness to say at once, that England could never submit to a tribunal of foreign jurists or statesmen her own independent policy and conduct. And when the Treaty of Washington reached this country last summer, Lord Russell was the one man who raised his voice in the House of Lords against the perils which he discerned lurking under the specious forms of reconciliation and peace. We confess that, led away by an earnest desire to terminate these differences and to give an assurance of our friendly feelings to the American people, we were disposed to put the most favourable construction on the negotiation, and to suppress the criticisms to which it might even then have seemed obnoxious. But subsequent events have justified the foresight of Lord Russell more than that of any other man; and we hold

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\* For instance, Article II. provides that the Arbitrators 'shall proceed impartially and carefully to examine and decide all questions that shall be laid before them on the part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and the United States *respectively*.' The word *respectively* would imply that each Government is entitled to lay before the Arbitrators any question it thinks fit, whereas it is of the essence of a Court of Arbitration that questions should be submitted to it by the parties, not *respectively*, but *jointly*, which is the very reverse.

that the preposterous claims which the American Government have ingrafted on this agreement demonstrate that an arbitration cannot be carried into effect between two sovereign States when the subject and extent of that arbitration are not defined, and are understood in a contradictory sense by one and the other Power.

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## NOTE

*On the Article on the History of Painting in Italy, p. 122.*

We have received from Mr. J. A. Crowe, one of the authors of the *New History of Painting in Italy*, reviewed in our last Number, a letter in which he complains that justice has not been done to his share of the work. He assures us that 'this History is—as it purports to be —in every sense the work of two partners, *both* of whom are men of 'education and special knowledge of art, good draughtsmen, and travelled artists.' But on referring to the passage in which we adverted to the respective merits of the two authors, we are unable to discover that any injustice has been done to Mr. Crowe, as we expressly stated that we did not know what the precise compact is between the two labourers in this vast field; and we are quite contented to suppose that their merit is equal.

## INDEX.

## B

*Bell*, Sir Charles, review of the 'Memoirs and Letters of the late,' 394—account of him, 391—his brothers, 396-8—his education and training, 400-1—his 'System of Dissections,' 401—Edinburgh and its society in the last generation, 402-8, 427—Charles Bell goes to London, 408-10—Horner, and others, 411—Bell's 'Anatomy of Expression,' 412—his success and marriage, 413—his discoveries in the physiology of the nervous system, 414—his lectures in Windmill Street, 420—his attention to gun-shot wounds, 420—goes to Waterloo, 421—Brussels, 421—loss of two of his brothers, 422—his works on 'Animal Mechanics,' and on the 'Hand,' 423—his characteristics, 423—receives the order of knighthood, 424—his friend Richardson, 424—his fishing days, 426—returns to Edinburgh, 426—close of the career of his friends and of himself, 429.

*Broglie*, Duke of, his Memoir, 347.

*Brougham*, Henry Lord, review of the 'Life and Times of,' 502—his parentage and early life, 502-3—his part in the establishment of the 'Edinburgh Review,' 504—introduced to public life, 506—his work on 'Colonial Policy,' 505-6—called to the bar, 507—goes into Parliament, 508—the Berlin decree and the orders in Council, 511-12—talking-out questions in the House on petitions, 517—scandals respecting Queen Caroline, 518-22—her death, 523—Lord Londonderry's death, 525—Canning prime minister, 525—Brougham and he on good terms, 528—death of George IV., 529—Parliamentary Reform, 530—Earl Grey's administration, 531—Brougham's removal to the House of Lords, 532—scene in the House, 534—result of the general election, 535—settlement of the question of Reform, 536-9—breaking up of Lord Grey's Government, 540—his excellence in every department of intellect, 541-4—his faults, 544—inaccuracies in the volumes, 548—his fame, 549.

*Browning*, Robert, his 'Balaustion's Adventure' reviewed, 221—the story, 221-3—the author's fecundity, 222—his conception of the matter, 227-42—his version of the text of *Alcestis*, 242-9.

*Burn*, Robert, review of his 'Rome and the Campagna,' 293—the city in 357 A.D., 293—visit of Constantine, 295—objects of celebrity visited by him, 296—configuration of the hills of Rome, 299—history of the Palatine hill, 301—mansions of the wealthier Romans, 303—Nero's works, 310—temples in old times destroyed by fire, 312—works of later emperors, 314-6—Mr. Burn's labours, 317—company formed for dredging the Tiber, 320.

## C

*Church*, the, the land, and the Liberals, works respecting, 250—the Tory party, 250—its claims to the Established Church and Agricultural Interest, 251-5—settlement of the battle of Free Trade, 256—local taxation, 257—administration of affairs in counties, 274—



question of the malt tax, 277—agricultural horses, 283—laws relating to the tenure or ownership of land, 283—the game laws, 285—tenant-right, 285—duty of the Government of this country, 290—relations between the Church and the Liberals, 292.

*Church, Disestablishment of, see Miall.*

*Crowe, J. A., and Cavalcaselle, G. B.,* review of their 'History of Painting in Italy, from the Second to the Sixteenth Century,' 122—rendering of Italian names, 123—fruits of each author's labour, 124—the materials, and the looseness of the nomenclature employed, 129—revival of art in Italy, 130—Giotto, 131—Paolo Uccello, 132—the elder Pesello, 133—Pesellino, 133—the brothers Pollaiuoli, 133—Benozzo Gozzoli, 133—art at Sienna, 134—Orcagna, 134—Pietro della Francesca, 136—Melozzo di Forlì, 138—Antonello da Messina, 140—Giovanni da Bruggia, 140—Aldighiero, 141—Francesco Squarcione, 142—Andrea Mantegna, 143—Jacopo, Gentile, and Giovanni Bellini, 144—Note on article, 584.

## F

*Frere, John Hookham,* review of the works of, 472—notice of him, 472-5—the 'Anti-Jacobin,' 475—Frere's mastery of the old English language and style, 477—goes as Envoy to Portugal, 478—his 'Translations from the Poems of the Cid,' 479—sent out again to Spain, 481—Romana, 481—Sir John Moore, 482—Frere's country life in England, 483—the 'Quarterly Review' started, 484—his success as a 'man about town,' 486—his 'Monks and Giants,' 487—Frere and Byron's 'Don Juan,' 491—his marriage, 492—Malta, 493—Frere's Aristophanic labours, 496-500—his characteristics, 501.

## G

*Grant, Charles,* review of his 'Central Provinces of India,' 196—early surveys, 197—the Bombay marine and the Indian navy, 198—land surveys, 199—Mr. Markham's work, 202—the Vindhya and Sâtpûras, 205—the Rajpoots, 208—the aboriginal tribes admixed with the genuine tribes of Hindus and Mahomedans, 210—the Gonds, 210-2—their belief in the power of evil, 212—the Chamars of Chattisgurh, 214—other tribes, 214—administration of the Central Provinces, 216—their revenue, 217—their minerals, 217—local management, 218

*Guizot, M.,* review of his 'Le Duc de Broglie,' 347—the Duke's memoranda, 347—his family, 348-9—his father and mother, 348-9—*coup* of the 18th Brumaire, 350—the Duke's views, 350—his military services, 351—imperfections of Napoleon's speeches, 352—goes to Warsaw, 353—the Abbé de Pradt, 353—takes his seat among the Peers of France, 355-6—his marriage, 357—trial of Marshal Ney, 357—Charles X., 359—Revolution of July 1830, and the election of Louis Philippe, 360—M. de Broglie becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs, 361—and head of the Cabinet, 363—withdraws into private life, 364—his services respecting slavery, 365—the faith of his after life, 366.

## H

*Holland, Sir Henry,* his 'Recollections of Past Life,' 344.

## I

*Irish University Education*, works relating to, 166—demand put forward in the name of complete educational equality, 167—the Catholics, and their views, 167-74—and demands, 175—opposition to a denominational system under the control of ecclesiastics, 175-7—Roman Catholic University, 180—plans proposed, 182-5—Trinity College as affected by recent events, 186—emoluments and prizes, 189—two difficulties, 190—their solution, 192—Catholics and Nationalists, 194.

## L

*Lace-making as a Fine Art*, review of works relating to, 37—Mrs. Bury Palliser's volume, 38—Mrs. Hailstone's collection, 39—different kinds of lace, 39-42—age of any piece, 43-4—Lace-schools, 45—lace-books, 46-7—the art in France, 51—and in Ireland, as related by Mrs. Meredith, 54.

## M

*Miall*, Mr., review of his work on Disestablishment, 366—treatment of it and of Disendowment, 367—policy advocated by Mr. Miall, 369—relation of the Church of England to the State, 369—results of Disestablishment, 370-1—right of patronage, 371—Cromer church and the rectorial title, 375 *note*—episcopal peerages, 376—disestablishment of the parochial clergy, 377—the poet Crabbe's picture of a clergyman of his day, 377—'Rowland Hill's Chapel,' 378—Cowper's clergyman of his time, 380—valuable and civilising agencies of the clergy, 381—consequences of Disendowment, 383—the country not ripe for the Congregational system, 386—Mr. Reed and his father, 391—changes which would be produced by Disestablishment, 393.

## O

*Oceanic Circulation*, review of works relating to, 430—shallow nonsense talked about the Gulf Stream, 430-1; modern investigations, 431—early authors, 432—Franklin and Blagden, 432-3—Major Rennell's work, 433-6—back-water, 437—horizontal circulation, 438—volume, rate, temperature, and course of the Gulf Stream, 440-71

## R

*Railway organisation* in the late war, works relating to, 149—considerations brought home to our minds, 150-1—advantages of railways in supplies and in moving troops, 152—the Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps, and what they can accomplish, 153—English, as compared with Continental railways, 154—organisation of the Germans, 155—mode of direction of an army from the rear, 156—the Etappen Inspektion, 187—success of the Germans, 162—defeats and failures of the French, 163—lessons to be learnt, 163-5.

*Royal Institution*, review of works relating to the, 321—origin of the Institution, and account of Count Rumford, 322-30—establishment of the Institution, 330—Drs. Young and Garnett, 330-31—Davy, 331—Rumford's second marriage, 333—his death and character, 334—perils of the Institution, 337-9—its library, 338—Professors

Brande, Tyndall, and Odling, 338—Dalton's lectures, 339, 342—Davy's marriage and successes, 340—Coleridge's lectures, 342—Davy's discoveries, 343—Sir Henry Holland and his 'Recollections of Past Life,' 344.

## T

*Tyerman*, Rev. L., review of his 'Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley,' 56—estimate of Methodism, 56—7—Mr. Tyerman's offences against the Queen's English, 57—earlier lives of Wesley, 58—the man himself, 59—62—in America, 63—his conversion, 64—makes a pilgrimage to Herrnhut, 64—state of England in the eighteenth century, 65—Love-feasts and Night-watches, 68—his field-preaching, 69—preaching-houses, 72—his acquirements, 75—the Kingswood School, 76—features in his character and system, 76—his constant sense of the miraculous, 77—his brother Charles, 79—his love affairs, 80—his death and character, 83—state of the Connexion at this time, 85—its future, 87.

*Tylor*, Edward B., review of his 'Primitive Culture,' 88—rapid strides of this branch of inquiry, 89—Mr. Tylor's labours and method, 93—Ethiopians of early times, 97—8—country of the Ichthyophagi, 98—moral and intellectual development, 100—test of agriculture in civilisation, 101—and of stone and metal, 101—2—stones marked with red, 103—objects of veneration and worship in early times, 105—the development hypothesis, 112—Mr. Darwin's reasoning, 114—self-development, 115—mythology and the rudiments of religious belief, 118—21.

## U

*United States*, Claims of the, 549—Case for the United States, 549—result of the battle of Gettysburg, 550—blunder of the Americans in their preliminary criticisms, 552—rule which governs the obligations of neutral States in a civil contest, 553—the acts complained of, 554—responsibility of the British Government for the depredations of the 'Alabama,' 557—reasoning maintained in the Case, 557—rights of belligerents and of neutrals, 558—65—traffic of neutrals in contraband of war, 565—untenable positions, 566—7—enlistment of soldiers within a neutral territory, 567—Mr. Cushing's opinion, 571—Case of the 'Santissima Trinidad,' 574—the Treaty of Washington, 577—Earl Russell, 583.

## Y

*Yule*, Colonel Henry, review of his edition of 'The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian,' 1—the story, 2—the author's natural abilities, 3—his exaggerations, 4—question respecting the sea of Aral, 6—11—Marco Polo's geography, 12—Christian congregations in the far East, 23—Rubruquis, the French friar, 25—7—conjurations, 27—medieval legends, 30—Colonel Yule's Oriental scholarship, 31—manner in which Marco Polo obtains his dismissal from the court of Kublai Khán, 34—36—summary of Marco's achievements, 36.

END OF VOL. CXXXV.





